



*History*  
OF HISTORICAL  
*Writing*









*A History of Historical Writing*





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HERODOTUS AND THUCYDIDES  
From a bust in the National Museum at Naples



# A HISTORY OF HISTORICAL WRITING

VOLUME I

*From the Earliest Times to the  
End of the Seventeenth Century*

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*TO SIDNEY M. EHRLMAN*

“Clio gesta canens transactis tempora reddit.”

Epigram attributed to Cato the Elder.  
Riese, *Anthologia Latina*, no. 664.

## PREFACE

I was tempted to entitle this book *The Bridge of Clio*, which would have been a more imaginative and a statelier title than the one used. History may be regarded as a great bridge which arches the stream of Time and links the Past and the Present together. The approach to this Bridge is shrouded in the mists of antiquity. Herodotus is the first clearly visible arch in this impressive structure which bears the name of the Muse of History and is dedicated to her honor. In nearer vision, yet still older than yesteryear or even than yestercentury, Montesquieu and Gibbon loom like towers. With their appearance the Bridge of Clio broadens into a noble highway which henceforth is well posted. It is an old Bridge, a brave Bridge, a beautiful Bridge, this Bridge of Clio.

From the Greeks to the present, European culture has ever been alert to new intellectual attitudes and sensitive to new interpretation or new criticism. Western society has always been historically minded, and possesses a mass of literary evidence on its past which differs in quality and quantity from that of any other culture known. The primary force in this direction came from the Greek genius. The next factor has been the influence of Christianity, which has always been history-conscious, unlike Buddhism and Brahmanism, or any other oriental religion, ancient or modern. Finally, the advance of modern science and the material progress achieved in the last two centuries have profoundly affected the thinking of the Western world. Occidental history has developed from a branch of literature into a field of scholarship; its preservation and increase has become an established academic profession.

How far the study of history is really a study of historians, and how far history is what the historians have said it was, are questions to which the answers are not clear. But, except for that narrow school of historians who still adhere to the ancient maxim: *Scribitur ad narrandum, non ad probandum*, it is generally agreed that the high function of the historian is interpretation. It is from this viewpoint that these volumes offer a survey of the changing conceptions of history, and of the various fashions of writing it, from earliest antiquity to the outbreak of the First World War.

No living historian is included, and of set intention no American writer has been mentioned. There is a limit to what can be crowded between four covers, and an extensive and growing literature on Amer-

ican historiography already exists. This is also the reason for the exclusion of figures like Motley, Prescott, Lea, and Haskins; for they belong to the American school of historical scholarship, even though their works pertain to European history.

The author does not cherish the illusion that this book has escaped the peril of most works of erudition—an austerity or aridity which may repel all but the hardiest of students. On the other hand, it is hoped that this work may encourage the establishment of more formal academic courses on History and Historians. For those who wish to go further afield, copious bibliographies have been provided. Whether the reader's prime interest lies in the shifting of philosophic conceptions, or merely in the story of the gradual improvement in a professional technique, or whether he is attracted to history as an independent branch—long neglected—of world literature, he will find here plenty of grist for his mill. The bibliographies will suggest how much scattered material exists: sketches and monographs on limited fields and periods, excellent treatments of individual writers, and a few longer surveys. Nowhere, however, in any language has there yet appeared a general and sustained account such as this, fitting each author into the general intellectual background of his age, and assigning to him his place in the development of the contemporary historiography. Volume I traces the evolution of historical writing in the long period, up to the seventeenth century, when it was regarded predominantly as literature; Volume II relates the rise of modern historical scholarship.

In making acknowledgments, I think first of all of the many students to whom I was privileged to offer courses in historiography. It is now more than thirty-five years since I first took the subject over from the late J. F. Jameson when he left the University of Chicago. The interest of my classes over those years has been a never-failing source of inspiration.

My indebtedness to Dr. Bernard J. Holm, my last doctor and my research associate for several years past, I have sought to repay by taking him on the title-page. He is responsible not only for the research and writing of fifteen chapters in the second volume (beginning with Ch. XLVI), and portions of others, but also for much of the final revision and abridgment of the entire manuscript; and he took over the recasting and editing of the nearly three thousand bibliographical footnotes and references. It is due largely to his care and loyalty that the book is able to appear at all.

The reader will find many quotations, either from the writers themselves, or from the criticisms of specialists. Most of these quotations are brief, and it would seem that for the vast majority the courtesy of

careful citation is sufficient. In the few longer instances which occur, the permission of the publisher has been sought.

I wish to thank Dr. Pauline R. Anderson for graciously consenting to assist Dr. Holm in reading the proofs and preparing the indices. Others to whom I must record past obligations for their help in checking the manuscript are Mrs. Vera Holm, Mr. Wayne Vucinich, and Miss Louise Pepper. Finally, I wish to express my gratitude to Mr. and Mrs. Sidney M. Ehrman, founders of the Sidney Hellman Ehrman Memorial Endowment, for a grant in aid to promote the preparation of this work for publication; and to The Macmillan Company for undertaking to publish it in so splendid a format.

J. W. T.

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA  
The Ides of March, MDCCCCXLI.

It will always be a matter of deep regret to his friends and students that Professor Thompson did not live to see the publication of his cherished last work. He passed away on September 30, 1941, shortly after manufacture of the two volumes had begun.

B. J. H.





# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## BOOK I

### ANTIQUITY

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. THE ANCIENT ORIENT . . . . .	3
II. ANCIENT GREEK HISTORIOGRAPHY . . . . .	21
III. THE ALEXANDRIAN AND POST-ALEXANDRIAN EPOCH . . . . .	41
IV. ROMAN HISTORIOGRAPHY DOWN TO THE FALL OF THE RE- PUBLIC (31 B.C.) . . . . .	61
V. ROMAN HISTORIOGRAPHY UNDER THE EARLY EMPIRE: LIVY, TACITUS, Suetonius . . . . .	73
VI. THE LAST LATIN HISTORIANS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE . . . . .	92
VII. GREEK HISTORIANS UNDER ROMAN SWAY . . . . .	101
VIII. EARLY CHURCH HISTORIOGRAPHY . . . . .	122

## BOOK II

### WESTERN EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE AGES TO THE END OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

IX. THE HISTORIANS OF THE BARBARIAN INVASIONS . . . . .	143
X. ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND . . . . .	154
XI. HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE CAROLINGIAN PERIOD . . . . .	165
XII. GERMAN HISTORIANS OF THE SAXON, SALIAN, AND HOHEN- STAUFEN PERIOD (919-1197) . . . . .	180
XIII. ITALIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY (900-1200) . . . . .	206
XIV. HISTORIANS OF FEUDAL FRANCE (900-1200) . . . . .	224
XV. HISTORIANS OF NORMAN AND ANGEVIN ENGLAND (1066-1199) . . . . .	246
XVI. HISTORIANS OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY . . . . .	267

## BOOK III

### EASTERN EUROPE AND THE ORIENT TO THE END OF THE CRUSADES

XVII. HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE EASTERN ROMAN EMPIRE (395-1204) . . . . .	295
XVIII. THE LATIN HISTORIANS OF THE CRUSADES . . . . .	310
XIX. MEDIEVAL SYRIAN AND ARMENIAN HISTORIANS . . . . .	324
XX. ARABIC, PERSIAN, AND MONGOL HISTORIANS IN THE MIDDLE AGES . . . . .	335

## BOOK IV

*THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES*

CHAPTER	PAGE
XXI. FRENCH HISTORIOGRAPHY FROM 1329 TO 1453.....	363
XXII. ENGLISH HISTORIOGRAPHY IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.....	390
XXIII. GERMAN HISTORIOGRAPHY FROM THE INTERREGNUM TO THE EVE OF THE REFORMATION.....	420
XXIV. MEDIEVAL SPANISH HISTORIANS (711-1492).....	428
XXV. THE LAST BYZANTINE HISTORIANS (1204-1453), AND EARLY TURKISH HISTORIANS.....	439
XXVI. THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE NORSE PEOPLES: ICELAND, NORWAY, AND DENMARK.....	449
XXVII. MEDIEVAL SLAVONIC AND MAGYAR HISTORIOGRAPHY.....	466

## BOOK V

*RENAISSANCE, REFORMATION, AND COUNTER-REFORMATION*

XXVIII. HISTORIANS OF THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE.....	473
XXIX. HISTORIANS OF THE FRENCH RENAISSANCE.....	510
XXX. HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE GERMAN REFORMATION.....	520
XXXI. THE INFLUENCE OF THE COUNTER-REFORMATION ON HISTORICAL STUDIES.....	535
XXXII. HISTORIANS OF THE WARS OF RELIGION IN FRANCE (1559-89): AND OF THE REIGN OF HENRY IV (1589-1610).....	553
XXXIII. HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE SPANISH AND DUTCH NETHERLANDS IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.....	571
XXXIV. HISTORIANS OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.....	580
XXXV. HISTORIOGRAPHY OF TUDOR ENGLAND (1485-1603).....	589
XXXVI. HISTORIOGRAPHY OF STUART ENGLAND (1603-88).....	626
INDEX.....	647

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

*Note:* In order to conserve space in the extensive footnotes the following system of abbreviations has been adopted. Certain books frequently mentioned are cited by the surname of the author or editor in small capitals. The titles of periodicals and sets are reduced to their chief initial letters.

- |                           |  |
|---------------------------|--|
| BURY                      | J. B. Bury, <i>The Ancient Greek Historians</i> (New York, 1909).  |
| EBERT                     | Adolf Ebert, <i>Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters im Abendlande bis zum Beginne des XI. Jahrhunderts</i> (Leipzig, vols. II–III, 1880–87; vol. I, 2nd ed., 1889). The French translation by J. Aymeric and J. Condamin ( <i>Histoire générale de la littérature du moyen âge</i> , Paris, 1883–89, 3 v.) has preserved the German pagination in brackets. |
| FUETER                    | Eduard Fueter, <i>Histoire de l'historiographie moderne</i> , tr. by Émile Jeanmaire, with revisions and additions by the author (Paris, 1914). All references to the French edition, but the original German edition can easily be used by consulting the index ( <i>Geschichte der neueren Historiographie</i> , Munich and Berlin, 1911).                                 |
| GAIRDNER                  | James Gairdner, <i>Early Chroniclers of Europe: England</i> (London and New York, 1879).   |
| GARDINER AND<br>MULLINGER | S. R. Gardiner and J. B. Mullinger, <i>Introduction to the Study of English History</i> (4th ed., London, 1903).   |
| GIBBON                    | Edward Gibbon, <i>The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire</i> , ed. by J. B. Bury (London, 1897–1900, 7 v.).   |
| GREGOROVIVS               | Ferdinand Gregorovius, <i>History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages</i> , tr. by Annie Hamilton (London, 1894–1902, 8 v. in 13).  |
| GROSS                     | Charles Gross, <i>The Sources and Literature of English History, from the Earliest Times to about 1485</i> (2nd, revised and enlarged ed., London and New York, 1915).   |
| GUILDAY                   | Peter K. Guilday, ed., <i>Church Historians</i> (New York, 1926).  |

- HARDY Thomas Duffus Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1862-71, 3 v. in 4: Rolls Series, no. 26).
- HODGKIN Thomas Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders* (Oxford, vols. I-VI in 2nd ed., 1892-1916; vols. VII-VIII in first ed., 1899).
- MIGNE J. P. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina* (Paris, 1844-64, 221 v.).
- MOLINIER Auguste Molinier, *Les sources de l'histoire de France des origines aux guerres d'Italie (1494)* (Paris, 1901-06, 6 v.).
- PAETOW L. J. Paetow, *A Guide to the Study of Medieval History* (revised ed., New York, 1931).
- PATTISON *Essays by the Late Mark Pattison*, collected and arranged by Henry Nettleship (Oxford, 1889, 2 v.).
- POTTHAST August Potthast, *Bibliotheca historica medii aevi: Wegweiser durch die Geschichtswerke des europäischen Mittelalters bis 1500* (2nd, improved and enlarged ed., Berlin, 1896, 2 v.).
- READ Conyers Read, ed., *Bibliography of British History: Tudor Period, 1485-1603* (Oxford, 1933).
- SANDYS J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* (Cambridge, vols. II-III in first ed., 1908; vol. I in 2nd ed., 1906).
- SYMONDS J. A. Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy* (new ed., London and New York, 1907, 7 v.).
- TEUFFEL [W. S.] *Teuffel's History of Roman Literature*, revised and enlarged by Ludwig Schwabe. Tr. from the 5th German ed. by G. C. W. Warr (London, 1891-92, 2 v.).
- WARD A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller, eds., *Cambridge History of English Literature* (Cambridge, 1907-16, 1927, 15 v. with index).
- WATTENBACH Wilhelm Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter bis zur Mitte des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts* (vol. II in 6th ed., Berlin, 1894; vol. I in 7th ed., by Ernst Dümmler and Ludwig Traube, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1904).
- WEGELE Franz X. v. Wegele, *Geschichte der deutschen Historiographie seit dem Auftreten des Humanismus* (Munich and Leipzig, 1885).

<i>AHR</i>	<i>American Historical Review</i> (New York, 1895- ).
<i>ASI</i>	<i>Archivio Storico Italiano</i> (Florence, 1842- ).
<i>ASMP</i>	<i>Séances et Travaux de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques</i> (Paris, 1842- ).
<i>BEC</i>	<i>Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes</i> (Paris, 1839- ).
<i>BQR</i>	<i>British Quarterly Review</i> (London, 1845- ).
<i>CQR</i>	<i>Church Quarterly Review</i> (London, 1875- ).
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> , ed. by L. Stephen and S. Lee (London, 1885-1901, 66 v.; several supplements have been published).
<i>DR</i>	<i>Dublin Review</i> (London, 1836- ).
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i> (London, 1886- ).
<i>ER</i>	<i>Edinburgh Review</i> (Edinburgh, 1802- ).
<i>ESS</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences</i> , ed. by E. R. A. Seligman and Alvin Johnson (New York, 1930-35, 15 v.).
<i>FDG</i>	<i>Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte</i> (Göttingen, 1862-86, 26 v.).
<i>FQR</i>	<i>Foreign Quarterly Review</i> (London, 1827-47, 38 v.).
<i>HZ</i>	<i>Historische Zeitschrift</i> (Munich, 1859- ).
<i>JS</i>	<i>Journal des Savants</i> (Paris, 1816- ).
<i>LTLS</i>	[London] <i>Times Literary Supplement</i> (London, 1902- ).
<i>NA</i>	<i>Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde</i> (Hanover, 1876-1935, 50 v.).
<i>NBR</i>	<i>North British Review</i> (Edinburgh, 1844-69; London, 1870-71, 53 v.).
<i>QR</i>	<i>Quarterly Review</i> (London, 1809- ).
<i>RCC</i>	<i>Revue des Cours et Conférences</i> (Paris, 1893- ).
<i>RDM</i>	<i>Revue des Deux Mondes</i> (Paris, 1829- ).
<i>RH</i>	<i>Revue Historique</i> (Paris, 1876- ).
<i>RQH</i>	<i>Revue des Questions Historiques</i> (Paris, 1866- ).
<i>RSH</i>	<i>Revue de Synthèse Historique</i> (Paris, 1900- ).

Reference is also made here once and for all to two other works which merit frequent consultation:

James T. Shotwell, *Introduction to the History of History* (Columbia University Press, 1922: Records of

Civilization series), issued in a revised edition as  
*The History of History*, vol. I (1939).

Harry Elmer Barnes, *History of Historical Writing*  
(University of Oklahoma Press, 1937).

BOOK I  
*ANTIQUITY*





## CHAPTER I

### THE ANCIENT ORIENT

**M**AN is the only creature who is aware of and interested in his past. "History begins with *written tradition*. Written tradition, however, presupposes a long period of development during which the transition is made, on the one hand, from the first crude efforts to body forth an idea in written form to the achievement of a serviceable script, and, on the other hand, from uncoordinated efforts in thought to the development of the reasoning powers. These stages must have been left behind before events could be handed down by written records. It is a long step from the pictographs of savages to the written narratives of wars and records of temple-building, such as we find in old Babylonian inscriptions of the fourth millennium B.C., and to the records of administration drawn up in systematic form during the same period. Possibly the peoples who surmounted the difficulties of the early stages labored longer to accomplish their tasks than the three or four thousand years through which we can follow the cuneiform script in its use and development."<sup>1</sup>

Until the nineteenth century the oldest history was supposed to be that of the ancient Hebrew people, as found recorded in the Old Testament. As for the history of ancient Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, Phoenicia, and Persia, apart from the chance information in the Old Testament, Greek writers had preserved some knowledge of it, but the whole body of information was pitifully meager.<sup>2</sup> The oldest of these sources was Herodotus, the "Father of History," who flourished ca. 484-425 B.C. In the Alexandrian period, after the great Macedonian's conquest of Egypt and the countries of the Ancient Orient, some new knowledge began to appear, but it was neither copious nor accurate. To this age belongs Sanchoniatho, author of a *Phoenician History* dealing with the time before the Trojan War. For the preservation of fragments attributed to him we are indebted to a Greek translation by Philo Byblius which Eusebius, the first church historian, incorporated into his *Praeparatio Evangelica*.<sup>3</sup>

The Ptolemies of Egypt were interested in the ancient history of the

<sup>1</sup> Hugo Winckler, *The History of Babylonia and Assyria*, tr. by J. A. Craig (New York, 1907), 10.

<sup>2</sup> Every shred of this evidence was collected and published, with an English translation, by Isaac Cory, in his *Ancient Fragments of the Phoenician, Chaldaean, Egyptian, Tyrian, Carthaginian, Indian, Persian, and Other Writers* (2nd ed., London, 1832).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 3-18.

country which they ruled. In the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285–247 B.C.), Manetho, a learned priest of Heliopolis, prepared from temple archives a connected series of Egyptian annals, comprising, besides a preliminary list of gods and heroes, thirty dynasties of kings with their names, dates of accession, and remarkable events of each epoch. The work was written in Greek, for Egyptian men of letters were educated in the language of their masters. Six different versions are extant.<sup>4</sup> Eratosthenes, the librarian of Ptolemy Philadelphus, compiled from the archives of Thebes the *Laterculus*, or *Canon of the Kings of Thebes*.<sup>5</sup> It was followed by the *Old Egyptian Chronicle*, a tablet containing thirty dynasties in 113 descents covering 36,525 years, beginning with the reign of the gods.<sup>6</sup>

It would seem from the Greek authorities on ancient Egyptian history that Herodotus obtained his information from the priests of Memphis, and that Manetho recorded the Heliopolitan tradition. We would be able to judge better of Manetho's history of Egypt if we possessed more than the barren lists of dynasties which he gives, and these unfortunately seem to have been altered to suit early Christian chronologists. However, the manner in which his lists and the monuments reflect each other is in his favor. His earlier dynasties may be incorrect or fabulous, but his later ones may be reasonably accurate.

Manetho's *Egyptian Dynasties* was divided into three books. The first terminated with the XIth Dynasty; the second with the XIXth; the third with the final extinction of the native monarchy under Nectanebo, the last king of the XXXth Dynasty, who was deposed by Darius. The second book thus comprehended the most flourishing and the most disastrous period of the empire of the Pharaohs—on the one hand, the brilliant eras of the XIIth, XVIIIth, and XIXth Dynasties; and on the other, the conquest and subjugation by the Hyksos or Shepherd kings, during the XVth, XVIth, and XVIIth.

Unfortunately only a meager epitome, or rather two of them, have come down to us. The earliest recorded author to mention Manetho is Apion, an Egyptian of the first century A.D., who in a tract against the Jews quoted a popular Egyptian version of the Exodus from Manetho, which called forth a retort from Josephus chiefly valuable because it preserves an important extract from the same work.

Next to the Alexandrian compilers, early Christian literature was the most important influence in preserving at least the substance of Manetho and Eratosthenes. Manetho came in for special attention owing to the bearing of Jewish and Egyptian annals upon early Christian chronology.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 173–81. <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 84–88. <sup>6</sup> Preserved in the Chronicle of Eusebius, see *ibid.*, 89–93.

His work was epitomized and commented by Julius Africanus, bishop of Emmaus-Nicopolis, about the year 200 A.D. The full text of this work has not been preserved, but extracts from it, comprising the thirty dynasties, more or less entire, together with the *Tables* of Eratosthenes, are embodied in the *Chronographia* of George Syncellus, a Byzantine monk of the ninth century A.D. The dynasties have also been preserved in the *Chronicle* of Eusebius, through an Armenian version. The interest of early Christian historians in the chronology of ancient Egypt was sharpened by the distressing fact that Manetho's dates differed widely from the received chronology of the Old Testament, and the ingenuity of scholars was taxed to reconcile the inconsistencies. Other canons of the kings of Egypt are preserved in Diodorus of Sicily and in Josephus. The latter quoted some excerpts from the lost *Annals of Tyre* of Dius and Menander.<sup>7</sup>

The most reliable Egyptian chronology which has come down from antiquity is the *Canon of Ptolemy*. It commences with the Chaldaean Era of Nabonasar (747 B.C.), and extends to the end of the reign of Antoninus Pius (161 A.D.).<sup>8</sup> Although it begins with the Chaldaean Era, the years are calculated in terms of Egyptian chronology.

The Roman author Varro, among 74 works in 620 books, all of which are lost save two, also composed a work entitled *Antiquitates rerum humanarum et divinarum*, in 41 books, which long survived and was known to St. Jerome and St. Augustine. Its loss is deplorable, but Varro's interesting divisions of history were preserved by Censorinus, a Roman writer of the third century A.D.<sup>9</sup> These celebrated divisions are: (1) From the beginning of mankind to the Cataclysm (Flood), (2) From Deukalion to the first Olympiad, which is denominated "mythic" because in it fabulous achievements are said to have happened, (3) From the first Olympiad forward, which is called "historic" "because the actions which have been performed in it are related in authentic history." The first period either had some beginning or had endured from eternity; it is impossible to determine the number of its years. Neither can the second period be accurately determined, but Varro believed that it was about 1600 years, and that during the last 400 years of this epoch mythology was inclining towards actual history. Varro was impressed with the near simultaneity of the First Olympiad (776 B.C.) and the founding of Rome (753 B.C.). He would have been still more impressed if he had known the Era of Nabonasar, which began with 747 B.C.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 193-94.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 83-84.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 324-28; TEUFFEL (for this and similar names in small capitals consult the List of Works Most Frequently Cited), I, sec. 166, II, sec. 379.

Thus for over two thousand years nothing new was known concerning the history of the world before the Greeks, until the nineteenth century. Then, early in the last century, the Rosetta Stone furnished the key to decipher the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics. This famous stone was discovered by French scholars who accompanied Napoleon to Egypt in 1798. It has a tri-lingual inscription upon it, the first in Greek, the second in Demotic, the third in Hieroglyphic. Even with the Greek "key" the labor of decipherment was a matter of some years. An Englishman, Thomas Young, distinguished the name of Ptolemy Epiphanes; Champollion, a Frenchman, deciphered that of Cleopatra. It was soon found that royal names were enclosed in a sort of oval ring, called by Champollion a *cartouche*, a most important discovery, as it directed the inquiry at once to those parts of an inscription which might best be submitted to test. These *cartouches* were often coupled with a second containing the titles and appellations of the king. Every attempt was crowned with success. The names of Caesar and Ptolemy were read with almost undeviating similarity of spelling, and at length those of the older Pharaohs on the monuments. Thus an alphabet was gradually constructed, and the principle upon which the Egyptians adapted their signs to their sounds slowly came to light. The sign used for a particular letter was the image of a concrete object, as a lion in hieroglyphic English would represent an L, and a dog a D. Coptic was a lineal descendant of the ancient Egyptian tongue and accordingly the intermediate language between the ancient Egyptian tongue and Greek. The hieroglyphs were proved to constitute a phonetic alphabet, but all hieroglyphs were not phonetic. The ancient Egyptians lacked a feeling for orderly time relations more than did the Assyrians and Babylonians, so that the search for an accurate chronology is difficult. The need of some means for a comparison has led to a use of Manetho's "dynasties"; for apparently the Egyptians reckoned time by dynasties and the reigns of the Pharaohs of each dynasty. Century after century the names of the Pharaohs, the dates of their accession to the throne, and the succession of the thirty-three dynasties were recorded on granite, on limestone, and later on papyrus.

The historical value of the Egyptian inscriptions must always be carefully judged, for the Pharaohs often had the habit of appropriating unto themselves the deeds of their forebears. This was accomplished by the simple process of erasing the name of the hero whose deeds were recorded on a stele or wall, and chiselling in their own; or by copying on another slab or monument the record of another's achievements and inserting their own names where that of the real monarch had been before.

The Egyptians were never much of a history-writing people.<sup>10</sup> While the kings of Babylonia and Assyria set up inscriptions really intended to inform posterity of the time of their conquests and the extent of their sway, the Pharaohs were content with occasional hymns of triumph over some foe generally vaguely denominated as "the enemy," or a series of conventional pictures graven in the rock and commemorative of outstanding incidents in the life of the Pharaoh. Thus only a small fraction of Egyptian inscriptions is historical. It is not until the XVIIIth Dynasty is reached that any large body of evidence regarding military expeditions or diplomatic embassies to foreign princes becomes available.

Both our chronology and our knowledge of the earliest history of Egypt must be gathered from monumental sources. But inscriptions are dry and inadequate sources, for they are not invested with descriptive expression and interpretative imagination. Indeed, until the time of the Greeks, no such history existed. The scanty annals which seem to have been kept from the remotest age of Egyptian civilization have all perished except two fragments, which in their integrity once contained the annals of the earliest dynasties down into the period of the Vth Dynasty (ca. 2750-2625 B.C.), and brief extracts from the record of the Syrian campaigns of Thutmose III. The Old Kingdom dealt with material things and spent its energy in the development of material resources; under such conditions there was little opportunity for literature. The Egyptians were not inclined to abstract thinking. "The priestly scribes of the Fifth Dynasty compiled the annals of the oldest kings, from the bare names of the kings who ruled the two prehistoric kingdoms, to the Fifth Dynasty itself; but it was a bald catalogue of events, achievements and temple donations, without literary form. It is the oldest surviving fragment of royal annals."<sup>11</sup>

When we reach the XIIth Dynasty (2000-1778 B.C.), however, Egyptian literature has clearly developed. The great events in the dynastic transitions were now common knowledge among the educated classes, and a history of the Vth Dynasty was generally known.<sup>12</sup> Under the Empire, during the XVIIIth Dynasty (1580-1350 B.C.), we begin for the first time to have the minimum of inscriptions necessary for even the most elementary outline. Yet how great the limitations! Imagine trying to write Greek history solely from the inscriptions.

<sup>10</sup> All their historical texts have been collected and translated by James Henry Breasted in his *Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Documents from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest* (Chicago, 1906-07, 5 v.).

<sup>11</sup> J. H. Breasted, *A History of Egypt from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest* (2nd, fully revised ed., New York, 1909), 109. But not the oldest evidence of such annals. Breasted wrote before the excavations of Sumer had been examined. Sumerian scribes writing ca. 2000 B.C. had drawn up king-lists.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 203.

This poverty of historical sources is all the more striking when one considers that, aside from pompous epigraphical inscriptions, an Egyptian historian—if there had been one—had available an enormous mass of archive material of both the central and the local governments, records of legal processes and court proceedings, registers of the land, taxation, and population, which he might have used. “The civil administration depended largely upon a system of registration and of official reports, which were perpetually being made to the court by the superintendents in all departments of the public service.”<sup>13</sup> The swarm of officials who had charge of these records is evidence of their variety and volume. Besides scribes of the Pharaohs and an overseer of records, there are scribes of the army, of the crown possessions, of the harem, of the marine, of the vizier, etc.

The monuments abound with allusions to historical evidences, such as the royal archives at Thebes, the state archives of the Hall of Writings and the House of Rolls, secret writings, the daily register of the palace, and the archives of the many temples, particularly of those at Abydos and Thebes. Almost all of these records, because written upon papyri or leather, have perished with time; but from the testimony of the monuments it is plain that the archives of the Pharaohs contained records of every reign, accounts of military campaigns, and of political events of importance. These documents were of such a nature as to make possible the writing of an Egyptian history even later than the time of Herodotus. The Greek work of Manetho, as has been said, was manifestly based upon Egyptian documents, and not on inscriptions.

The story of the discovery and decipherment of the records of ancient Persia and Assyria is one of the most brilliant achievements of the human intellect. Even from the Middle Ages the curiosity of travellers from the West had been awakened by the few examples of Persian inscriptions above ground, chiefly those of the ruins of Persepolis. Odoric, a Minorite friar, saw them in 1320; Barbaro, a Venetian ambassador to Persia, saw them in 1472. Again in 1585 and 1619 two Spanish travellers viewed them. The Englishman Thomas Herbert in 1629, the German Albert Mandelson about 1640, the Neapolitan Correr in 1694, all noted them, but it was an Italian, Pietro delle Valle, travelling in the East between 1614 and 1626, who was the first to copy a portion of an inscription. In 1670 the chevalier Jean Chardon copied an entire one. These copies were in the Persian language. In the next century Kaempfer, in the employ of the Dutch East India Company, brought back to Europe the first copy of an Assyro-Babylonian inscription from Persep-

<sup>13</sup> George Rawlinson, *History of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1880, 2 v.), I, 541; see also Samuel Birch, *Ancient History from the Monuments: Egypt* (New York, 1875), p. xix.

olis; and in 1704 another Hollander, Bruin, published the earliest example of a tri-lingual inscription.

But for years no one knew or tried to know the meaning of these texts. The key to their languages was yet to be discovered. That key was the unlocking of the Persian tongue. The great German traveller Karsten Niebuhr, who had travelled much in the East, found in 1765 that Persian was a phonographic language. Forty-three years later Tychsen of Rostock discovered the sign which separated the words. But it was Grotefend who in 1802 really lifted the veil. Assuming that the Persepolitan inscription was in three languages, he guessed that the first was naturally Persian itself; and that the other two inscriptions were identical in meaning, but in different languages. By a stroke of genius, he conjectured that one portion of the first inscription signified "Darius, the Great King, King of Kings." Analyzing the words of this stereotyped royal expression and finding them repeated elsewhere, he was able to read the name of Darius' father and grandfather in the appropriate places of the inscription. Grotefend had found the key, but it still required years to complete the decipherment of Persian.<sup>14</sup>

At this point the oriental researches of the French savant du Perron, who first published the *Zend Avesta* (1771), and of Eugene Burnouf, who deciphered the inscriptions of Ecbatana and founded the grammar of the ancient Persian language of India, became valuable.

But back of the history of Ctesiphon, Susa, and Persepolis—the Persia of the Greeks—lay the vast and unknown history of Babylonia and Assyria. As in the case of Persia, Mesopotamia was not entirely unknown to Europe in early modern times. A Spanish Jew, the rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, shortly after the Second Crusade visited the site of Mosul (Nineveh) in 1160. In 1583 an English merchant, John Eldred, and in 1611 another Englishman, John Cartright, saw the great mound under which lay the ruins of Babylon, though they, like all men, believed Baghdad to be ancient Babylon. To the end of the seventeenth century no man knew more of the history of Babylon or of Nineveh than could be gathered out of the pages of the Greeks or the Latins, or from the Old Testament. About 1750 the Frenchman Olter proved that Baghdad was not Babylon, and Father Emanuel, a Carmelite friar, confirmed this opinion. In 1801, through the British East India Company, the first Assyrian inscription reached Europe. Thereafter interest was keen. In 1811 the mound of Nineveh was surveyed, but excavations were not begun until the middle of the century. In 1852 Botta, the

<sup>14</sup> For Grotefend and his successors in the task of decipherment, see R. W. Rogers, *A History of Babylonia and Assyria* (6th ed., revised, New York, 1915, 2 v.), I, 61–105, 216–73; and Morris Jastrow, *The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria* (Philadelphia and London, 1915), 63–119.

French vice-consul at Mosul, dug into the mound of Nineveh, excavated Khorsabad, and discovered the palace of Sargon II. Layard uncovered the palaces of Ashurbanipal and Sennacherib at Nineveh between 1845 and 1852, and afterwards excavated ancient Erech. Taylor unearthed Ur of the Chaldees. In 1852 Rassam, who had been Layard's assistant, found the royal library of Ashurbanipal and the famous "Deluge Tablet."

But all this wealth of inscriptions was like letters scattered on the ground. The message was—and was not. For who could read them? Here the knowledge of ancient Persian helped. Westergaard and Rawlinson, on the basis of old Persian, deciphered the second language in the Persepolitan inscription and called it "Susian" from Susa. But the enigma of the third language, which DeSaulcy had called "Assyrian," was still unsolved. It was believed to be a Semitic tongue. The discovery (1835) by Rawlinson of the great Behistun tri-lingual inscription graven upon a cliff, as in the case of the Rosetta Stone, furnished the key, when in 1845 Rawlinson partially deciphered it. In 1851 he followed this up with a conjectural translation of eleven lines of Assyrian. Finally, in 1857, a test translation was made by four scholars working separately—Rawlinson, Hicks, Fox Talbot, and Oppert—and the mystery of the Assyrian language was solved. Between 1867 and 1873, George Smith edited portions of Ashurbanipal's inscriptions, and translated the "Deluge Tablet," and other inscriptions of Esarhaddon and Sennacherib.

The historical writings of the Assyrians form one of the most important branches of their literature. Indeed, it may be claimed with much truth that it is the most characteristically Assyrian of them all. The Assyrians derived their historical writing, as they did so many other cultural elements, from the Babylonians. In that country there had existed from the earliest times two types of historical inscriptions. The more common form developed from the desire of the kings to commemorate, not their deeds in war, but their building operations. . . . Side by side with these building inscriptions were to be found dry lists of kings . . . it was from the former type that the earliest Assyrian inscriptions were derived. . . . Not a single annals inscription from the earlier period has been discovered . . . with one poor exception we do not have a strictly historical document until the time of Tiglath Pileser I, about 1100 B.C.<sup>15</sup>

Even then there is a long lacuna, and sustained historical writing really is not found before the revival of Assyrian power under Tiglath Pileser IV (745–728 B.C.). Unfortunately, Esarhaddon (686–668 B.C.) ruthlessly destroyed these annals, as by retributive justice his own elaborate annals were destroyed by a successor. Fortunately many inscriptions compensate for these losses. The criticism of Assyrian annals is difficult,

<sup>15</sup> A. T. Olmstead, *Assyrian Historiography, a Source Study* (Columbia, Missouri, 1916; University of Missouri Studies, Social Science series, III, no. 1), 1–4.



since the kings had a way of falsely attributing the deeds of their predecessors to themselves, and moreover enormously exaggerated their feats of arms. For example, a booty of 1235 sheep in the original record is magnified to 100,225 sheep in a subsequent reign. Accordingly, unless contemporaneous or unless it can be checked by the original from which it was derived, an Assyrian annal must be taken with caution. For the most part these annals consist of elaborate relations of the wars which were waged by the Assyrian kings. They are almost wholly drum and trumpet history. Typical are the imposing annals of Sargon (722-705 B.C.), but they require critical examination.<sup>16</sup> The same observation is true of his successors, Sennacherib (705-686) and Esarhaddon (686-668).<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, "the reign of Ashurbanipal (668-626 B.C.) stands pre-eminent for the mass of material available," which exhibits little or no distortion or false attribution. This was the last important reign of an Assyrian king. For the rest of Assyrian history the data are scant. The collapse of the empire was approaching. In 607 or 606 B.C. Nineveh was taken by Cyaxares the Mede in alliance with Nabopolassar the Chaldaean ruler of the New Babylonian Empire.<sup>18</sup>

To the Assyrians must be given the distinguished honor of having been the first people who created a genuine historical literature. We can perceive and measure its growth out of the stereotyped building inscriptions of the Babylonians, upon which they immensely improved.

In Assyria first came the vital change which converted the building inscription into an historical record, namely the partial suppression of the dedication. Thus arose the general account of a king's exploits. The next step was to arrange the events in their chronological sequence, either under the year of the king's reign or according to the number of campaigns, the events being baldly stated. . . . Finally came the development which characterized the Sargonid period, when each year or each campaign was elaborately and separately described. . . . The inscriptions on the prisms of Sennacherib and Ashurbanipal are instances of a literary form borrowed from Babylonia, yet so expanded as to be distinctively Assyrian. The building inscription remains, the annalistic element is entirely new.<sup>19</sup>

The historical records of Babylonia and Assyria are very like the books of Kings and Chronicles, as is natural since the Hebrews and Assyrians were both of the Semitic race. But the amount of information is far greater than in the case of the books of the Bible, for unfortunately

<sup>16</sup> A. T. Olmstead, *Western Asia in the Days of Sargon of Assyria, 722-705 B.C.* (New York, 1908: Cornell Studies in History and Political Science, II).

<sup>17</sup> A. T. Olmstead, "Western Asia in the Reign of Sennacherib," *Annual Report of the American Hist. Association*, 1909 [1911], 93-101.

<sup>18</sup> For additional reading see R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature: Selected Translations, with a critical introduction* (New York, 1901).

<sup>19</sup> Sidney Smith, *Cambridge Ancient History*, III (1925), 111-12, cp. 237.

Hebrew history is not sustained by Hebrew inscriptions. Notable Assyrian examples are the account of Shalmaneser II and the battle of Karkar (854 B.C.), the dealings of Hazael of Damascus with Assyria, Tiglath-Pileser's tribute text, Sargon's inscriptions, Sennacherib's report of the campaign of 701 B.C., and Esarhaddon's and Ashurbanipal's tribute lists.

A quotation from the annals of the great empire-builder Ashurnasirpal explains why the name of Assyria spread terror over the nations:

Their fighting men I put to the sword, I cut off their heads and I piled them in heaps. I built a pillar over against the city gate, and I flayed all of the chief men who had revolted, and I covered the pillar with their skins; some I walled up within the pillar, and some upon the pillar on stakes I impaled, and others I fixed to stakes round about the pillar. Three thousand captives I burned with fire. Their young men and maidens I burned in the fire.

When Nineveh, the Assyrian capital, went up in flames, the Hebrew prophet Nahum expressed the feelings of the ancient world:

Woe to the bloody city! All that hear the report of thee clap their hands over thee; for upon whom hath not thy wickedness passed continually?

The historiography of the New Babylonian Empire from 626 B.C. until its destruction by Cyrus in 538 B.C., when the country was reduced to a Persian province, produced the best historical work of any cuneiform people. This is the *Babylonian Chronicle*. In the form in which it has come down to us it was written in the twentieth year of Darius the Great (ca. 500 B.C.), but it was copied and revised from an earlier exemplar. Not all of it has survived. What we have covers the years 745-668 B.C., but almost certainly it must have extended down to the fall of Assyria in 612, and perhaps later. The Babylonians were superior to the Assyrians in the production of period history, for the Assyrians made each reign of their kings a separate unit of time. In clear statement of facts the *Babylonian Chronicle* is a model.

The latest Babylonian history was the *Babyloniaca*, written in Greek by a Chaldaean priest named Berossus, long after Babylonia had been conquered by Persia, indeed after Alexander the Great's conquest of the East.<sup>20</sup> It was dedicated to Antiochus Seleucus I (281-260 B.C.); apparently it was composed to provide the Macedonian king with the history of the land which he ruled. Unhappily only fragments of this chronicle, which would be invaluable, have come down to us in a very mutilated and distorted form and by a devious transmission. "Today we must consult it in a modern Latin translation of an Armenian translation of the lost Greek original of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius, who bor-

<sup>20</sup> Fragments in Cory (see above, n. 2), 19-43.

rowed in part from Alexander Polyhistor who borrowed from Berossus direct, in part from Abydenus who apparently borrowed from Juba who borrowed from Alexander Polyhistor and so from Berossus."<sup>21</sup>

This Alexander Polyhistor was a Greek of Miletus who was carried to Rome as a slave by Sulla and sold to Lentulus, who educated him and gave him his freedom. His enormous number of writings gave him his nickname, but they were mere compilations, being excerpts from many works most of which are now lost. Josephus in the first century A.D. used him for his *Antiquities of the Jews*, and Eusebius in the fourth for his *Chronicle*, as said above. Practically all the knowledge which the Greeks (through Herodotus) possessed of Assyria and Babylonia was derived from Berossus.

The historical books of the Old Testament, of which there are seventeen,<sup>22</sup> embody the history of the ancient Hebrew people; but for all that they begin with Creation and the origin of the human race, in the form in which we now have them they were written centuries later than the records of Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria.

The historical portions of the Pentateuch date from 850 to 650 B.C. Yet from the time of David (ca. 1000) there seems to have been a continuous oral tradition which formed the basis of the present historical books of the Old Testament. This history was of anonymous authorship and was continually revised and enlarged by the schools of the prophets, much in the same way as later medieval monastic chronicles grew by accretion and redaction. Higher criticism has revealed these successive accretions and revisions.

*Genesis* relates the story of creation and the earliest age of mankind. It is of some anthropological, but of no historical value. It gives glimpses of primitive culture, as cattle breeding, the beginning of agriculture, the making of bronze, iron and brick; the evolution of primitive social institutions, the formation of the family, the clan and other tribal distinctions; the beginning of religion, and civil institutions. *Exodus* and *Numbers* recount the history of nomadic Israel; *Joshua* and *Judges* the settlement of Palestine. *Samuel* relates the transition from the nomadic to the agricultural stage, the establishment of the king-

<sup>21</sup> Olmstead, *Assyrian Historiography* (see n. 15), 63.

<sup>22</sup> J. A. Bewer, *The Literature of the Old Testament in Its Historical Development* (New York, 1922: Records of Civilization series); W. O. E. Oesterley and T. H. Robinson, *An Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament* (London and New York, 1934); S. R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (new ed., revised, New York, 1913); E. F. Kautzsch, *An Outline of the History of the Literature of the Old Testament*, tr. by John Taylor (London and Edinburgh, 1898); G. B. Gray, *A Critical Introduction to the Old Testament* (New York, 1920); J. F. McCurdy, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments* (New York and London, 1911, 3 v. in 1); C. H. Cornill, *History of the People of Israel*, tr. by W. H. Carruth (4th ed., Chicago, 1909); James Hastings, ed., *A Dictionary of the Bible* (New York, 1902-05, 5 v.); T. K. Cheyne, *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (New York, 1899-1903, 4 v.).

ship, and the reign of David. *Kings* recounts the accession of Solomon, and the history of the two kingdoms of Israel and of Judah down to the destruction of the latter by the Chaldeans in 588 B.C. According to the chronology of the books themselves, it would seem that the earliest events related go back to about 1500 B.C., but there are good reasons for reducing this date to about 1100 B.C. *Chronicles* describe the ancient history and national origins under the form of genealogical and chronological tables, meagerly tracing the history of Jerusalem and Judea down to the times of the Captivity. In a sense, *Chronicles* may be looked upon as a new edition of *Kings*, written under priestly influence, perhaps by the author of the books of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*; for *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, and *Chronicles* may be ascribed to unknown writers of about 200 B.C., who interpolated important historical fragments from other sources in the sense that they embody the national legends and folklore of the Jewish nation, together with much civil legislation and religious ceremonial. The books of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* give some information upon the return of the Jews from captivity (538 B.C.) and some slight historical information on the history of the fifth century.

For centuries the ancient Hebrews had told tales and sung songs and related popular legends to their children; and family, clan, and tribal gatherings rehearsed and modified them in more or less variant forms. Later the priestly historians in both kingdoms independently recorded these national traditions. When Samaria fell under the arms of Sargon of Assyria in 722 B.C., the historians of Judah combined the double record into one narrative. Later still other historians revised the record from the standpoint of loftier conceptions of God, voiced by the first great writing prophets, Amos and Hosea, and wrote the books of the nation's later history. Priestly writers of the Exile added new books and revised the old ones. After the return from the Exile (538 B.C.), *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* added their writings, which were re-edited and united with *Chronicles*, the last of the histories of Israel (ca. 165 B.C.); about the same time *Daniel* also was written.

The Old Testament is primarily an historical volume. Of its 39 books, 17 are manifestly historical, and the 5 major and 12 minor prophets are largely so. The earliest of the books are *Joshua*, *Judges*, I-II *Samuel*, I-II *Kings*. If we had the lost historical works which are occasionally referred to, the proportion would be increased. These lost books are the *Book of Jasher* (Joshua X, 13; I Sam. I, 18); a lost *Book of Samuel* (I Sam. X, 25; I Chron. XXIX, 29); the *Chronicles of David* (I Chron. XXVII, 24); the *Acts of David* in the *Books of Nathan and Gad* (I Chron. XXIX, 29); the *Acts of Solomon* (II Chron. IX, 29); the *Acts of Rehoboam*; the *Acts of Ahab*; the *Book of Shemaiah* (II Chron. XII, 5); the

*Acts of Jehosaphat*; the *Book of Jehu* (II Chron. XX, 34); the *Wars of the Lord*; and the *Epistles* of Solomon to Hiram, King of Tyre (I Kings V, 39; II Chron. II, 3-16).

The Books of the Prophets,<sup>23</sup> though not primarily composed for historical purposes, nevertheless contain an immense amount of historical information. For example, the first Isaiah, who lived on into the time of King Hezekiah (715-686 B.C.), in the second half of the eighth century B.C., announces in the first part of the book (chs. 1-39) that the Kingdom of Judah will resist Assyria only to fall later under the domination of the Chaldaeans. But the second Isaiah (chs. 40-66) holds out the hope of a restoration and return from captivity, which historically took place in 588 B.C. Jeremiah (about 627-527 B.C.), who is contemporary with King Josiah, the last sovereign of Judah, at the end of the seventh and beginning of the sixth century, during the trying time before and after the fall of Jerusalem, seeks to persuade his people that all resistance to Chaldaea is useless, as it is the will of God. Ezekiel, who lived in the first half of the sixth century, the period of the Exile, having been carried to Babylon in the first deportation in 597, though highly figurative in his forms of thought, nevertheless permits us to see something of the state of the Jews in Chaldaea. The Twelve Minor Prophets, each according to his time and place, from the eighth to the fifth century B.C., shadow forth the history of the time by their moral reflections upon men and events.

Of them all, Amos is historically the most interesting, for he vividly sets forth the causes for the decline of Israel: the strain on society due to growing wealth and poverty, religious degradation, depravation of morals and the influence of foreign customs. Hosea is most interested in politics, such as the conspiracies and assassinations, the distracted condition of the kingdom, the Assyrian alliances and Egyptian promises, the demoralization and corruption.

*Daniel* is not of the epoch of the Captivity, as it pretends, but in reality was written four centuries later in the Maccabean period—the second century B.C.—since the author evidently has knowledge of the

<sup>23</sup> The following dates are only approximate in many cases. From Amos to Habakkuk the prophets throw a great deal of light on the history of the Jewish monarchies, and supplement *Kings* and *Chronicles*.

755-745 B.C.	Amos	592-570 B.C.	Ezekiel (during the Exile)
745-735	Hosea	545-360	Isaiah, chs. 40-66 (exilic, post-exilic)
715-686	Isaiah, chs. 1-39	520	Haggai
715-686	Micah	520-518	Zechariah, chs. 1-8
626-586	Jeremiah	460	Malachi
625	Zephaniah	444-360	Joel
608	Nahum	300-280	Zechariah, chs. 9-14
625-608	Habakkuk	168-167	Daniel
586-536	Obadiah (during the Exile)		

conflict between the Ptolemies and the Seleucidae, and describes the religious persecution of the Jews by Antiochus IV (d. 163 B.C.). In this time Jewish historiography as found in the Apocrypha merges into the history of the Roman world.<sup>24</sup> These were tumultuous times: continual discord among the Jews themselves, the Maccabean wars, the occupation of Palestine by mercenary troops, the misgovernment of Roman procurators, the heavy toll of taxation, Parthian raids, the rise of the Zealots with its disastrous consequences. In contrast with these disastrous conditions we find evidences of the benign influence of Platonic and Stoic philosophy, which tinged the Wisdom literature of the epoch, together with the tradition of the Wisdom of Zoroaster, which lived on during the long period between Alexander and the rise of the house of Sasan. The moral value of this literature is greater than the historical information embodied in it. Scholars have a depreciatory attitude towards the historicity of I and II Maccabees.

Unfortunately hardly a vestige of the historical records of the Phoenicians after Sanchoniatho has survived, although we know that there must have once been much archive material. Whatever be the origin of the Phoenicians their language belongs to the Semitic group. This fact is attested by St. Augustine. But the only documents in the Phoenician language which have come down to us are some names of men and gods, geographical names, and most valuable of all, inscriptions, which are almost always of a religious character, although notable exceptions which have not been preserved are the account of the famous voyage of Hanno, graven upon a column of the temple of Baal at Carthage, the treaty of Hannibal with Philip of Macedon, and the great bi-lingual inscription in Phoenician and Greek deposited by Hannibal in the Temple of Juno at Lacineum, which gave an account of his campaigns. Unfortunately, Strabo, Polybius, and other authors who used these documents have given us nothing but summaries of translations of them.

The study of Phoenician inscriptions dates from the middle of the eighteenth century. In 1759 the abbé Barthélemy, author of the *Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis*, established the basis of decipherment by determining the value of the letters of the Phoenician alphabet. This pathbreaking work was continued by Gesenius, who published his *Monumenta Phoeniciana* in 1837. Since then the number of Phoenician inscriptions has increased, particularly through the efforts of Renan

<sup>24</sup> For the historical value of the Apocrypha, see Edgar J. Goodspeed, *The Apocrypha, an American Translation* (Chicago, 1938); W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Books of the Apocrypha, Their Origin, Teaching, and Contents* (London, 1915); W. N. Stearns, *Fragments from Graeco-Jewish Writers* (Chicago, 1908).

and Waddington, who founded the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*; today at least 4000 Phoenician inscriptions are known.

These inscriptions cover a space of nearly twelve centuries from the eighth or ninth century B.C. to the fourth century after Christ. Most of them pertain to the period between the sixth century B.C. and the second century A.D. In Phoenicia itself and the eastern Mediterranean they cease in the first century A.D., but in Africa and the Carthaginian colonies, the Roman domination really assisted the spread of Punic epigraphy. The inscriptions of this period are distinguished from the earlier, being called Libyco-Punic, Numidian, or more often, Neo-Punic. Christian sources furnish some historical information, particularly the itineraries of the pilgrims, the martyrologies, the acts of some councils, and the writings of the African fathers of the Church.

The Phoenicians preserved in the temples lists of the kings, town annals, and accounts of important events. The correspondence of Solomon and Hiram, King of Tyre, is alluded to in Scripture. It is evident that the Phoenician archives survived the siege of Tyre by Alexander the Great; for the Jewish historian Josephus, who wrote late in the first century A.D., says: "For many years past the people of Tyre have kept public records, compiled and very carefully preserved by the state, of the memorable events in their internal history and in their relations with foreign nations."<sup>25</sup>

When Greece began to know the East, she used the writing of Phoenician historians, especially three—Mochus, Hypsicrates, and Theodotus, whose works were translated into Greek. Eudemus often cites the first, whose history, like most ancient chronicles, began with the creation and contained much that was fabulous.

The history of the Phoenicians of Carthage is better known than that of the mother city. Phoenician historical literature had a grand development at Carthage, whose statesmen were biographers and historians. Thus, Hilmilco wrote an account of his voyage along the west coast of Europe and Hanno that of his exploration of the west coast of Africa. The Numidian princes followed this precedent, and their historical and geographical writings are not infrequently cited by Aristotle, Sallust, and Servius, who have preserved some fragments. Cicero, in his speech against Verres, informs us that Massinissa spoke and wrote Punic, and Sallust alludes to a *History of Numidia*, written in the Punic tongue by Hiempsal. These facts are confirmed by the great Neo-Punic inscription in honor of Micipsa. But the most famous literature of Carthage was that relating to economics. The celebrated general Mago, who has been called the father of agriculture, in the fifth century B.C. wrote a treatise

<sup>25</sup> *Against Apion*, I, 17 (tr. of H. St. J. Thackeray in the Loeb Classical Library); cp. I, 21.

on agriculture in twenty-eight books which was translated into Latin by order of the Roman Senate.<sup>26</sup> Another treatise upon the same subject was composed by Hamilcar, the son of Mago. These treatises, translated into Latin, became the chief sources of a similar literature among the Romans and inspired Varro's *De re rustica* and even Vergil's *Georgics*.

After the fall of Carthage the Punic tongue was spread by Roman civilization and flourished so fully that the sister of Alexander Severus, who was a Phoenician of Leptis, could barely speak Latin. The information given by St. Augustine upon the prevalence of the Punic language is most interesting. He shows that in the beginning of the fifth century Punic was still so much the language of the people that it was necessary for the Church to use it. The Donatists probably possessed the entire Bible in the Phoenician tongue, but no example of it has come down to us owing to the persecution of this heresy by the orthodox faith. Little by little the language was driven from the cities until it became a *lingua rustica* in the time of Justinian.

Our knowledge of the history of ancient Persia unfortunately is confined wholly to classical writers, who must be taken with caution, and a few inscriptions. The written records have wholly perished. The native Persian history that survives is preserved in inscriptions, yet it is beyond doubt that history was well developed among the Persians and their archive material once abundant.

The books of *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, and *Esther* show that the ancient Persians were well acquainted with the legal and historical value of official records, and it was possible to write a history of Persia from the records as late as the times of Alexander the Great (330 B.C.). Besides the familiar allusion to "the laws of the Medes and Persians" in *Esther* I, 19, and *Daniel* VI, 8, 12, 15, we find the "Chronicles of the Kings of Persia" and the "Book of Records" cited. In *Esther* VI, 1 we read that King Ahasuerus, being unable to sleep, "commanded to bring the book of records of the chronicles," and that the plot against the king's life which was frustrated by Esther and Mordecai "was written in the Book of the Chronicles." The Persian archives were kept in the House of Rolls, with the treasure, and, at least so far as the captive Jews were concerned, there were careful genealogical registers kept. There was a chancellor and scribes wrote "to the ruler of every people of every province, according to the writing thereof; and to every people after their language." The letters of the Persian rulers, as a matter of course, were preserved.

Until the nineteenth century, beyond the information in the books of the Bible and in Herodotus and the fragments of Ctesias, a Greek physi-

<sup>26</sup> TEUFFEL, I, sec. 54, 1.



cian at the Persian court, nothing was known of the history of the ancient Persians from their own original records. The Greeks, though they knew the Persian language, unfortunately left no means of reading it through Greek, although Herodotus relates that Darius perpetuated his passage of the Hellespont by a plate graven with Babylonian, Persian, and Greek characters, and Thucydides speaks of letters in Persian characters sent to the Spartan envoys, which were intercepted by the Athenians and translated at Athens. After the break-up of Alexander's empire a Chaldaean priest named Berossus, as has been mentioned, translated some of the records of his country into Greek for his patron Antiochus of Syria. We know, too, that the *Ephemerides* of Alexander and his successors were imitations of the annals which the priests of ancient Persia wrote up of each reign.

The Persians called themselves Irani and their country Iran, of which Parsa, the Persis of the Greeks, the modern Fars, was a province—but a province from which proceeded the two greatest dynasties, the Achaemenid in the sixth century B.C., and the Sassanian in the third century A.D.

Darius defeated and took prisoner Gaumate "who made Pars (Persia) to rebel." This is the oldest recorded event in Persian history. Darius was the earliest Mede known to history, but the Median power must have gone back to about 700 B.C. The literary remains of the ancient Persians have perished. Only their inscriptions survive—a meager cluster of historical evidences. Of the Old Persian language not more than four hundred words are known. On the other hand there is a considerable body of literature, chiefly theological and liturgical, dating from the Sassanian period, whose language "is little more than a very archaic form of the present speech of Persia devoid of the Arabic element. It is generally known as Pahlawi, sometimes as Middle Persian." <sup>27</sup>

The continuity of the annals of ancient Persia was twice broken, first by the Macedonian conquest in 330 B.C. when Alexander wantonly destroyed Persepolis, and secondly by the Parthian conquest whose domination endured from 150 B.C. to 226 A.D., when a new Persian dynasty, the Sassanian, recovered the rule of the country.

The Parthians were a race of hardy horsemen like the modern Turko-mans and dwelt beyond the Persian deserts in the region south-east of the Caspian. In Alexander's time Parthia proper and Hyrcania along the Caspian formed a Persian satrapy. Unlike the Bactrians, the Parthians never assimilated Greek culture and retained the habits of "a

<sup>27</sup> E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia from the Earliest Times until Firdawsi* (New York, 1902), 7.

horde of mounted shepherds equally skilled in the management of their steeds and the use of the bow." About the middle of the third century B.C. the Bactrians and Parthians threw off the Macedonian domination and their independence was achieved in 248 B.C. This Parthian or Arsacid monarchy named for the Parthian chieftain Arsaces endured until 226 A.D. when it was supplanted by the Sassanian dynasty. Ancient Iran ended with the fall of the Parthian Empire. The Sassanids in 227 A.D. began the history of medieval Persia.

It is easy to understand why Alexander's history and that of his Seleucid successors play so little a part in Muslim literature. In Pahlavi tradition, that is to say in later Persian tradition, he figures as the accursed conqueror because he destroyed the ancient Persian books and put the priests to death. In those two acts of wantonness Alexander destroyed the evidence which, if we had it, might rescue ancient Persian history from the darkness which enshrouds it.

## CHAPTER II

### ANCIENT GREEK HISTORIOGRAPHY<sup>1</sup>

“ALL our historical writing rests on foundations laid by the Greeks, as absolutely as does all our natural science. . . . Thousands of years before the Greeks . . . Egypt and Mesopotamia possessed records which amounted to a kind of chronicle, but the decisive step to a real historical literature seems never to have been taken there. . . . All the ancient Semites are lacking in exactly that quality through which the Greeks made the writing of history into a conscious art.”<sup>2</sup> Even among the Greeks this development came late. Plato was convinced of the recency of all recorded Greek history, and modern scholarship has sustained him in that opinion. Historical records of the Greek world do not go back to a distant period.

In ancient Greece history developed under the double inspiration of poetry and eloquence, and was born in Ionia. It is a significant fact that the place of birth of Greek epic is also the homeland of the world's first great history. The first successors of Homer were the Cyclic poets, whose works mark a new stage in literature, in which the imaginative-ness of the preceding poetic era begins to give way to more positive delineation of actual events, so that their productions insensibly approach a narrative form. Herbert Spencer, among many foolish things, also said some wise things, and one of them is that “the mythological theory tacitly assumes that some clear division can be made between legend and history, instead of recognizing the truth that, in the narrative of events, there is a slowly increasing ratio of truth to error. Ignoring the necessary implication that before definite history numerous partially true stories must be current, it recognizes no long series of partially distorted traditions of events.”

The sixth century B.C. was an epoch of intellectual transition, when the Greek mind began to pass over from forms of poetic thought to a

<sup>1</sup> The best single work is BURY; see also Leonard Whibley, ed., *A Companion to Greek Studies* (3rd ed., Cambridge, 1916), secs. 165-70; Arnold J. Toynbee, *Greek Historical Thought from Homer to the Age of Heracilius* (London and New York, 1924), a book of excerpts from the great Greek historians, with a valuable introduction; Moritz Ritter, “Die antike Geschichtschreibung,” *HZ*, LIV (1885), 1-41; Wilhelm Schmid and Otto Stählin, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* (Munich, 1929-34, 2 v.), I, 683-714, II, 550-706; H. W. G. Peter, *Wahrheit und Kunst, Geschichtschreibung und Plagiat im klassischen Altertum* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1911), 37-272.

<sup>2</sup> Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Greek Historical Writing and Apollo*, tr. by Gilbert Murray (Oxford, 1908: Oxford lectures on classical subjects, no. 3), 5-6.

more reflective, though still poetic, type. During this period the earliest prose writers appear, and the first philosophic systems worthy of the name. Geography and chronology begin to become distinct.

This change was the natural result of the development of a more intensive civilization. By the side of poetry, there began to multiply evidences of a more reliable sort, such as epitaphs, lists of magistrates and priests, genealogies of reigning families, and even treaties of peace and alliance. These evidences acted as a check upon imaginative treatment, and furnished forth information that was the truth.

The critical and rationalistic spirit of Ionia evolved history out of the genealogical, local, and geographical epic. The "father of history" was Hecataeus of Miletus, who, "we may pretty confidently assume," was the source of Herodotus to an extent that Herodotus himself does not recognize. . . . The account of the Persian wars was, "we may conjecture," an answer to the challenge of the Ionian λόγος of Dionysius of Miletus, in which the Ionians were shown in a more favorable light and Athens played a less brilliant role.<sup>3</sup>

These earliest writers were called "logographoi." They reproduced in prose of simple form and without rhetorical adornment the oral tradition and legends relating to the origin of towns, peoples, princes, temples, etc., and were the chief sources of history before Herodotus. They were all Ionians except Acusilaus of Argos (ca. 500 B.C.).<sup>4</sup> The most important were Cadmus of Miletus (ca. 550), Hellanicus of Lesbos (ca. 482-397), Hecataeus of Miletus (ca. 550-478), Dionysius of Miletus, Charon of Lampsacus (ca. 470), and Pherecydes of Leros (ca. 450). Of all these logographers, the two Milesians and Charon of Lampsacus were much the most important. All three lived in Asian Greece and were eye-witnesses of the Persian invasion. Before hostilities began, Hecataeus had attempted to prevent the revolt of the Ionian cities.<sup>5</sup> In 494 B.C. he had been sent to Artaphernes, from whom he secured Persian recognition of certain liberties to the Ionian cities. He wrote two works, one a *Periegesis* in two books in which he used information derived from personal travel; it in particular described western Europe, Gaul, and Spain, and contained a map.<sup>6</sup>

Dionysius of Miletus was a contemporary of Hecataeus and a native

<sup>3</sup> From a review of BURY in *The Nation*, LXXXVIII (1909), 516.

<sup>4</sup> Lionel Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians* (Oxford University Press, 1939).

<sup>5</sup> "Ionian" was the general term in western Asia, especially Persia, for the Greeks (R. C. Jebb, *Beniley* [London and New York, 1889], 138). Cp. B. L. Gildersleeve's remark on Pindar in his edition of the *Olympian and Pythian Odes* (New York, 1885), p. xii: "It is no discredit to Pindar that he went honestly with his state in the struggle [between the Greeks and Persia]. It was no treason to medize before there was a Greece, and the Greece that came out of the Persian war was a very different thing from the cantons that ranged themselves on this side and that of a quarrel which, we may be sure, bore another aspect to those who stood aloof from it than it wears in the eyes of moderns, who have all learned to be hellenistic patriots."

<sup>6</sup> BURY, 8-18.

of the same town. His chief work seems to have been a history of Persia in five books entitled *Persica*. As an apparently sustained history of the Persian wars, its loss is infinitely to be regretted. Charon of Lampsacus wrote a *History of Persia* in two books and a *Greek History* in four books. Herodotus undoubtedly is indebted to the former, although he does not mention the author. It was crude history so far as may be judged from the fragments, which largely consist of lists of kings, priests, and magistrates, around whose names events are grouped. Still another writer whom Herodotus used without mention was Skylax. He was a native of Caria. In 508 B.C. he was sent by Darius to explore the mouth of the Indus River and the Arabian Sea and wrote an account of the enterprise now lost. Skylax was also the author of a life of Heracleides, an Asian Greek prince who supported Hellas against Xerxes. "How far that work was biographical," says Bury, "we cannot tell, but it is at least noteworthy as the earliest Greek book we know of that made an individual the center of a historical narrative."

In Greece, the first home of historical composition, historical literature sprang from the first form of narrative history, ballad, and song. The logographers here mark the transition from myth to history. They give (after about 500) the subject-matter of the myth in prose, genealogically arranged, excluding in part what is too incredible. Their special subject is local history, their source of information concerning it the local myths. Their compositions, in part recited publicly on festive occasions, were designed to give artistic pleasure to the hearers.

Narrative history, therefore, is the oldest species of history. Though historical science has set up higher problems, this species never can become antiquated; it never will die out. Its justification is that it meets needs which are enduring. The need of historical material, arranged in the condensed form of tables, the need of preserving the memory of historical events, are permanent needs. That naive interest in marvellous adventure which springs from curiosity and imagination is also common to all ages. In consequence, historical works which chiefly or exclusively consider these needs and interests may be found in every period. No historian, indeed, who puts the results of his investigation into literary form can wholly ignore the appeal to imagination and curiosity. Open Herodotus, and on the first page, under the simplicity of his prose, the important purpose to tell the truth about what he knows is expressed. The persistence of this principle—fidelity to truth in Greek historiography—is most marked, and gives that dignity to Greek history which Gibbon praised.

The Greeks wrote history of all characters and of all dimensions. The history of men or of things, of great nations and small cities uni-

versal annals and local chronicles, political, literary, and military memoirs; there is nothing which they forgot or ignored. Yet to the end of Greek literature the prevailing purpose of Greek historians remained constant—to give information. The Greeks first learned the art of writing real history, and perceived its purposes, its duties, its laws. The Greeks were the originators of history as they were of science and philosophy. European historiography need go no further back.

It is singular to observe how interested the Greeks always were in contemporary history, and how indifferent to their past history they soon grew to be. They had very little interest in their origins. They were content with what they actually were. Their curiosity extended back no farther than a few generations when they believed that they had sprung from the gods. When Hecataeus the first historian of Greece was in Egypt, he explained to the priests that he was descended by fifteen generations from a divine progenitor, whereupon they pointed to the statues of an hereditary line of high priests of Thebes extending through three hundred and forty-five generations. Plato in the *Timaeus* relates an incident about Solon which illustrates this. He says that Solon, on inquiring from the Egyptian priests, found that neither himself nor any other Greek knew anything of their ancient history. "The Greeks are in their childhood," said the priest. "You have not among you one ancient teaching derived from your fathers, nor one branch of knowledge covered with the hoar of time." The Greek perspective was an astonishingly foreshortened one when compared with the enormous vista of time visible to the Egyptian imagination. The Greek mind sought nothing beyond the Trojan War and the divinely begotten heroes of that event. The ethnological speculations at the beginning of Thucydides' history are almost unique in Greek literature, and even they are not carried far into the prehistoric period.

With Herodotus the logographer was merged with the historian. It is worth observing that Herodotus was a Carian of Ionic culture; Thucydides was half-Thracian. Greek historiography was never predominantly Attic.

The core of Herodotus<sup>7</sup> is the conflict between the Greeks and the

<sup>7</sup> There are translations by George Rawlinson (various ed., as New York, 1909, 4 v.; or Everyman's Library, 2 v.), G. C. Macaulay (London and New York, 1904, 2 v.), Henry Cary (various ed.; the one issued at New York, 1889, has a critical and biographical introduction by Basil L. Gildersleeve), and A. D. Godley (London and New York, 1921-24, 4 v.: Loeb Classical Library). G. B. Grundy, *The Great Persian War and Its Preliminaries* (New York and London, 1901), ch. xiv; BURY, 36-74; Max Pohlenz, *Herodot, der erste Geschichtschreiber des Abendlandes* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1937), and more briefly in *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, XII (1936), 417-18; Schmid and Stählin (see n. 1 above), II, 550-673(!); J. E. Powell, *The History of Herodotus* (Cambridge, 1939); J. P. Mahaffy, *Problems in Greek History* (London and New York, 1892), ch. v, and his *Prolegomena to Ancient History* (London, 1871), essay 1; Alfred Croiset, "Hérodote et la conception moderne de l'histoire," *RDM*, XCIX (1890), 173-202, and Alfred and

Persians; since Croesus was the first prince of Asia who attacked the Greeks, Herodotus gives his genealogy, recounts his greatness and fall, and then as the Lydians had come under the yoke of Cyrus, he describes the rise of the Median Empire and the history of Cyrus. With the death of Cyrus the Persian power passed to Cambyses, who conquered Asia and Egypt; this fact induces him to describe Egypt. The ambition of Darius and especially of Xerxes to conquer Hellas brings him back to Greece again.

The last two books of Herodotus, as Mr. Macan has proved, were composed first, probably in the years 456-445 B.C., prior to his travels in Egypt and Babylonia. The unity of Herodotus is the first striking fact; the second is the spirit he displays. In spite of credulity and ignorance of other languages save his own, and a lack of scientific method, nevertheless intelligent curiosity,<sup>8</sup> sincerity, and good judgment distinguish the work.

As a story-teller Herodotus has never been surpassed. He is so close to the epic age that he has preserved the simplicity, the naturalness, and the charm of poetry, and is a poet as well as an historian. He wrote in the Ionian dialect; his vocabulary is clear and simple, and abounds with religious and poetic expressions. His style is easy, familiar, and graceful. As Herodotus is the father of history, so also is he the father of prose composition.

The primary purpose of all Greek historiography was to impart information. The insatiable curiosity and inquiring nature of the Greek mind ran true to form to the end of the classical epoch. But the "father of history" gave a dignity to historiography which it had not hitherto possessed. Far more than any other writer before him he was

Maurice Croiset, *An Abridged History of Greek Literature* (tr. by G. F. Heffebower, New York and London, 1904), 265-74; Egger, "Des documents qui ont servi aux historiens grecs," *Revue politique et littéraire*, sér. 2, 4. année (1874), 587-91; E. Revillout, "Hérodote et les oracles égyptiens," *RQH*, LXVI (1899), 45-58; R. W. Macan's ed. of Herodotus, Bks. IV-VI and VII-IX (London and New York, 1905, 1908); George Grote, *A History of Greece* (London, 1907, 10 v.), I, 350-61; Ernst Curtius, *The History of Greece*, tr. by A. W. Ward (New York, 1867-72, 5 v.), II, 549-54; K. O. Müller, *History of the Literature of Ancient Greece to Isocrates*, tr. by G. C. Lewis (new ed., London, 1847), ch. xix; Amédée Hauvette, *Hérodote, historien des guerres médiques* (Paris, 1894), esp. 1-62, 491-507.

<sup>8</sup> An example is found in Bk. II, 19-22 (Godley's tr.) on the problem of the Nile. "Concerning its nature," Herodotus says, "neither from the priests nor from any others could I learn anything. Yet I was zealous to hear from them why it is that the Nile comes down with a rising flood for a hundred days from the summer solstice, and when this tale of days is complete sinks again with a diminishing stream, so that the river is low for the whole winter till the summer solstice again. Concerning this matter none of the Egyptians could tell me anything, when I asked them what power the Nile has to be contrary in nature to all other rivers." Herodotus rejected three hypotheses advanced by Greeks about the matter; especially he could not believe the conjecture that the rising of the Nile was due to melting of snows in Central Africa. "How then can it flow from snow, seeing that it comes from the hottest places to lands that are for the most part colder?" This explanation we now know to be the right one; but no one then knew of the high mountain ranges in Central Africa which are the abode of eternal snow even in the tropics.

able to improvise an ordered tale out of the enormous disarray of facts which passed for history before his time. As a consummate narrator Herodotus has never been surpassed. He established that type of narrative history which is the first and oldest type. Herodotus conceived the idea that history was more than an array of striking and disconnected facts, and that under their apparent disorder there was a unity and an association, and that the function of the historian was to distinguish greater from lesser facts and to associate them together in proper order. That "dignity of history" which he deeply felt also makes Herodotus a moralist. Throughout his narrative he sets forth the wisdom of those who govern; he makes history teach by example. No history has ever had a nobler proem.

These are the researches of Herodotus of Halicarnassus which he publishes in the hope of thereby preserving from decay the remembrance of what men have done, and of preventing the great and wonderful actions of the Greeks and Barbarians from losing their due meed of glory, and withal to put on record what have been their grounds of feud.

The entire work of Herodotus is in nine books, each of which bears the name of one of the Muses, a fact which in itself shows how intimate was the early association between history and epic poetry. In composing it he wove into it the traditions, songs, and stories of the past of the Greek world. In spite of the narrative and anecdotal qualities the history has an incontestable unity. What distinguishes Herodotus' writing is that it displays a power of co-ordination and synthesis foreign to his predecessors, and foreshadows the dawn of critical writing in spite of the naive quality. Although we may think Herodotus credulous, he was above his age in critical spirit. He not infrequently expresses himself as being skeptical of certain monuments which he encounters in his travels. He knew that the chief sanctuaries of Greece were filled with spurious inscriptions. Thus at Delphi, the Lacedaemonians appropriated to themselves, by means of a false inscription, the honor of an offering made to the god by King Croesus (I, 51). He knew the historical value of inscriptions. He mentions a monument erected at Delphi by the Greeks after the battle of Plataea (IX, 81). Later this monument was moved to Byzantium, where it was discovered in the nineteenth century; and upon it may still be read in archaic characters the names of the thirty-one Greek states who took part in this decisive victory of Greece over Asia.<sup>9</sup> The oldest evidence for the battle of Marathon was the painting by Polygnotos which Herodotus had seen.

Of all historical writers who have lived, Herodotus has approached

<sup>9</sup> See W. W. How and J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus* (Oxford, 1928, 2 v.) on this passage.



nearest to immortality. In the third century A.D. Lucian of Samosata wrote: "I devoutly wish that Herodotus' other characteristics were imitable: not all of them, of course—that is past praying for—, but any one of them: the agreeable style, the constructive skill, the native charm of his Ionic, the sententious wealth, or any of a thousand beauties which he combined into one whole, to the despair of imitators."<sup>10</sup>

The history of the Persian wars was also written from Persian historical sources in the fifth century B.C. by Ctesias, a Greek who dwelt seventeen years at the court of Artaxerxes Memnon as court physician. According to Xenophon he was present at the battle of Cunaxa in 401. In 398 he returned to his native land. During his long stay abroad he had diligently collected historical materials from the Persian archives on the basis of which he wrote a history of the Persians, *Persica*, in twenty-three books. The first six books covered the history of the Assyrians and the Medes down to the founding of the Persian Empire; the next seven recounted the history of Persia down to the death of Xerxes, and the remainder the history of Persia down to 398 B.C. Pamphila, an obscure historian in the reign of Nero, made an abridgment of Ctesias in three books which also is lost. All that we have of Ctesias is an abridgment of Books 7–23 made by Photius, patriarch of Constantinople in the ninth century. But we get some idea of his importance from Plutarch's *Life of Artaxerxes* and from Diodorus of Sicily, who says that Ctesias quoted from thirty-four authors. Ctesias also wrote a work on India (*Indica*), of which Photius preserved some extracts. The loss of Ctesias' works may be regarded as one of the calamities of history, despite the adverse verdict upon his credibility by Plutarch,<sup>11</sup> Strabo,<sup>12</sup> and others. The severity of the criticism is partially to be explained by the fact that Ctesias designedly wrote in rejoinder to Herodotus, the idol of Greek historians of all ages, and partly owing to the fact that the sources of Ctesias were chiefly Persian, and thus represented an entirely different point of view. Indeed Ctesias is the only historian we know of who wrote from Persian official sources. Berossus and others used the priestly annals. Müller has shown that the *Indica* has been too harshly judged.<sup>13</sup>

An important contemporary of Herodotus was Hellanicus of Mitylene. Like Herodotus he was a great traveller and dwelt for some time at the semi-barbaric court of the Kings of Macedon. He was more a logographer than a true historian. His numerous works were chrono-

<sup>10</sup> From "Herodotus and Aetion," tr. by H. W. and F. G. Fowler, in *The Works of Lucian of Samosata* (Oxford, 1905, 4 v.), II, 90.

<sup>11</sup> In his *Artaxerxes*, ch. 1 and *passim*.

<sup>12</sup> Bk. XI, 6, 2–3.

<sup>13</sup> See his ed. of the fragments of Ctesias in the appendix to G. Dindorf's ed. of Herodotus (Paris, 1877), 8–9.

logical and provincial in dimension. His chief merit is that besides introducing a more definite chronology, Hellanicos also established a new kind of historical observation, *local history*. His history of Argos was the archetype of many provincial histories.

As *épopée* was one source of Greek historiography, so oratory was the other. Among the ancient Greeks, forensic oratory was an art of very high development. As it was cultivated by their greatest speakers, it was a practice which exercised great influence upon the writing of history. Originally public speaking among the Greeks had not been of a high order, being simple flattery or abusive invective, with appeal to religious sentiment and the superstitious feelings and grosser traditions of the Greeks. But in the conflict with Persia a new idea was born in Greece, the idea of civic consciousness and political solidarity. With this came a higher conception of law. The result of the change was that the orator's function acquired a new importance. In early times in Greece litigants were required to make their own defense or accusation, and as most men were without gifts of expression, and ignorant of the practices of the law, it became the custom for them to have recourse to men of rhetorical ability. The logographers were the first advocates as well as the first historians. The logographer would compose for his client a discourse which the latter learned by heart and recited as well as possible to the judges. The transition thence to the position of an advocate and public speaker was natural.

A critical survey of the facts was a cardinal principle of Attic oratory, as notably in the case of Demosthenes. In appearance this examination was wholly subjective in character. The speaker concealed his feelings and masked his own interest in the issue as much as possible. He had the air of pursuing truth for its own sake, with the disinterestedness of a philosopher. He aimed to analyze, to interpret facts. Even when the cause he advocated was not a just one, this practice was an excellent lesson in rhetoric, because it required an extraordinary arrangement of the facts and brilliant argument to win.

The first great Athenian orator was Antiphon (ca. 480-411 B.C.).<sup>14</sup> In his orations we find, after a prefatory survey of the facts, an extremely fine analysis of them and a minute consideration of their bearing one upon another, accompanied by terse yet complete narration. Argument drawn from the law is a striking feature in Antiphon. These are notable qualities in Thucydides, whose master Antiphon was, and

<sup>14</sup> See Thucydides, Bk. VIII, 68, 1; R. C. Jebb, *The Attic Orators from Antiphon to Isaeus* (London, 1893, 2 v.), I, ch. i; Whibley (see above, n. 1), sec. 172; Alfred and Maurice Croiset (see n. 7), 286-90; Curtius (see n. 7), II, 569, III, 338, 461, 488; BURY, 103, 120 f., 144, 179-80, and his *History of Greece to the Death of Alexander the Great* (London, 1900, many reprints), 427, 490, 493, 495-96; A. Croiset, in *RCC*, XIII (1904-05), pt. i, 730-38, pt. ii, 153-60.

there is an undeniable resemblance in their manner of writing. There are in Antiphon whole phrases that one could easily believe had been written by Thucydides. They have the same style, sober and concise. By the doctrine of evidence the influence of one upon the other is incontestable. But another striking proof is that Thucydides himself, who was usually opposed to all digression, has given us an extended portrait of Antiphon in Book VIII, chapter 68.

Narrative history has the merit of telling what happened. But the reflective mind wishes also to know *how* things happen and *why* things happen. Thucydides was only thirteen years younger than Herodotus, but the difference in mental attitude between them is very great. For Thucydides was at least as much interested in ascertaining causes, discovering motives, explaining processes, as he was in narrating events. He believed in studying events as facts which were attached one to the other in a rational, ordered way. When positive sources of information failed he applied Anaxagoras' process of inverse reasoning, and reasoned backward from the known to the unknown in endeavor to find the probable cause or causes of an event. Thucydides in a word applied the principles of Greek critical philosophy to history, and this is his greatest eminence. He eliminated statements which were grounded on mere credulity. He treated the oracles with the skepticism of an eighteenth-century rationalist. His attitude towards natural phenomena is the same. He blames Nicias for being influenced by an eclipse of the moon. He ruthlessly rules out myth and legend and even tradition has little weight with him. The weakest point in Thucydides' method is his chronology, for his "summer-and-winter" system is very confusing. He may be pardoned for his pragmatism, for his moral observations are of a high and penetrating nature, and free from that utilitarianism which characterizes Roman historiography or the edificatory quality of Christian historiography.

The immense originality of Thucydides<sup>15</sup> lies in his constructive method of research and the application of his arguments. In Thucydides, as Thomas Hobbes in his masterly seventeenth-century transla-

<sup>15</sup> Excellent translations of Thucydides by Benjamin Jowett (various ed.; 2nd rev., Oxford, 1900, 2 v.), and by C. F. Smith (London and New York, 1919-23, 4 v., rev. reissue, 1928-33: Loeb Classical Library). W. H. Forbes, *Thucydides, Book I* (Oxford, 1895), with a long introduction, pp. xi-xxxii; F. M. Cornford, *Thucydides mythistoricus* (London, 1907); BURY, 75-149; G. B. Grundy, *Th. and the History of His Age* (London, 1911); B. W. Henderson, *The Great War Between Athens and Sparta, A Companion to the Military History of Th.* (London, 1927); Fr. Cauer, "Th. und seine Vorgänger," *HZ*, LXXXIII (1899), 385-422; B. Gildersleeve, *American Journal of Philology*, XXXVI (1915), 103-08; Adolf Holm, *The History of Greece* (tr. from the German, London and New York, 1894-98, 4 v.), II, 435-39; W. Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* (5th ed., rev. by W. Schmid and O. Stählin, Munich, 1908-13, 2 v. in 3 pts.), secs. 252-58; Whibley (see n. 1), sec. 167; consult also, of the works named in n. 7 above, Müller, ch. xxiv, Hauvette, 65-77, A. and M. Croiset, 295-305, and the two chapters cited from Mahaffy.

tion said, "the faculty of writing history is at the highest." In the preface of his history, he has given a brief statement of his political philosophy. He believed in studying events as facts which were attached one to the other in permanent order. It is clear that he is conscious of this new conception, so different from that of his predecessors. "As for my narrative," he writes of himself, "it is not derived from any chance source, nor have I trusted to my own impressions only. It rests partly on my own experiences and things I have seen with my own eyes, partly on the witness of others, which I have verified by the severest and most minute tests possible. This has been laborious; for eye-witnesses had not always the same tale to tell of identical events; sometimes, too, memory served badly, or there was prejudice in one direction or another. My *History*, I know, might have been more interesting had I made it more romantic; but I shall be satisfied if it proves useful to investigators who wished to know exactly how things happened in the past."

In his selection of facts, Thucydides had positive rules of guidance. He eliminated statements which could not be grounded on anything deeper than popular credulity, and imaginary causes in explanation of events. For example: he is almost brutal in the way he rules out the Greek legends. He believed that the first duty of the historian was to suppress pseudo-facts, which were the creation of the imagination of the poets and soothsayers. Legend is too readily believed by men and truth too little sought after. An example is the story of the expedition of the Argonauts. He considered that as belonging to the legendary period in the history of Greece. On the other hand, Thucydides regarded myths as being at bottom statements of historical facts which the mists of time had transfigured. He states clearly in the following passage his concept of the purpose of history. "The absence of everything mythical from my work perhaps will make it less agreeable to those who hear it read. I shall be contented, however, if it appears useful to those who wish to have a clear idea of the past and hence of the conditions and events which according to the course of human affairs, will be repeated." In conscious contrast to the poetically attractive history of Herodotus and of the logographers he wished to draw from past situations practical instruction concerning those of the present. He undertook, accordingly, to discover in the relations and endeavors of states and parties the reasons and causes of these situations.

Pragmatic history, therefore, centers attention on the motives, purposes, and ends which appear in events. It views events as the results of conscious intentions. It traces them back largely to human wishes and passions, to purely psychological conditions. It does not aim to

know simply what has happened, but seeks to know how, for what reason, with what purpose it happened. There is no instance in Thucydides of the apparition of the gods. His attitude towards natural phenomena is rational. His treatment of an eclipse of the moon, for example, shows an intellectual independence that is striking. He blames Nicias for his superstition.

His statements as to the wealth and resources of Athens are precise, especially those with regard to Athenian revenue and taxation. Thucydides' acute observations show the practical soldier, as for example the importance of bringing up reinforcements at the right moment; the importance of finding out an enemy's weak point. But he is no advocate of "drum and trumpet" history. Not every brave man wants war; no wise man believes in war except as a last alternative; he perceives the demoralization caused by war and has a heart for its misery.

The same keenness of insight is observable in his comments upon the Athenian sea-power. Indeed, Thucydides may be said to have created the philosophy of sea-power with reference to the state. He finds the importance of the Trojan War, the first common action of Hellas, largely in the fact that it was an expression of sea-power. He discusses early Greek navies and the progress of naval architecture and dwells at length upon the importance of its navy to Athens, contrasting the unskillfulness of earlier tactics with Athenian naval tactics. He emphasizes the importance of numbers in battle. In Homer there are numerous picturesque descriptions of combats, but in these poetic descriptions which served as models to historians before Thucydides, no scientific explanation interested the poet. There is no evidence that the *Iliad* served as a model for Thucydides.

Thucydides was the first historian of Greece to appreciate the strategy of war as a feature of history. Again, Thucydides was a remarkable historian because of the appreciation he had of the value and bearing of economic matters for history. This comes out in his discussions of war. In Herodotus wars appear as a matter of course, but are described as a mere series of battles only. In the eyes of Thucydides the financial question becomes an essential factor in war. According to him it is impossible to sustain a long war, or to support a fleet without a treasury. He makes Pericles say this in a speech pronounced when the Lacedaemonians invaded Attica. The people of Athens already had complained of the heavy taxes in a great mass meeting. In the midst of the general discontent, Pericles appears and justifies his course in a discourse which Thucydides reports in indirect style but which admirably sets forth the historian's economic opinions. He was a keen observer of social phenomena and perceived the historical

element in them. For example, he observes that ancient cities were small and resembled scattered villages, but that in the older civilization of Ionia the cities were unfortified. He surveys the history of colonization, especially that of Sicily. Of the same character are his comments on trade. There was little trade in ancient Hellas; its growth is an index of civilization. He contrasts land trade and maritime commerce, especially that between Egypt and Athens, Africa and Greece, and the important corn trade at Athens. Thucydides eliminates all supernatural and visionary influence in history. He will not admit the intervention of divine power in human affairs. In the first book, comparing the Peloponnesian War with former conflicts, he attacks the credibility of Homer. He discarded the processes of all preceding historians and analyzed human nature and society in order to discover causes. But it would be far from true to believe that Thucydides' rationalization disparaged the importance of moral forces in history.

In a passage of the famous funeral oration of Pericles, he shows that moral force is a necessary condition of a successful state, that it is only won by slow acquisition and by centuries of effort, and is an indispensable condition of civilization.

As a moralist Thucydides ranks among the great writers of the world. Justice is better than expediency; nemesis follows upon good fortune; God protects the right; love of fame often lures to destruction; to power nothing is inconsistent which is expedient; political injustice is worse than violence; the "letter of the law killeth"; might does not make right; human nature is prone to transgression and to domineer over the weak, to be credulous, jealous, fickle, prone to error, vain, but fundamentally the same always. The death penalty will not frustrate; too severe punishment is inexpedient; revenge, though sweet, is not always successful, though it may be just.

Of the same great analytic power is his diagnosis of the motives and conduct of political parties. Thucydides believed in popular government and hated oligarchy and tyranny, but he was not deceived in the nature and weakness of democratic government. While believing that the people are the best judge of a matter, he perceives the weakness of democracy. Democracy is preferable to oligarchy, which quickly falls under private ambition and tends to cruelty and injustice. He sees the progress of Athens in her hatred of oligarchies. He had a clear idea of the nature of the state. A state cannot be cut off like a family; it cannot be abandoned and personal ambition cannot be separated from sovereignty.

Thucydides' mastery of a terse, sinewy, flexible style enabled him to formulate his thought often with sententious brevity; his phrases have

the terseness of an apothegm; they crack like a rifle-shot. His style is fluent and noble to a great degree. Few things in literature exceed Pericles' funeral oration in elevation of thought combined with grandeur of expression. "The whole earth is the sepulchre of famous men"—perhaps the most quoted sentence in Thucydides, is but one of many similar examples.

As to Thucydides' method, his truthfulness and painstaking endeavors to be accurate are very apparent. There are frequent allusions to documents and inscriptions which he consulted, as the treaties of peace recorded on tablets in the Acropolis, the inscription commemorating the oppression of the tyrants, the intercepted letter of Artaphernes to Sparta, the famous dispatch of Nicias, the militia rolls at Athens. In this particular the testimony of the inscriptions sustains the authentic quality of Thucydides.

Thucydides exercised a profound and permanent influence not only upon history, but also upon eloquence. He was the first historian to introduce actual discourse in history. But the speeches in Thucydides are to be taken with a qualification. He composed his work to be read and took care to advise us that he is not producing a speech entire or exactly as it was delivered, but is giving the general sense of it.

This original conception of Thucydides had a great influence upon both orators and historians after him. These speeches are almost invariably of a political character, and in their invention we see the formation of a positive political science and its incorporation into historical narrative. Modern historians are severe in criticism and in the employment of the documents upon which their narrative rests. Consequently, they have excluded from history these imaginary speeches with which Thucydides and Livy adorned their pages and which so many petty writers have so deplorably abused. But we fail to appreciate the purpose of Thucydides in resorting to this practice. When Pericles is suddenly made to speak in the midst of a calm recital of events, we do not learn what he actually said, nor was it the author's intention to give that impression. Thucydides merely accommodates his account to persons and circumstances, nothing more. In this respect the Romans imitated the Greeks, but not so successfully. Livy did not dare to introduce Cato's energetic and virile language into his narrative, nor Tacitus undertake to pronounce for Claudius that discourse which we may read today in the original in the celebrated inscription discovered at Lyons. A few daring writers, in spite of the tradition, did not hesitate to deplore this practice, as for example Cratippus, an Athenian contemporary with Thucydides, who is cited as an authority for the history of the years 411-394 B.C.

The third eminent historian of Greece in the days of its greatness, Xenophon (ca. 430–350),<sup>16</sup> was more versatile, but not so deep a thinker as Thucydides, nor, in spite of his brilliant narrative style, so fascinating as Herodotus. Xenophon is not an historian of the first class, but he was intelligent, honest, sane in his judgment, and straightforward and clear in his narrative. He cultivated by turns philosophy, sports, especially the chase, upon which he wrote a treatise, war, and farming. As the pupil of Socrates he is the author of the *Apology*, the *Memorabilia*, the *Banquet*; as an economist, of the *Economics*; as a man of politics, expressing his severe opinion of Greek democracy, of the *Republic of Sparta* and *Hiero*; as an historian properly so-called, of the *Anabasis*, the *Hellenica*, and *Agesilaus*. Finally Xenophon is even a novelist in the *Cyropaedia*, in which he proves himself to be a perfect story-teller.

The *Anabasis* recounts the march of the Ten Thousand under command of Cyrus the Younger, pretender to the Persian throne in 404–401 B.C., assisted by Greek mercenaries, across upper Asia; traces in detail the salient facts of the expedition; the battle of Cunaxa; and the death of Cyrus in 401; and the discouragement of the mercenaries, reduced to the last extremity in the crossing of Armenia through the snow. It is a masterpiece of narrative history, enriched by brilliant portraits and picturesque descriptions.

Xenophon's most ambitious historical effort was the *Hellenica*, intended to be a continuation of the work of Thucydides, in seven books, extending from the twenty-first year of the Peloponnesian War to the battle of Mantinea (363 B.C.). It is far inferior to Thucydides, being deficient both in exactness and impartiality, and what is curious in the case of Xenophon, is heavy in style. Its chief features are the character sketches of Epaminondas and Pelopidas.

His *Treatise on Horsemanship* is technical in its nature, and deals particularly with the duties of a cavalry commander.

The *Economics* is a series of dialogues divided into two parts. In the first, Socrates discusses with Critobolus the principles of private economy, in which he defines economics as primarily the art of administering one's house well. There is a superb eulogy of agriculture put into Socrates' mouth. In the second part, Xenophon purports to write of a conversation with a friend and dwells particularly upon the education of women, with whom household economics should be the primary fact of education. A little treatise on the revenues of Attica was a work of Xenophon's old age, in which he discusses the means of increasing the public revenue and throws much light upon the financial

<sup>16</sup> Xenophon's works have been translated by C. L. Brownson, O. J. Todd, and E. C. Marchant (London and New York, 1914–25, 5 v.: Loeb Classical Library).



resources of the Athenians. The rest of Xenophon's writings, except the *Cyropaedia*, are of the nature of political tracts. The *Hiero* condemns vain and violent tyranny. The *Republic of Sparta* is an ingenious argument in favor of the Lacedaemonian form of legislation, an enthusiastic commentary of the work of Lycurgus; and indirectly a condemnation of the Athenian democracy. The *Life of Agesilaus* is a panegyric. It recounts his exploits in Europe and Asia, praises his virtues, his patriotism, his nobleness of mind. The style is sometimes monotonous by reason of its over-eloquence.

In the *Cyropaedia* or the *Education of Cyrus the Great*, Xenophon resorts to a method of fiction not unlike Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, and endeavors to trace the model of a just government and the duty and function of a prince philosophically educated. The eight books which compose this historical romance fall into three parts. The first part covers the youth of Cyrus, in which the author dilates upon the value of education; the second relates his conquests; the third displays him as the monarch of Asia, a philosopher upon a throne.

Another minor historian of the age of Herodotus and Thucydides was Ion of Chios, who died at Athens in 422 B.C. He was half poet, half historian, and wrote a history of his native country. He was a boy in Cimon's time, and imbibed a detestation of democracy therefrom. A little later, and from Ionia, too, comes Stesimbrotus, the author of biographies of Themistocles, Thucydides, and Pericles, the vogue for which Xenophon had created. But none of these exhibits the integrity and truthful spirit of Herodotus and Thucydides. Instead they reflect the partisan political spirit of the age. Of an entirely different nature is the account of the voyages of Pytheas of Massilia, the Navigator, a citizen of the ancient Greek colony of Massilia (Marseilles). About 330 B.C. he made a voyage of discovery and trade to Britain and later one to the Baltic for amber. Fragments of his account of these two voyages are to be found in Strabo, Pliny, and other ancient geographers. He was the first to give an account of the Germans. "By an irony of fate the works of Eratosthenes and Timaeus who believed him are lost, while those of Polybius and Strabo who did not, remain."<sup>17</sup> No less than Columbus, Pytheas discovered a new world.

With the beginning of the fourth century B.C., that is to say after Xenophon, Greek historiography begins to show signs of change. We detect at this time the earliest evidences of that rhetorical form of historical composition which emanated from the School of Isocrates and which was carried to such an extreme in the Alexandrian period.

<sup>17</sup> C. F. Angus, "Pytheas of Marseilles," *Greece and Rome*, III (1933-34), 172, the entire article, 165-72.

Isocrates (died 338 B.C.) was a contemporary of Demosthenes and Aeschines, and was nearly as great an orator as they. Foreseeing the Macedonian conquest, he urged Greece to forget its local enmities, in a famous speech "Upon Peace," delivered in 355 B.C. He even urged Athens to resign her dominion over the seas. Failing to accomplish this purpose because Athens and Sparta could not forget their life-long enmity, in 346 he tried to persuade Philip to mediate between the warring Greek states, and to march upon Persia. He died soon after the battle of Chaeronea. Though not an historian, Isocrates had a great influence upon historical writing. His wide views inspired the first universal history of ancient times, that of Ephorus (ca. 400-ca. 336), who was his pupil.

Ephorus was a native of Kyme in Asia Minor. Eighty-six fragments of his universal history have come down to us, which are supplemented by numerous passages in the writings of Diodorus of Sicily, Polybius, Strabo, and Plutarch, so that the form and content of his work may be more than conjectured. Hitherto in ancient Greece there had been a want of any collective or "national" history. Ephorus' object was to synthesize the history of the separate states, Athens, Sparta, Thebes, and other lesser states. His intention was laudable and his execution so good that the loss of his work is deplorable. It is evident that his abilities were of a high order. He could distinguish between reliable and unreliable sources and strove to verify his authorities.<sup>18</sup>

Contemporary with Ephorus, and like him a pupil of Isocrates, was Theopompus in whom rhetorically written history reached full flower, though this phrase must not be taken in the sense of complete condemnation. His method of distinguishing his materials, of presenting facts, of introducing motive, and of criticism are Thucydidean characteristics. He was the author of two works. The *Hellenica* was a continuation of Thucydides; his *Philippica* an account of the rise of Macedon. The latter must have been the better work, for it actually was in existence in the ninth century since Photius the patriarch mentions it. The manuscript probably perished in the Fourth Crusade (1204) when Constantinople was sacked by the crusaders. As he is often cited, numerous fragments have been preserved. The Latin historian Trogus Pompeius made an abridgment of Theopompus in the first century B.C.

According to Polybius (Bk. VIII, 13), Theopompus originally intended to write a history of Greece only. But when he reached the period of the battle of Leuctra in 371 B.C. he threw aside Greece in the middle of his story, and changing his purpose undertook to write the history of Philip. Polybius says that it would have been far more

<sup>18</sup> G. L. Barber, *The Historian Ephorus* (Cambridge, 1935).

telling to have included the acts of Philip in the general history of Greece than the history of Greece in that of Philip; that whereas the aim of his original history was honor, that of his history of Philip of Macedon was expediency.

It might seem that Stoic and Epicurean philosophy ought to have influenced Greek historiography. And this would have been the case if philosophy had not tended more and more to separate itself from public life, and so be divorced from history. Socrates was a moralist and Plato a poet. Greece in time might have developed a true, critical method of history. But the Athenian Empire collapsed, and on its ruins arose a phantom growth of rhetoric and sophistic which relinquished the search after truth and honesty.

For a brief moment, however, it seemed that Aristotle might save history from enslavement to rhetoric and sophism. While Ephorus was writing, Aristotle was forming his great collections of the city constitutions and legal codes of the Greek states, and quite evidently understood the importance of archives and the value of inscriptions. He was the first to establish the principles and to formulate the canons of criticism. Probably the most penetrating political thought ever formulated is Aristotle's observation that "Man is a political animal." Aristotle might have devised an almost perfect historical method if he had been interested in history. But, as has been said,

Aristotle appears to leave no place for historical development in the animated kingdom. He admits, indeed, that the human race has at different times and in different places grown out of barbarism into civilisation, and by the progressive cultivation of art, science, and philosophy had repeatedly attained perfection. Whenever this had taken place, he thinks that deluges or other convulsions of nature must have swept away the entire race, all but a few individuals left on the mountain tops, or otherwise preserved for the repopulation of the earth, left, however, as under such circumstances would necessarily have been the case, destitute of all the apparatus of the arts, and having to begin again *de novo* the development of civilization. With this strange conception of a cyclical rise and fall in the civil history of mankind, Aristotle combined the view that Nature as a whole is eternal, and must for ever have been in all essential particulars just as it is now.<sup>19</sup>

Aristotle was not primarily an historian. But it is necessary to know his influence on historical subjects, as he was the connecting link between the Periclean age and the Alexandrian period. He was the first to assert that, like the operations of nature, forms of thought were also subject to laws, and he was the first to formulate the principles of thought. In this he was the father of criticism.<sup>20</sup> Aristotle's peculiar excellence was in analysis and combination.

<sup>19</sup> From a review of Grote's *Aristotle* (see n. 21 below) in *ER*, CXXXVI (1872), 551-52.

<sup>20</sup> It is not known who first invented the word "criticism" to define the scientific study of literature and of texts. The honor probably is to be attributed to the grammarian Apollodorus, or the geographer Eratosthenes (276-196 B.C.).

When Aristotle, in the reign of Alexander, wrote his memorable treatise on *Politics*, he united for the purpose and analyzed the various constitutions of the Greek states. In a single book of this work, which treats of revolutions, he cites nearly thirty revolutions which happened before him or under his eyes in various states. In Aristotle's *Politics* was condensed a work long since begun by observing historians. Already Herodotus had naively discussed the advantages and the defects of the three elementary governments—monarchy, aristocracy, and republic. Thucydides had emphasized the conflict of the two races, the Ionian and the Dorian, whereof one represented the democratic and the other the aristocratic principle.

But the *Politics* was not the only one of Aristotle's political writings. It was known to the ancients that Aristotle was the author of a treatise on the *Constitution of Athens*, and that in its preparation he had collected a number of documents pertaining to the different constitutions of one hundred thirty-eight cities. This treatise, for many centuries believed to be lost forever, was found in 1890 almost complete in a mass of Egyptian papyri.

In plan the book has two distinct parts: first, an historical part, in which Aristotle gives an account of all the Athenian revolutions and changes in the constitution, and a résumé of the eleven constitutions which Athens had had down to his time; second, a description of the actual constitution of Athens, a minute study of the different offices and the functions of each magistrate. The historical part begins with the origin of Athens, with Ion the mythical founder of the city, and Theseus. In the histories of antiquity political history is the primary fact. This is true of both Thucydides and Herodotus, in whom politics and war occupy the first place. But there is very little in either of them about the interior government of the state, i.e., institutional history. This fact makes Aristotle's treatise historically almost unique.

But could a philosopher like Aristotle be a good historian? How far did his criticism of the sources go? He cites very few sources, and only one by name, Herodotus, in Chapter 14. But this passage proves that he had deeply read other historians. Another passage is characteristic. He does not cite Thucydides, but he follows his account almost sentence by sentence and sometimes borrows his very expressions. It is evident also that Aristotle appreciated the value of official documents. The constitutions which he studied were graven upon brass or stone, and the text deposited in the Acropolis, where he studied them. From the analysis which he gives of them, we see that he must often have copied them whole, and analyzed others. Thus it is evident that he proceeded in a very methodical manner and showed much critical ability. Though

Aristotle's is the only great name of Greek antiquity connected with the history of political science, it is not the only one; for we hear of one Dicaearchus who wrote a work upon the Athenian and Corinthian constitutions, and another named Procilius whom Cicero mentions as a writer on politics.

Aristotle was not an historian, but a political scientist. To him history was the ascertainment of facts.<sup>21</sup> He studied the nature and habits of animals in his *Historia animalium*, but he admitted only man has the power of reminiscence, and in that respect and in intelligence is superior to animals.<sup>22</sup>

In antiquity, as in modern times, Utopians have often dreamed of changing human nature. This was the dream of all makers of imaginary republics. This was the dream of Plato. But these theories always encountered in Greece the invincible opposition of common sense. In the age of Pericles Aristophanes ridiculed them in his comedies. A century later Aristotle refuted by conclusive arguments the communism of Phaleas. In general, what one admires most in Aristotle is the firm thought that is never led into vain paths. Man, either isolated or set in families, in his eyes is forever constituted with certain faculties and passions, which do not change, and upon which education has but a limited influence; society is an organism, subject to natural human laws, and resists the attempts of the theorist who seeks to change the essential conditions of life. The essence of a thing according to him consisted in the minute study of all analogous facts, directly and indirectly bearing upon the subject. Aristotle's collection of one hundred thirty-eight different constitutions of the Greek world is an example.

The Rhodian historians Zeno and Antisthenes, contemporary with the Third Messenian War (464-456 B.C.), engaged in practical politics and composed their histories with no view to gain, but for the sake of fame and as part of the business of politicians. Polybius said of them: "I should be inclined to allow that historians must show some partiality to their countries; not however that they should state what is exactly opposite to the facts (XVI, 14, 15)." Concerning Zeno he added: "He does not bestow as much pains on investigating the truth and thoroughly mastering his subject, as upon the ornaments of style (XVI, 17)."

The last historian of the pre-Alexandrian age of Greece was Callisthenes, a native of Olynthus and a relative of Aristotle, through whose influence he entered the service of Alexander the Great. But his criticism of Alexander's orientalism was too caustic for the conqueror, who

<sup>21</sup> *Analyt. Prior.* I, 30, cited by George Grote, *Aristotle* (ed. by Alexander Bain and G. C. Robertson, London, 1872, 2 v.), I, 234, n. a.

<sup>22</sup> Grote, *op. cit.*, II, 214; cp. *ER*, CXXXVI (1872), 552-53.

put him to death. His works are known by title only. One was a history of Greece (*Hellenica*) from 387 to 357 B.C. in ten books; another the *Persica*, a history of the expedition of Alexander; and the third a history of the Phocæan War. Callisthenes was highly esteemed in antiquity. Cicero and Longinus praise his style and Quintus Curtius calls him "vindex publicae libertatis." In the Middle Ages a legendary history of Alexander circulated in both Greek and Latin under Callisthenes' name.<sup>23</sup>

With the Macedonian conquest of Greece in 338 B.C. the golden age of Greek historiography passed away. Herodotus and Thucydides never had successors of their kind or ability.

<sup>23</sup> Callisthenes of Olynthus. Polybius refers to an inscription copied by Callisthenes (Bk. IV, 33), and says he was one of the most learned of the ancients (Bk. VI, 45). See J. G. Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus* (2nd ed., Gotha, 1877-78, 3 v.), I, pt. ii, 87-94, 379 f., 387, 395.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE ALEXANDRIAN AND POST-ALEXANDRIAN EPOCH

THREE currents of Alexandrian historiography are discernible: (1) the "good" tradition which derives from Ptolemy Lagos, through Arrian, and is honest and well informed; (2) the popular tradition, derived from Callisthenes and Cleitarchus and best presented in Diodorus, Book XVII. Its aim was to glorify Alexander. Its content is the "good" tradition "mixed with every sort of floating account and story." (3) The anti-Alexandrian tradition which derived from the opposition of the Macedonian nobility to Alexander's policy towards the Asiatics and went back to the attack made on Alexander by the Peripatetic School after his death. Plutarch's *Life of Alexander* is an amazing compound of these three traditions which it is impossible to unravel.

The first sources in point of time, and certainly in interest, are military memoirs. The chief among these memoir writers were Cleomenes and Ptolemy Lagos. The former was a native of Egypt and was made governor of the province of Arabia and collector of the Red Sea tribute by Alexander in 331 B.C. Later he was entrusted with the construction of Alexandria and amassed enormous wealth by speculation in grain. He was slain by Ptolemy I (323-285 B.C.), who coveted his fortune, estimated at 8000 talents. In spite of the accusations against him, he seems to have been a capable man and worthy of the conqueror's confidence. It is difficult to speak with certainty of the value of his *History of Alexander*, because it is known only from isolated references in later historians.

Undoubtedly the greatest loss among Alexandrian memoirs is that of the memoirs of his general Ptolemy Soter, the conqueror of Egypt, founder of the dynasty of which Cleopatra was the last. What Marbot did for Napoleon, Ptolemy seems to have done for Alexander, judging by extracts from him in Quintus Curtius, Plutarch, and Arrian. Certainly among all the survivors of that "world of war" no one was nearer the hero of it than he, and no one better understood Alexander and his designs. Arrian's famous praise of the modesty and exactness of Ptolemy's memoirs—"being a King it would have been more shameful in him than in another to lie"—is witness to the high value attached to these

vanished memorials of a mighty past. Alexander was no Achilles desirous of a Homer, but Ptolemy knew that great men had lived since Agamemnon and that Alexander was one of them. What would we not give for the recollections of such a man? We would see Alexander master of his destiny at Issus as completely as Le Jeune saw Napoleon at Austerlitz. We know what were Napoleon's thoughts on the hot march from Egypt to Syria. What were Alexander's? Did Ptolemy write his memoirs from day to day as La Baume did on the Russian campaign, using the same knife to cut horse-steaks and to trim his pen, and making ink by mixing gunpowder and melted snow? Was Tyre in flames the candle-light to Ptolemy as Moscow was to the intrepid Frenchman? Alas! We can only conjecture.

Considerable fragments of Callisthenes' *Persica* remain. His descriptions of Alexander's march, the visit to the shrine of Jupiter Ammon in the desert, the battles of Issus and Arbela, the winter-quarters in Bactriana, have the sincerity and veritableness of Marbot's memoirs of Napoleon. Callisthenes was a nephew of Aristotle, Alexander's master, and himself a man of great intelligence and culture. His opposition to the conqueror's orientalizing policy, in which he saw a peril to the Greek world, cost him his life, since Alexander put him to death for his fearless criticism.

Other military memoirs of Alexander are those of Eumenes of Cardia who was Alexander's secretary, and later was made satrap of Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, and Pontus. Alexander's *eisaggelos* or court chamberlain, Chares of Mitylene, described the court life, the pompous oriental etiquette, the Persian noblesse and petty potentates that thronged the conqueror's palace in Susa, in seven books which are all lost.

Even in those days the memoir writers of antiquity seem to have assumed the right to do what their modern congeners have done so fully—to commingle the actual and the apocryphal so adroitly that the reader often treads the penumbral frontier of legend and myth. Hunting myths is not a sport reserved only for students of folk-lore. Lucian relates an anecdote that is very illuminating in that it shows the primordial perversity of memoir writers. As Alexander was descending the Hydaspes one of his suite was reading to him an account of the defeat of Poros, in which it was related that Alexander slew his adversary's elephant with a single blow of his spear. This adulation was too much for the young conqueror's sense of historical accuracy, for he snatched the book away and threw it into the water with the remark that the author of such mendacity ought to be ducked too. Another tale as apocryphal is that related by Onesicritus that the queen of the Amazons became



Alexander's mistress. Apropos of this legend Plutarch tells the story of how when years later Onesicritus was reading this tale to Lysimachus, one of Alexander's generals, Lysimachus drily inquired: "Where could I have been at that time?"

The vogue of the memoir soon obtained throughout the Hellenistic world. Polybius used those of Aratus, who was the founder of the Achaean League, the last manifestation of Greek liberty before the Roman conquest.

But there was another class of Alexandrian memoirs which was not primarily military, but dealt with the history of exploration and discovery. The conquests of Alexander the Great widened the horizon of Hellenistic thought and stimulated an intelligent curiosity in geography and ethnography, which is reflected in the travel memoirs to which his career gave birth, and perceptibly influenced the historical writers of the Alexandrian era. Time has dealt more generously with these, for extensive fragments of them, thanks to Strabo and Ptolemy the geographers, have been preserved. As Napoleon's Egyptian campaign was in part also a scientific expedition, accompanied by the most distinguished of French savants, so Alexander was followed by men whose researches widened the borders of science as the voyages of his generals widened the geographical knowledge of antiquity. The Persian rulers had made a laudable attempt to learn about the Far East and undoubtedly their achievement stimulated Alexander's ambition.

For the period before the Persian conquest of northwestern India by Darius, at the end of the sixth century B.C., we have no certain evidence of relations between India and the West. The accounts given by Scylax, Hecataeus, Herodotus, and Ctesias are vague. The earliest most important fact that we know is that the Indian Brahmi alphabet was certainly borrowed from some Semitic alphabet, but we do not know whether the model was a north Semitic or a south Semitic alphabet.

Late in the sixth century B.C. Darius sent his general Scylax across Persia and down the Indus by boat and along the Persian and Arabian coasts to Arsinoe, near Suez. The voyage lasted two years and a half. Unfortunately Scylax's memoirs have not been preserved, and what we know of the expedition is derived from later writers who made use of his information, chiefly Ctesias, Herodotus, and Diodorus. Ctesias was a Greek physician who lived for many years (ca. 415-398 B.C.) at the Persian court.<sup>1</sup>

The earliest Persian mention of India is in an inscription of Darius,

<sup>1</sup> The above paragraphs are based on an article by W. E. Clark, "The Importance of Hellenism from the Point of View of Indic-Philology," *Classical Philology*, XIV (1919), 297-313. The footnotes are a mine of erudition.

son of Hystapes, at Persepolis; another, found at Nakhsh-e-Rustam, can be dated for the year 486 B.C.<sup>2</sup> Greek sources are full, especially Herodotus, and there are the fragments of Ctesias. The Alexandrian period gave birth to an enormous amount of information of all sorts about the East.

The Macedonian epoch is the first great age of exploration and discovery. The *Periplus* of Nearchus, who commanded the fleet built upon the Hydaspes, descended the Indus River to the sea and explored the Persian Gulf and the coast of Arabia, recalls the exploits of Prince Henry the Navigator. Fuller than the *Periplus* is the *Indica* of Megasthenes whom Seleucus (ca. 302) sent to the court of Chandragupta, where he dwelt for several years. He was the first European to learn of Brahminism and to tell of the castes of India. What Marco Polo and the realm of Prester John were to the Middle Ages these memoirs of Arabia and India were to the Hellenistic world.<sup>3</sup> A recently discovered Sanskrit text attributed to Chanakya, the prime minister of Chandragupta, corroborates Megasthenes in almost every detail, and proves that Arrian was right in following him in his *Life of Alexander the Great*.<sup>4</sup> Later, either by Seleucus or Antiochus Soter, another envoy, named Deimachos, was sent to Bindusara, the successor of Chandragupta, and wrote a book on India which is condemned by Strabo (II, 1, 9) as full of falsehoods. Pliny relates (VI, 58) that Ptolemy Philadelphus (285–247 B.C.) sent an ambassador to India named Dionysios who wrote a work on geography. In the same reign a certain Basilis also wrote a book about India. Patrocles, who was governor of Babylon under Seleucus, was another who wrote a book upon India and the Caspian territory, which is praised by Strabo (II, 1, 9). Thus, to sum up, there is a large lost literature on India and the Far East dating from immediately after Alexander's campaigns.<sup>5</sup>

The Greeks who were settled as colonists by thousands in Bactria and Sogdiana by Alexander failed to preserve the Greek sense for historiography. They even lost their language, for the only trace of the Greek language in the Far East is on coins. From these regions "so far

<sup>2</sup> See G. Rawlinson's annotated translation of Herodotus (New York, 1880, 4 v.), II, 402, n. 6, IV, 212–13.

<sup>3</sup> English translation by J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian* (Calcutta and London, 1877).

<sup>4</sup> English tr. by R. Shamasastri, "The Arthashastra of Chanakya, Books V–XV," in *The Indian Antiquary*, XXXVIII (1909), 257–64, 277–84, 303–10, XXXIX (1910), 100–08, 131–44, 161–77. A translation of Books I–IV was published at Mysore. See also Shamasastri, "Chanakya's Land and Revenue Policy," in the same journal, XXXIV (1905), 5–10, 47–59, 110–19.

<sup>5</sup> For an exhaustive account of this literature, see J. G. Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus* (2nd ed., Gotha, 1877–78, 3 v.), of which there is also a French translation by A. Bouché-Leclercq (Paris, 1883–85, 3 v.). For a brief account, see J. P. Mahaffy, *The Empire of the Ptolemies* (London and New York, 1895), 154 ff.

not a Greek inscription, not a scrap of literature in Greek has been found. The history of the Greek language and of Greek culture east of the Euphrates still remains to be written. A certain Apollodorus of Artemita in Babylonia was the chief source of Strabo (II, 5, 12) for Bactria and Parthia, but we hear of no Bactrian Greeks who wrote history or any other kind of literature."<sup>6</sup>

Alexander the Great had no influence upon India. His name is not even mentioned in Hindu literature. The nineteen months which he spent in ravaging the valley of the Indus were but a bad dream for India.

The East bowed low before the blast  
In patient, deep disdain;  
She let the legions thunder past,  
And plunged in thought again.

It has happened several times in the world's history that after a period of remarkable expansion of the human intellect and of great originality, an epoch ensues in which men's minds are more interested in the classification of the new stores of knowledge than in the continuance of investigation and research. This was the case in Europe after the brilliant expansive era of the thirteenth century. It was so after the Renaissance and the Reformation, upon which followed a period distinguished for its scientific accumulation and classification of material—the Age of Erudition.

The Alexandrian era was the first of such periods. Theophrastus (372–287 B.C.), who was Aristotle's favorite pupil, and to whom he left his library, is said by Strabo to have had the first great systematic library of antiquity. Though pre-eminently a naturalist, he compiled a collection of laws, wrote a history of religion, and was the author of a series of biographical studies called *Characters*, which seems to have been the prototype of Plutarch's *Lives*. Contemporary with him was Dyllus (331–298 B.C.) who wrote a history of Greece and Sicily in twenty-seven books, chiefly distinguished for the encyclopaedic nature of its research.

The historians became compilers, failed to see things in the large, and had little perception of historical evolution. Aristarchus, perhaps the greatest scholar of the Alexandrian School, who lived in the second century B.C., is an illustration of the decline of historical method and of the tendency, as in the eighteenth century, to reduce man to an abstraction. Simultaneously with this tendency, rhetorical exaggeration grew apace, as in Douris of Samos, a pupil of Theophrastus, who wrote a

<sup>6</sup> Clark, *loc. cit.* (n. 1), 302.

*History of Greece* from 370 to 281 B.C., a *Life of Agathocles*, and a *Chronicle of Samos*. He was a descendant of Alcibiades and lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus. He began his history with the story of Jason and the golden fleece (Diodorus, XV, 60), which shows his lack of critical insight. Polybius says he was "effeminate" and Cicero gives him the scant praise of being "homo in historia diligens." Plutarch and Dionysius of Halicarnassus distrusted him.

Clitarchus (ca. 325 B.C.) was the first Greek historian to mention the Romans. His father was Dinon of Colophon, the author of a considerable work on the history of Persia, which began with Semiramis and ended with the conquest of Egypt by King Ochus. Clitarchus was a pupil of Aristotle and was still in the prime of life when Demetrius took Megara in 307 B.C. Certain assertions of Clitarchus, which may have been inspired by envy, make us think that he may have been born in Egypt, or at least lived there. The speeches which he inserts in his pages are undoubtedly free compositions and do not nearly so accurately reflect the truth as those of Thucydides. His history marks the beginning of the legendary history of Alexander the Great.

Phylarchus, said by some to be a native of Athens, by others of Naucratis, and by others again of Sicyon, wrote among other things a history in twenty-eight books from the expedition of Pyrrhus into the Peloponnesus in 272 B.C. to the death of Cleomenes, of whom he was a fervent admirer and therefore probably wrote in a partisan spirit. Plutarch admitted his tendency to exaggeration, but used him in the lives of Aratus and Cleomenes. Baton of Sinope, a younger contemporary of Phylarchus, was also used by Plutarch. He composed numerous works of which nothing except the titles has been preserved.

Among other historians and compilers of the Greek Age of Erudition are Crateros, son of Alexander's general of that name, who made a collection of Athenian laws; Zoilus, a sophist of the fourth century, a violent opponent of the Homeric legend, who, besides many literary works, wrote a universal history down to the time of Philip of Macedon; Zenodotus (320-240 B.C.),<sup>7</sup> librarian of the Alexandrian library founded by Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-247 B.C.); and Callimachus (ca. 310-240 B.C.), who compiled various bibliographical works, giving precise indications as to date, family, and particular history of the authors of all works possessed by the library.

With Posidonius (ca. 150 B.C.), a Stoic philosopher who taught at Rhodes, where Pompey visited him, and who wrote upon history and geography as well as upon natural science and mathematics, the Alexandrian period merges into the Roman world. Dionysius of Halicarnas-

<sup>7</sup> Heinrich Düntzer, *De Zenodoti studiis Homericis* (Göttingen, 1848).

sus, a Greek historian of the time of Augustus, may be considered its last representative. We learn from Strabo that Posidonius wrote an account of the voyages of Eudoxus of Cyzicus to India in the time of Ptolemy Euergetes (ca. 118–113 B.C.) and of his endeavor to discover the sources of the Nile.

The Greeks were long disposed, on the word of Hecataeus of Miletus and Herodotus, to consider themselves the children of Egyptian civilization. They believed that the priestly archives of the Egyptian temples possessed documents which would cast light upon the early history of the Greeks. This is what the Egyptian priest Manetho sought to do.

In the third century B.C. there were two historians who were not Greeks. Manetho, an Egyptian priest of Heliopolis under the first two Ptolemies, wrote a *History of Egypt* in the Greek language from ancient times down to the reign of Alexander, based upon his researches in temple archives. Unfortunately only the names of thirty Egyptian dynasties from Menes to Nectanebo (340 B.C.), and some scanty fragments are preserved. Even these are badly distorted by successive copyists, so that it is impossible always to reconcile Manetho with the hieroglyphic monuments. The other non-Greek historian was Berossus (in Assyrian, Berusu), a priest of Belus in Babylon, who lived in the reign of Antiochus Soter (281–260 B.C.) and wrote in Greek a history of Babylon in three books under the title *Chaldaica*. He used the archives of the Babylonian temples and his work was highly regarded in antiquity. The first book dealt with cosmography and astronomy; the second and third with universal history from the creation down to Alexander. Unfortunately the historical portion has been lost, but there are many references to Berossus in both pagan and Christian writers as Pliny, Seneca, Josephus, Eusebius, Alexander Polyhistor, and Apollodorus.

Another species of historical writing which saw large development in the post-classical period of Greece remains to be noticed. *Atticides* was a term used to define works of local or antiquarian research. The form arose in Attica, the richest country of Greece in archaeological and historical remains. The type seems to have been created by Clidemus (died 378 B.C.), who was an eye-witness of the Sicilian expedition. The most remarkable of these antiquarians were Androtion of Megara, a pupil of Socrates, who wrote the history of Athens from earliest times down to his own day, and Philochorus, who flourished in the first half of the third century. The latter was a partisan of Ptolemy Philadelphus and was put to death by Antigone Gonatas in 260 B.C. He wrote a *History of Attica* in seventeen books, of which two dealt with the

mythical period, four with the classical age, and eleven with the years 319–260 B.C. It is often referred to by ancient writers, but nothing except fragments remains. An abridgment of it was made by Pollio, a protégé of Pompey.

Another such writer was Agatharcus, historian and geographer, born at Cnidus about 150 B.C. The Byzantine bishop Photius in the ninth century A.D. compiled a list of his works, including: *De Asia* in ten books, which is cited by Diodorus, Phlegon, Lucian, and Athenaeus; *Europiaca* in forty-nine books, of which Athenaeus cites Books XXVIII, XXXIV, and XXXVII; a work on the Erythrean Sea entitled *De mare rubro*, in five books. Other works doubtfully attributed to him are upon Phrygia and Persia. Agatharchus seems to have been the first Greek author who perceived the true cause of the inundations of the Nile.

As a class of historians the atthidographers were deficient in style, but their rigid chronology and antiquarian zeal made their works of great value as compendiums of facts, and of interest to the scholiasts and grammarians because of the ancient texts they preserved.

The Macedonian conquest extended Greek historiography to Alexandria and Egypt. There remains one other country where Greek historical writing flourished along somewhat unique lines by reason of the peculiarly different character of that country's history. This was Sicily.

Greek colonies, of which Sicily was the greatest, differed from modern colonies in that their political independence was entire. The tie which bound them to the mother-country was one of religion and common institutions, not one of political authority. In these colonies political evolution was more rapid than in the mother-country. The ancient traditions lost their ascendancy. Commerce and industry were paramount and agriculture played but a minor part. In consequence wealth increased rapidly and new men came to the fore, of sturdy, vigorous lineage born of adventure and enterprise. While the Hellenic genius was not fundamentally altered in contact with the foreigner, its wits were sharpened. The colonists were in general men of more audacity than the home-keeping population, and established in new lands having less developed or almost virgin resources, they became rich and prosperous. The luxury of Sicily and Magna Graecia was proverbial. But this opulence, instead of enervating, as in the case of those colonies established in a more oriental environment, acted as a stimulus to art and letters. The native originality of the Greeks, if anything, became more inventive abroad.

Under such conditions was born the Sicilian school of Greek histo-

rians, whose inquiring minds searched the native sources of Sicilian history. The earliest of these was Antiochus of Syracuse, a son of the philosopher Xenophanes of Colophon, who emigrated from his homeland about the same time (530 B.C.) that Pythagoras quitted Samos for Croton. Antiochus was the author of at least two historical works of importance, *On Italy* and a *History of Sicily*, "the loss of which forms one of the most unfortunate gaps in the information left to us concerning Greek antiquity." He was an important source for Thucydides' Sicilian chapters. Polybius declares him to have been one of the most learned of the ancients.

After him came Philistus, also a native of Syracuse (ca. 435-356 B.C.), who wrote a *History of Sicily* in seven books, extending from ancient times to the capture of Agrigentum by the Carthaginians in 406; a *History of His Own Times* in six books—he was an eye-witness of the expedition of Nicias—and a *Life of the Two Dionysii*. Cicero describes him as a terse, sagacious writer, and concise like Thucydides, whose style he endeavored to imitate. He aided Dionysius the tyrant to acquire the tyranny and was entrusted by him with the building of the citadel of Syracuse. He was banned for marrying the tyrant's niece and retired to Adria, where he began his history. Recalled by Dionysius the Younger, he was defeated in a naval engagement against the Syracusans and committed suicide on board his vessel. He was a valuable source of Diodorus and Plutarch. Only meager fragments remain.

A century later is Timaeus of Tauromenium (ca. 352-256 B.C.). He was driven into exile by Agathocles and lived for fifty years at Athens without acquiring the rights of citizenship. Here he wrote a great *History of Sicily* in at least thirty-eight books, from the earliest times to 264 B.C. In this enormous work Timaeus not only reviewed the history of Sicily, but the relations of the entire Graeco-Mediterranean world. He also composed a smaller *History of the Wars of Pyrrhus*. Timaeus was one of the principal sources of Diodorus Siculus, who wrote when the Greek world was under Roman sway. He is often quoted by Pliny, but nothing but fragments have come down to us.

Polybius has violently attacked Timaeus for his geographical ignorance, and accuses him of slandering his enemies. It is worth while examining this question in some detail as it will give us an insight into the method of later Greek historiography. Polybius predicates three things which are requisite for the historian: (1) geographical knowledge, (2) a knowledge of practical politics including the art of war, and (3) the ability to collect, classify, and digest the written sources of history. According to him Timaeus was merely a "book historian."

He had not travelled like Herodotus; he had never seen a battle. "Historians of this kind," he sarcastically observes, "are like those animal painters who draw from models and stuffed skins."

The truth is that Polybius is protesting against the practices of Alexandrian historiography and uses Timaeus as an example to point his argument. The Alexandrian epoch was an age of erudition, not of action; of intensive scholarship and classified knowledge; the age of the grammarian, the philologist, the closet-historian. Polybius, though Grecian born, lived in Rome for years and imbibed some of the masterful energy of the Seven-hilled city, just beginning to reach out into the wider Mediterranean world. He represents the protest of achievement against mere learning.

Some of those who have the reputation of approaching history in a reasonable spirit [he scornfully observes] are like the theoretical physicians: they spend all their time in libraries, and acquire generally all the learning that can be got from books, yet they are only partially qualified for the production of genuine history. To inspect ancient records with the view of ascertaining the notions entertained by the ancients as to certain places, nations, politics and events, is useful, for the history of the past directs our attention to the future, if a writer can be found to give a statement of facts as they really occurred. But to believe that such ability is sufficient for the historian is as though a man were to imagine that an inspection of the work of the old masters would enable him to become a painter and a master of art himself (XII, 25 f.).

According to Polybius, the study of documents is only one of three elements in the preparation of an historian, and is only third in importance (*ibid.*). Such research involves no danger or fatigue, if one only takes care to lodge in a city rich in such records, or to have a library in one's neighborhood. But personal investigation demands great exertions and expense, though it is exceedingly advantageous and in fact is the very cornerstone of history (XII, 27). History will never be properly written, he contends, until either men of action undertake to write it, or historians become convinced that practical political or military experience is of the first importance for historical composition (XII, 28). It is, in fact, as impossible to write well on the operations of a war if a man has had no experience in actual service, as it is to write well on politics without having been engaged in them (XII, 25).

It is evident that there could be no common meeting ground between historians who so radically disagreed as to method and province as did Timaeus and Polybius. Making due allowance for the value of personal examination in matters of topography and geography, such investigation is not always practicable even today, and in ancient times was infinitely more difficult. Polybius was fortunate in being able to attach himself to the Roman armies and travel with them. The opportunity



was a unique one, but Polybius is unfair in his contempt of those not able to enjoy such advantages. He is also unjust to Timaeus in attacking him for inventing the speeches of his characters, "as though his object were to display his own ability, not to give a report of what was actually said (XII, 25a)." He forgets the intimate connection between Greek oratory and Greek historiography, and that Thucydides himself so wrote. To be sure, Timaeus could not approach the masterly exposition of Thucydides, but his method in this particular was identical. The truth is that Polybius had no patience with this form of Thucydidean writing, and believed that it was the historian's duty to ascertain what the actual words used were (XII, 25b). In this practice he represents a wide departure from tradition.

But Polybius is on firmer ground when he takes some of Timaeus' opinions to task. Timaeus' inflated erudition strove to parade his learning. His work seems to have abounded with hostile criticism and invective of others; his skill in refuting other historians and his diligence in the censorious practice of discovering errors in others seems to have been remarkable (XII, 24 and 25c). In the height of his intellectual arrogance, Timaeus even attacked Aristotle (XII, 8). With justice also Timaeus' exaggerated style and "sophistical commonplaces" (XII, 26) are criticized. Plutarch with high scorn speaks of the "critical literary spirit which led him to correct the style of Philistus and find fault with that of Aristotle and Plato"; and adds

My own opinion is that to pay too much attention to mere style, and to endeavor to surpass that of other writers, is both trifling and pedantic, while any attempt to reproduce that of the unapproachable masterpieces of antiquity springs from a want of power to appreciate their real value.<sup>8</sup>

Cicero, too, complains that Timaeus carried the rhetorical vices of eulogy and blame to a far degree.<sup>9</sup>

Nevertheless, in spite of glaring imperfections, Timaeus had respectable merits as an historian. He industriously collected texts and exhausted the best sources. His deficiency in critical faculty and his proneness to rhetorical exaggeration were weaknesses common to every Greek historian except Thucydides, Xenophon, and Polybius. Finally, in the matter of chronology Timaeus is deserving of high praise. Even Thucydides, though he complains of the chronological looseness of others, is defective in this particular; his "summer and winter" system is most eccentric. Timaeus was the first historian to devise the method of calculating events by the Olympiads, which ultimately became the almost universal chronological system of the Greek world.

<sup>8</sup> *Life of Nicias*, ch. 1.

<sup>9</sup> *De oratore*, II, 14; *Brutus*, ch. 95.

Timaeus died at a phenomenal time in the history of the Mediterranean nations. If Sicily was the connecting link between Alexandria and Rome, she was also the point of contact between Rome and Carthage. The First Punic War (264–241 B.C.) suddenly made Rome the world-power in the Mediterranean. Hitherto there had only been vague allusions to Rome in the Greek historians. Theophrastus, for example, alludes to a “people who are called Romans,” and Theopompus mentions “a city called Rome” which was taken by the Gauls. The new extension of Roman power produced a swarm of minor historians, as Philinus of Agrigentum, who was an ardent Carthaginian partisan;<sup>10</sup> Sosylus, who wrote a *History of the Hannibalic War* in seven books, having served as a mercenary in it and taught the Greek language to Hannibal;<sup>11</sup> Chaereas, of whom nothing is known except Polybius’ statement that his and Sosylus’ writings were “like gossip of the barbershop”;<sup>12</sup> Iocles, the author of a work on the founding of Rome, used by Plutarch; and Aratus of Sicyon, the chief of the Achaean League (251 B.C.), whose memoirs were utilized by Polybius, and who wrote “an admirably honest and lucid” history, ending with the one hundred fortieth Olympiad (220–217 B.C.).<sup>13</sup> The memoirs of Aratus were highly regarded by Polybius, and Plutarch evidently followed him closely.

According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (XIX, 11), the memoirs of Pyrrhus were written by Pyrrhus himself, but from an expression of Pausanias it may be supposed that they are not the work of Pyrrhus, though probably he was responsible for the information in them. In any case they were a valuable source. An author who wrote of Pyrrhus was Proxenos, who was without doubt a contemporary. Among the works attributed to him are a *History of Sicily* and a treatise on the government of Lacedaemon.

Polybius<sup>14</sup> was the greatest Greek historian after Thucydides. The history of world politics can point to fewer sharper changes than those which happened between the years 219 and 167 B.C. In that half cen-

<sup>10</sup> Polybius, I, 14–15 and III, 26.

<sup>11</sup> Cornelius Nepos, *Vita Hannibali*, ch. 13. This author says Sosylus was a Lacedaemonian, but according to Diodorus (XXVI, 4) he was a native of Ilium.

<sup>12</sup> Polybius, III, 20.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 40, 56; Plutarch, *Life of Aratus*, ch. 3.

<sup>14</sup> There are translations of Polybius by E. S. Shuckburgh (London, 1889, 2 v.), and by W. R. Paton (London and New York, 1922–27, 6 v.: Loeb Classical Library). See Shuckburgh’s introduction; BURY, 191–220; W. W. Capes, *The History of the Achaean League as Contained in the Remains of Polybius* (London and New York, 1888), introduction; Leonard Whibley, ed., *A Companion to Greek Studies* (3rd ed., Cambridge, 1916), sec. 209; Alfred and Maurice Croiset, *An Abridged History of Greek Literature* (tr. by G. F. Hefelbower, New York and London, 1904), 465–72; J. P. Mahaffy, *Greek Life and Thought from the Age of Alexander to the Roman Conquest* (London and New York, 1887), 519–34; QR, CXLVIII (1879), 186–222; Arnold J. Toynbee, *Greek Historical Thought from Homer to the Age of Heraclius* (London and New York, 1924), consult index.

tury almost the whole inhabited world was conquered and brought under the dominion of the single city of Rome. Polybius, not Livy, is the real historian of the expansion of Rome to a world-power. He lived in a time when history was energetically in the making. The Second Punic War (209–201 B.C.) and the Second Macedonian War (200–197 B.C.) were fought in his early youth. He saw the war with Antiochus III of Syria (192–189 B.C.); the Third Macedonian War (171–168 B.C.); the Third Punic War (149–146 B.C.), culminating in the overthrow of Carthage; the complete Roman conquest of Greece, ending with the capture of Corinth in 146 B.C.; the Numantian War, resulting in the Roman conquest of Spain (143–133); and the civil disturbances in Rome owing to the reform policy of the Gracchi (133–123). Never did an historian's life fall in more eventful years, and Polybius rose to the opportunity.

His own works are the chief source for the life of Polybius. Fortunately, owing to his love of digression, he often speaks of himself, and by piecing together these allusions, it is possible to make out a sketch of his life. He was born about 205 B.C. at Megalopolis, a town of Arcadia founded by Epaminondas when he was at war against Sparta. Polybius was, therefore, neither an Athenian nor an Alexandrian but a provincial Greek. His father was Lycortas,<sup>15</sup> a friend of Philopoemen, a general of the Achaean League, and leader of the anti-Roman party in Greece. In 181 B.C. Polybius was attached to the embassy to be sent to Egypt to the court of Ptolemy Epiphanes,<sup>16</sup> but he never went on account of the king's death at this time. In 169 he served as a hipparch in the Third Macedonian War, which was ended in the next year by the battle of Pydna (168 B.C.), where Aemilius Paulus was victor. As a result of this war Rome claimed one thousand hostages as security for the good behavior of the Greeks, and in 166 Polybius came to Rome as a hostage. He passed sixteen years there. He was in middle life, a man of state and a man of war, an enemy of Rome, but with too clear a vision not to be taught by Rome.

Rome in 165 was in the golden age of the Republic. Italy had been conquered; Carthage had been twice beaten and was on the verge of extinguishment; Greece and the East had seen the Roman eagles. But if Rome politically conquered Greece, intellectually she was conquered by the Greek spirit. In Rome Polybius found himself in the midst of this Greek influence and his education and character soon distinguished him. The aristocratic traditions of the Roman Senate, the unity of the Roman State, the majesty of Roman law profoundly impressed Polybius. Coming to Rome as an enemy, he quickly perceived that the Roman conquest was not the result of hazard. "The Greeks are

<sup>15</sup> Plutarch, *Philopoemen*, 20, 21.

<sup>16</sup> Polybius, XXIV, 6.

nothing but incorrigible children," he wrote, "compared to the Romans."

Polybius associated with the first families of the Republic. He himself tells of the beginning of his friendship with Scipio Aemilianus,<sup>17</sup> which owed its birth to some books which he borrowed and a conversation which followed. Thanks to the patronage of the Scipio family, Polybius was permitted to remain in Rome while the other hostages were distributed among the various cities. In 150 B.C. after sixteen years of life in Rome, Polybius returned to Greece, but occasionally travelled.<sup>18</sup> At the beginning of the Third Punic War he went to Carthage with Scipio and was present at its capture in 146 B.C.<sup>19</sup>

From this time on, he played the part of an intermediary between the Greeks and the Romans. His Roman experience made him a caustic critic of Greek characteristics. Greece looked upon him as a renegade, because, acquainted as he was with the power of Rome, he endeavored to show his countrymen that resistance was useless. If his counsel had prevailed, perhaps the awful reduction of Corinth in 146 might have been mitigated. As it was Polybius was of material service to the Commission of Ten created by the Senate for the settlement of Greece,<sup>20</sup> as when he saved the statues of Philopoemen, his father's friend, from destruction. Integrity, for he refused to be enriched by the spoils of Greece, hard commonsense, a gentlemanly love of hunting, and fondness for books, were characteristics of Polybius. His condemnation of Rome's spoliation of Syracuse is honest and fearless in utterance.<sup>21</sup> He died at the age of eighty-two of a fall from his horse. Of all ancient Greek historians Polybius was the least literary, least penetrated by the spirit of Greek literature. Either he did not know, or he ignored, the great poets, the great dramatists of the golden age of Greece.

Of the forty books which composed the *History* of Polybius, only five have been preserved entire in the MS. Vaticanus, 124 A. A portion of Book VI is from another manuscript. In the tenth century the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus (912-959 A.D.) caused a compilation to be made of extracts from Polybius, and fifty-three of these selections are extant in sequent order down to Book XVIII. In addition, some passages have been gleaned from other writers, especially

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, XXXII, 9-16, with a full portrait of this famous Roman.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, XXXIV, 14.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, XXXIX, 3.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, XXXIX, 16.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, IX, 10: "To sweep the gold and silver, however, into their own coffers was perhaps reasonable; for it was impossible for them to aim at universal empire without crippling the means of the rest of the world, and securing the same kind of resources for themselves. But they might have left in their original sites things that had nothing to do with material wealth; and thus at the same time have avoided exciting jealousy, and raised the reputation of their country: adorning it, not with pictures and statues, but with dignity of character and greatness of soul" (Shuckburgh's tr.).

Strabo and the grammarians, for in ancient times Polybius was a favorite author from whom to choose rhetorical paragraphs. Finally in recent times Angelo Mai recovered some fragments from a palimpsest and Karl Müller found others in the library of the Escorial; still others were brought to light in the library of a Greek monastery on Mount Athos.

Polybius' *History* is actually a history of his own times from 221 to 146 B.C. The first two books are in the nature of an introduction and cover the years 264-221 B.C. It was just at the year 264 that Timaeus had terminated his work, so that the history of Polybius is in direct continuation. For the preparation of these preliminary books he relied upon the *Memoirs* of Aratus and his father Lycortas. A lost work upon geography may have been a portion of the *History*. Polybius was the author also of a work upon military tactics, alluded to in Book IX, chapter 20; a *History of the War of Numantia*; a *Life of Philopoemen*; and a *Manual of Grammar*. None of these works has survived.

Polybius perceived the analogy between his history and the marvelous spirit of the age in which he lived; that the world was entering upon a new phase; that history in the western Mediterranean, as in the East since Alexander, had ceased to revolve around a group of city-states. He calls to mind the earlier military powers of the world, Persia, Sparta, Macedonia, and shows what differences separate these short-lived empires from the power of Rome, whose tremendous greatness he seems to have foreseen.

It was *not* by mere chance [he says] or without knowing what they were doing that the Romans struck their bold stroke for universal supremacy and dominion, and justified their boldness by its success. No: it was the natural result of discipline gained in the stern school of difficulty and danger.<sup>22</sup>

Polybius clearly felt that he was the historian of the new political dispensation, and that it was his mission to reconcile the Greek world to Roman sway.

I am bound therefore, to add to my statement of facts a discussion on the subsequent policy of the conquerors, and their administration of their universal dominion. . . . The present generation will learn from this whether they should shun or seek the rule of Rome. . . . The usefulness of my history, whether for the present or for the future, will mainly lie in this. For the end of a policy should not be, in the eyes either of the actors or of their historians, simply to conquer others and bring all into subjection. . . . The object of this work shall be to ascertain exactly what the condition of the several states was, after the universal conquest by which they fell under the power of Rome.<sup>23</sup>

As an historian Polybius represents the union of the best elements of the Thucydidean and Aristotelian tradition. His work is a protest

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 63.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 4.

against the fashion of writing history which had obtained since Thucydides' time. He revived the tradition of Thucydides, enriched as it was with all the progress which had been made since, particularly the stimulus of Aristotle, and showed a courage of conception which entitles him to a high place among historians. His genius rose to the circumstances of which he wrote. He tells us that he is quite aware that his history has an element of austerity in it, and is adapted to, and will be approved by, only one class of readers, owing to the uniformity of its plan. Nearly all other historians, or at any rate most, attract a variety of readers, by entering upon all the various branches of history. The curious reader is attracted by the genealogical style; the antiquarian by the discussion of colonizations, origin of cities, and ties of blood, such as is found in Ephorus; the student of politics by the story of tribes, cities, and dynasties. It is to this last branch of the subject that he has had a single eye and has devoted his whole work, and accordingly has accommodated all his plans to one particular class of narrative. The result is that he has made his work by no means attractive reading to the majority. Seeing that many writers have discussed in many varieties of style the question of genealogies, myths, and colonizations, as well as the foundations of cities, and the consanguinity of peoples, there was nothing left for a writer of his date but to copy the words of others and claim them as his own; or if he did not choose to do that, to absolutely waste his labor, being obliged to acknowledge that he was composing a history and bestowing thought on what had already been sufficiently set forth and transmitted to posterity by his predecessors. For these reasons, he determined on writing a history of actions, first because they are continually new and require a new narrative, as of course one generation cannot give us the history of the next; and secondly because such a narrative is of all others the most instructive.

Like Thucydides, Polybius is a pragmatic historian. He is never tired of reiterating that history is philosophy teaching by example. He says:

The special province of history is . . . to learn why it was that a particular policy or argument failed or succeeded. For a bare statement of an occurrence is interesting indeed, but not instructive: but when this is supplemented by a statement of cause, the study of history becomes fruitful. For it is by applying analogies to our own circumstances that we get the means and basis for calculating the future; and for learning from the past when to act with caution, and when with greater boldness, in the present.<sup>24</sup>

He would have heartily endorsed the dictum that "History is past politics and politics present history." In the case of contemporary

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, XII, 25b.

history Polybius believed that it was difficult to obtain an insight into its deeper processes and that the truth was often obscured. A comprehensive view of human development can only be obtained from the study of universal history and not from particular, or what he calls "episodical" historians.<sup>25</sup>

In the pursuance of this purpose Polybius elaborates the causal element in history to great lengths. "For a bare statement of an occurrence is interesting indeed, but not instructive; but when this is supplemented by a statement of cause, the study of history becomes fruitful."<sup>26</sup> Thucydides had dealt with the causal element in history, but his treatment of it was much more incidental than in the case of Polybius. In this emphasis upon cause, Polybius shows the influence of Aristotle. In Book III, 6, 7, Polybius distinguishes between historical causes of wars and the occasions or pretexts, and complains that preceding historians have not perceived this difference in all cases. Cause in general, he argues, has nothing mysterious or divine about it. His view of Providence is rational, not religious. Causes are natural and to be studied in a positive manner. This is not saying that Polybius excludes the fortuitous altogether in human affairs. With Demosthenes and Aristotle he admits that certain things cannot be explained save by chance or fate. But for Polybius, this is an exceptional explanation, the last resort when analysis fails.

Polybius is fond of particularizing causes. "Narration is interesting, but the indication of causes makes history of value." Especially there are causes political, and causes military. Hence the great importance which he attaches to military organization and political form. This fashion of treatment is in part new, though we find analogies in Xenophon and Thucydides. Thus, in his treatment of the republic of the Lacedaemonians, Xenophon shows the excellent organization of the Spartan army. Thucydides in the discourse of Pericles describes the Athenian constitution. In Xenophon this analysis is accidental. It is a chance page that one comes upon in the *Hellenica*. In Thucydides Pericles' comments are long parentheses. With Polybius, on the contrary, the ascertainment of causes is fundamental, and shows the Aristotelian influence.

The interest of Polybius in the resources of the state is again a heritage from Thucydides. Demosthenes had continued the Thucydidean tradition of searching analysis of the military, economic, and social forces of society, but it disappeared in the verbiage of the Alexandrian historians. Polybius revived that patient interest in detail, that careful study of means, that minute enumeration of a nation's resources.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 32.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, XII, 25b.

Examples of these are the minute account of Rome's resources in the Second Punic War; his computation of the size of cities; and, most remarkable of all, his profound analysis of the causes of the general depopulation of Greece, in which his finding is in alignment with the conclusions of modern historians and sociologists.

The emphasis which Polybius lays upon geographical knowledge is very great.<sup>27</sup> In Book III, chapter 59, he speaks of the dangers which he encountered in his travels in Libya, in Iberia, in Gaul, and upon the seas which surround these countries. But Polybius had no patience with those geographers or historians who paraded their knowledge of remoter countries, "of which historians give long and contradictory accounts."<sup>28</sup> He is ironically skeptical of the voyages of Pytheas of Marseilles and derides those writers who dilate upon what they do not know. The encyclopaedic digressions of the Alexandrian schoolmen he rules out; even a universal history is not the place for dissertations upon every sort of subject.

Polybius consulted documents wherever he travelled, and has inserted the text of several.<sup>29</sup> At Rome he consulted those graven on brass in the treasury of the aediles in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.<sup>30</sup> He knew the historical value of inscriptions. Regarding the list of Hannibal's troops, he says: "I myself at Lacinium in Bruttium found this list inscribed upon tablets of brass preserved there, which had been graven when Hannibal was in Italy."<sup>31</sup> The account of Hannibal's avarice he got from the Carthaginians themselves.<sup>32</sup>

Polybius emphasizes the necessity of historical criticism, and is severe in his judgment of other writers. In speaking of Fabius Pictor, the dean of Roman historians, he shows his intellectual independence.

I wished to warn those who take up his books [he says] not to be misled by the authority of his name, but to be guided by facts. For there is a certain class of readers in whose eyes the personality of the writer is of more account than what he says. They look to the fact that Fabius was a contemporary and a member of the Senate, and assume without more ado that everything he says may be trusted.<sup>33</sup>

Polybius eschews the exaggerations of rhetorical historians like Theopompus, as well as the semi-poetic history of earlier times made up of myths, legends, and ballads. The literary study of these was the vogue at Alexandria at the time, and he believed that the influence of other studies compromised the scientific writing of history. He does not absolutely disbelieve personal narrative, but he does not think it

<sup>27</sup> General remarks on the value of geography, *ibid.*, I, 41, V, 21; on Sicily, I, 41-42; on Italy, II, 14-17; on Lacedaemon, V, 21-22, IX, 21; on Pontus and the Danube, IV, 39-42; on Hannibal's march over the Alps, III, 36-56.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 57.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 33.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 62; III, 22, 24, 25, 27.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, IX, 25

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 26.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 9.



decisive. Above all, the historian must be trustworthy. In Book III, 20, he tells how in a contemporary source he found that during the deliberation of the Senate upon the affairs of Saguntum children of twelve years were present. He does not believe it. So, too, he is skeptical of the story of Horatius at the bridge.<sup>34</sup>

The Romans were not naturally possessed of that type of mind capable of broad generalization. They were too practical for abstractions. Hence, the first historian who comprehended the nature of their institutions was naturally a Greek. It was Polybius who first opened the eyes of the Romans to themselves, and caused them to perceive the true historical development of their constitution. He himself says that an understanding of the Roman constitution is essential to an understanding of his work.<sup>35</sup> Like Aristotle, he divided governments into three kinds: kingship, aristocracy, democracy. Each of these three might be very good or very bad. In the latter case they became despotisms, oligarchies, or mob-rule.<sup>36</sup> According to Polybius the virtue of the Roman constitution lay in the fact that there was simultaneous and due expression of these three elements of government in it. The consuls represented the executive; the Senate the aristocratic; the people the democratic classes.<sup>37</sup> Polybius thoroughly understood the working of the Roman government and was an ardent admirer of the Romans. But his admiration of the Roman character, their treatment of the conquered, adaptability, reverence for religion, purity of elections, with which he contrasts the Carthaginian practice of bribery, does not blind his eyes to their undue desire for wealth and certain signs of degeneracy.

Polybius' influence upon the writing of Roman history was very great. Cicero and Tacitus particularly perceived that the Roman constitution was not the work of a single time or of a single circumstance or of a single man, but was a gradual development out of opposing elements, monarchical and class, that is to say, aristocratic or democratic, and of the customs of the different tribes united to form primitive Rome. Polybius and Cato were the first to perceive this important fact.

Polybius was also an accomplished student of the art of war. This was partly due to the influence of Roman conquests, but it is to be remembered that the conquests of Alexander had already tremendously stimulated military literature. The work of Aeneas, a contemporary of Xenophon, upon tactics was a classic until the time of Vegetius. Polybius devotes eight chapters to a discussion of the art of commanding armies; and those upon the Roman army, in which he declares the

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 55.    <sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 64.    <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 3-10, especially 4.    <sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 12-18.

Roman legion superior to the Macedonian phalanx, are celebrated. Parallel to these is his admirable discussion of the rights of war, perhaps the finest bit of international law in ancient literature.

In composition and style, Polybius is deficient. He was far from being a good writer. He wrote the Attic dialect of the schools, which was artificial and scholastic. In his vocabulary he shows the spirit of his age and employs a crowd of abstract words and technical expressions which philosophy and science had introduced into the current language.<sup>88</sup> Worse still, he uses weak synonyms and even words that may be called common, but which he had too little literary perception to recognize as such.

The influence of the rhetorical school shows in his handling of phrases and his fondness for the periodic structure. This inclination leads him to employ more words than is necessary, and sometimes to say the same thing two or three times over in order to round out his period. In his reflections, he imitates Thucydides, but lacks Thucydides' gift of terse, sinewy expression. Occasionally, however, there are real flashes, as for example, "Public crimes do not differ from private except in quality and extent"; "Anything in the future seems preferable to what exists in the present"; "So entirely unable are the majority of mankind to submit to that lightest of all burdens—silence."

In his use of public speeches, Polybius is in advance of Thucydides. The latter was content to give the general sense. Polybius was the first of the ancients to perceive that public utterances were historical documents. He aimed to reproduce a conversation or a speech exactly as it was delivered.

With Polybius and the Roman conquest of Greece, Greek historiography merged into the Roman world. "Fortune has caused the whole world and its history to tend toward one purpose—the empire of Rome," he wrote. It is an epilogue.

<sup>88</sup> See Capes (n. 14), introduction, pp. xiii–xxvii.

## CHAPTER IV

### ROMAN HISTORIOGRAPHY DOWN TO THE FALL OF THE REPUBLIC (31 B.C.)<sup>1</sup>

UNTIL the end of the Second Punic War (218–201 B.C.) Rome made history and accumulated sources of history.<sup>2</sup> But for five hundred years Rome had no historian. Then all of a sudden the historical spirit emerged. Singular as it may seem, this literary phenomenon was due less to patriotic sentiment than to Greek literary influence, with which the Romans came in contact in Magna Graecia (Southern Italy) and Sicily. Before the Punic wars the Greeks knew almost nothing of Rome, as we have seen. The great struggle with Carthage, however, opened the eyes of Greek historians to the importance of Roman history, and soon a number of historical writers appeared, as Philinus of Agrigentum, whom Polybius used for his account of the First Punic War; Sosylus, who related the history of the Second Punic War and probably was a mercenary in Hannibal's army; and Iocles, who wrote a *Roman History*, utilized by Plutarch.

<sup>1</sup> TEUFFEL, I, secs. 73–79, 116–18, 120, 132, 137, 142, 155–57; Jules Martha, "L'histoire à Rome," *RCC*, XI (1902–03), pt. i, 120–27, 251–57, 491–98, 737–45, pt. ii, 106–14, 309–16, 394–400, 539–46, 701–07; H. W. G. Peter, *Wahrheit und Kunst, Geschichtsschreibung und Plagiat im klassischen Altertum* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1911), chs. viii–ix; Tenney Frank, "Roman Historiography before Caesar," *AHR*, XXXII (1927), 232–40; Martin Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, 4th ed. rewritten by Carl Hosius (Munich, 1927–35, 2 v.); A. H. J. Greenidge and A. M. Clay, *Sources for Roman History, B.C. 133–70* (Oxford, 1926); G. A. Simcox, *A History of Latin Literature from Ennius to Boethius* (New York, 1883, 2 v.), I, 69–79, 195–243; Ettore Pais, *Ancient Legends of Roman History*, tr. by M. E. Cosenza (New York, 1905), chs. i–ii; Gaetano de Sanctis, "La légende historique des premiers siècles de Rome," *JS*, 1909, pp. 126–32, 205–14, and 1910, pp. 310–19; Philippe Fabia, "Le règle annalistique dans l'historiographie romaine," *ibid.*, 1900, pp. 433–42; Wilhelm Soltau, *Die Anfänge der römischen Geschichtsschreibung* (Leipzig, 1909); Otto Seck, *Die Entwicklung der antiken Geschichtsschreibung und andere populäre Schriften* (Berlin, 1898); C. T. Cruttwell, *A History of Roman Literature* (2nd ed., New York, 1906); René Pichon, *Histoire de la littérature latine* (5th ed., revised, Paris, 1912).

<sup>2</sup> Down to the epoch of Mucius Scaevola no mention is made of the *Annales maximi*, but only of a *tabula pontificis maximi*. The brevity of what was entered upon it prevented it from becoming an historical register. In earliest Roman times the priests announced orally to the people all information with reference to religion, and traces of this practice long persisted. As the population increased this means of publication proved insufficient. Then the *pontifex maximus* began the practice of inscribing previously oral instructions on a white tablet (*tabula dealbata*) "that the people might be able to understand" (*potestas ut esset populo cognoscendi*—Cicero, *De Oratore* II, 12). At first this information was merely announcement of festivals, prodigies, eclipses, and thanksgiving services for the aversion of calamities, etc. The information was of an almost wholly religious character. Mucius Scaevola utilized these proclamations for the formation of the *Annales maximi*, but interpolated abstracts of decrees of the Senate, magistrates' decisions, ambassadorial reports. In 249 B.C. the practice began of publishing political events. W. Soltau, "Die Entstehung der *Annales maximi*," *Philologus*, LV (1896), 257–76.

This anticipation of Roman history by Greek authors explains the singular fact that the earliest Roman historians wrote in Greek instead of Latin. Without a literature as yet, the Latin language was still so crude that it was incapable of being the vehicle of literary thought. This is the earliest evidence of the profound influence exerted by Hellenism upon Latin literature and Roman culture, and explains why Roman historiography emerged as an adult production. This Greek influence is to be emphasized, for the Greeks were the first narrators of Roman history. The first Roman historians were guided by Greek historical writers.

Fabius Pictor was the earliest Roman historian. His name tells us much. He belonged to the famous gens Fabia. Between 489 and 475 B.C., in every year, one of the consuls was a Fabius, and three brothers succeeded to the consulate without interruption. Livy relates the heroism of three hundred and six members of the gens. It was the epoch when the Romans were at war with the Veians, a people of the Etruscan race, who were allied with the Volsci. The Romans were cast down by reverses. In this crisis the Fabii offered to equip and put into the field at their own expense the entire fighting force of the house. The Senate accepted the offer. For months the Fabii resisted the army of Veii, but were finally in 477 B.C. overwhelmed and massacred to the last man. Only a single member survived in Rome, who had been too young to bear arms. He became the new founder of the gens Fabia, which still continued to be illustrious. Quintus Fabius Maximus Cunctator was the sole Roman general able to hold his own against Hannibal after the terrible defeat at Cannae (216 B.C.).

Fabius Pictor, the historian, was a member of the cadet branch of the family, the Pictores. This surname came from his great-grandfather who had decorated the temple of the goddess Salus in Rome with paintings in 304 B.C. This detail is very significant for the introduction of Greek culture into Rome, for this ancestor had studied Greek art in the south of Italy; and the artistic initiative explains in a certain measure the literary initiative of his great-grandson. Fabius Pictor had seen military service. He had fought against the Gauls in the Po region and against the Ligurians, and had taken part in many expeditions against Hannibal. Livy borrowed his own account of the battle of Lake Trasimene (217 B.C.) from Fabius Pictor, and says that he was an eyewitness of that engagement. We do not know whether Fabius Pictor was with his cousin, the Cunctator, after the disaster at Cannae, but there is ground to believe that he was a member of the delegation sent by the Senate to consult the oracle at Delphi. Thus Fabius Pictor had been a soldier and a diplomat before he took to writing history. His

work extended from Aeneas—which shows that so early the Romans had tied their own history up with the Trojan War and the ancient Greek heroes—down to his own times. This history was current down to Livy who borrowed from it more than he admits. It was translated into Latin for the benefit of those who could not understand Greek and had a great vogue with the patrician class, to whom history was long the only literature thought worth cultivating.

After Fabius Pictor follow in rapid order four other annalists: L. Cincius Alimentus, C. Acilius, P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus, and A. Postumius Albinus. All of these pertained to high Roman society, though two, Cincius and Acilius, were of plebeian ancestry, but of plebeian families which were early elevated to distinguished social station. Cincius was a younger contemporary of Pictor. He commanded the Roman forces in Sicily after Cannae, and was taken prisoner by Hannibal. As late as 155 B.C. he was sent on a diplomatic mission to Greece. He wrote in Greek, and is often cited by later writers; Livy describes him as “*diligentem monumentorum auctorem*.” Acilius was a relative of the Acilius Glabrio who overcame Antiochus III of Syria in 191 B.C. at Thermopylae, and was one of the first commanders to begin the Roman conquest of Greece. In 155 B.C. when Athens sent the famous deputation to Rome composed of the philosophers Carneades the Academician, Diogenes the Stoic, and Critolaos the Peripatetic, Acilius introduced these venerable ambassadors to the Senate, and translated their addresses from Greek into Latin. It was a pure formality, for by this time cultivated Romans were familiar with Greek. P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus II was the son of the great conqueror of Carthage (146 B.C.), who acquired some of his information from his father and from Scipio Nasica, the jurist. He was a zealous advocate of Hellenism. We come finally to the last of these Roman historians who wrote in Greek, A. Postumius Albinus. He was of patrician stock, and one of his ancestors had fought in the battle of Lake Regillus (496 B.C.). He was consul in 151 B.C., had been praetor in 155 B.C., and warmly welcomed the Athenian embassy in that year.

With Cato the Elder (234–149 B.C.), Roman historiography changed in every respect—the subject, the sources, the spirit, the method, and the language. Cato’s *Origines* revolutionized Latin historiography. According to the words of Livy, Cato was the founder of Roman history (*historiae conditor*). He was a prolific author and the first real Latin prose writer. His writings are for the most part lost, but we know much of him and of them, for his was a rugged personality. He was a great public figure, having been quaestor, aedile, praetor, consul, and censor. The last office he made so distinguished for drastic administra-

tion that Cato has come down to history as Cato the Censor. He was of lowly origin, of sturdy peasant stock. Instead of being a handicap this was an advantage to Cato, for, according to old Roman maxims, the best school of training for a soldier was that of a farmer. Before he became a soldier Cato was a peasant on his Sabine farm. His near neighbor was Curius Dentatus, the famous vanquisher of the Samnites, who three times was awarded a triumph, the general who conquered Pyrrhus and was one of the most illustrious warriors of ancient Rome. In the intervals between his campaigns Curius Dentatus returned to farm his ancestral acres. This austere patriot not only taught Cato how to farm, but also profoundly influenced his character. It was no accident that Cato also wrote the earliest Roman treatise on farming, *De agricultura*.

Cato's career as a soldier was almost as distinguished as his political career. He first saw service against Hannibal under Fabius Cunctator, then was in Sicily under Marcellus. In 209 B.C., again with Fabius, he was present at the siege of Tarentum. He was one of the seven thousand who executed that astonishing manœuvre by which the Romans won the battle of Metaurus (207 B.C.). In 204 Cato was made quaestor in Sicily, where he quarreled with his commander, Scipio Africanus, and the seed was sown of the undying feud between them. Afterwards he was sent to Spain where he proved to have great military talent. In 191 B.C. he was transferred to Macedonia as lieutenant of Acilius Glabrio against Antiochus III. This campaign terminated his military career. His political role then began and continued to the end of his life.

The *Origines* was carried down to the last year of Cato's life and, judging from what we know of it, must have been one of the most singular and interesting histories ever written. Unlike the earlier annalists of Rome, who were content with bald narrative and dry chronicle, Cato introduced a vast amount of information of an ethnographic, topographic, and economic nature derived from first-hand observation. The sixth and seventh books dealt with his own times. Writing of Spain, where he had been pro-consul, he described the manners and customs of the Iberians; the fish of the Ebro; the silver mines; and the curious nature of the wind on the high plateaus. In spite of his hatred of Hellenism, he seems in these particulars to have borrowed the method of the Alexandrian explorers. One peculiarity, absolutely characteristic, deserves to be noticed. Throughout the entire work no person was mentioned by name. The Roman general was always called *imperator*, Hannibal was "commander of the enemy." This eccentricity would be unbelievable if it were not confirmed by Cornelius Nepos and Pliny the Elder, and is all the more singular since the age was redolent with the

deeds of great men—Scipio, Fulvius Nobilior, Fabius Cunctator, and Hannibal. But Cato was a down-right plebeian. He took the ground that Rome's battles were won by common soldiers and that it was unjust to give the glory to the generals. The only proper name in the *Origines* was that of an elephant in the Roman army, named Surus, which behaved so valiantly in battle against the Carthaginians that Cato deigned to mention it.

Cato's *Origines* must have been a remarkable work, and its loss is a literary calamity, greater than the much mourned lost books of Livy. It was in seven books which were preceded by an introduction in which Cato discoursed upon the nature and value of education and the office of history in that education. Each book was prefaced with a special introduction, a literary trick which Sallust borrowed. After this long preamble Cato proceeded to Book I: *Res gestae regum populi romani*, or the history of the Roman people in the time of the kings. It seems to have been a short book, partly because almost no sources were available, partly because Cato had no love for kings. He was an austere republican. Book II was an antiquarian study of ancient Rome. Books III and IV were a remarkable survey of the tribes of Italy—*unde quaeque civitas orta sit Italica*. In these books Cato dealt with anthropology, geography, custom and law, language, institutions, religion, civilization, and culture "to an extent which remained without imitation." The loss of these two books in particular is a grievous one. The residue of the work related the history of Rome in annalistic form. But Cato introduced one practice of Greek historiography, notably of Thucydides, in incorporating the speeches of public men (especially his own) or casting the narrative at times into the form of a speech. Cato was profoundly convinced that the purpose of history was didactic, that it should inculcate patriotism, teach morals, and shape the character of the young. Accordingly the *Origines* abounded in moral reflections, wise saws, and modern instances, so much that the *Distichs* of Cato, a series of terse sayings and pungent quotations from his writings, was widely circulated after his death. They embodied the old Roman philosophy before Hellenism and Orientalism had softened Roman culture.

The example of Cato founded a school. No historian ever again dreamed of writing in Greek. Moreover, the annalistic form of historiography lost vogue, although it never became obsolete. Two annalists who followed closely after Cato were Cassius Hemina and Calpurnius Piso Frugi. Both began with Aeneas, were mere compilers without critical ability, and of turgid style. This is not true of their successors. They wrote with some art, they broke away from the annalistic tradi-

tion and wrote of historical subjects; moreover, they wrote with a certain grace of literary style—"addidit historiae majorem sonum vocis," said Cicero, a remark which shows that books in ancient Rome frequently were read aloud to a group of auditors. Coelius Antipater laid his hand upon an ideal subject—the *History of the Second Punic War*. He used numerous sources or authorities, notably the memoirs of the elder Scipio. "He also had recourse to opposition authorities . . . which was a step in advance of the one-sided views which had thus far prevailed." Coelius gave careful attention to form of arrangement and clear expression and wrote a flowing ornate style.

From this time on, two practices markedly characterized Roman historiography: (1) limitation of subject and abandonment of broad, general treatment; and (2) a search for effective literary expression. Both of these purposes reached their consummation in Sallust, the first great Roman historical writer. It was now also that the historical memoir appeared. The earliest memoirs which merit attention are those of Sempronius Asellio. He was born about 160 B.C. and was contemporary with the Gracchi (133–122 B.C.). In his youth he saw service in the Numantian War (143–133 B.C.). He lived to be a very old man and composed his work in the time of Sulla, between 90–80 B.C. It was written in fourteen books and related events in which Asellio himself had participated, or of which he had remembrance, during a great age in the history of Rome. Asellio was almost contemporary with the Third Macedonian War (71–68 B.C.) and was a child when Carthage was captured and Greece was conquered (146 B.C.). The originality of the work consists not only in the limitation of the subject, but in the general spirit which characterizes it, of which we can judge from fragments and also from the testimony of other later historians. Unlike his predecessors, Sempronius Asellio was not content merely to relate facts. He co-ordinated his evidence and massed and interpreted it. He endeavored to distinguish causes and to formulate results. "It is not sufficient," he writes, "to state what happened. One wants to know how and why things occur as they do."<sup>3</sup> It is hardly necessary to add, however, that with this new conception of history Sempronius Asellio nevertheless adhered to the tradition that history should inculcate morals and teach patriotism. One wonders if Asellio ever met Polybius, who was living in Rome at this time as a guest in the home of Scipio, and if he derived some of his novel ideas from Polybius.

But the Latin memoir *per se* first appears about 100 B.C. The motive

<sup>3</sup> "Nobis non modo satis esse video quod factum esset, id pronuntiare, sed etiam quo consilio quaque ratione gesta essent demonstrare."



of authorship was political self-vindication. The writers were soldiers and statesmen who sought to defend their policies. Tacitus alludes to this class in the foreword to the *Life of Agricola*. Notable examples of such, in the first century B.C., were Aemilius Scaurus, Lutatius Catulus, the victor over the Cimbri and jealous rival of Marius, Rutilius Rufus, and the great Sulla.

Rutilius Rufus was a friend of Scipio Aemilianus and the Stoic philosopher Panetius, and was a Stoic himself. Cicero says that he almost realized the perfection of the sage and praises his great learning and knowledge of literature. He was born about 150 B.C., served in the Numantian War—of which he wrote a history—and the Jugurthine War, and was consul in 105 B.C. After his consulship in 98 B.C., during which his rugged honesty made him many enemies, he was sent into the province of Asia with the pro-consul Scaevola. At this time Asia was the richest colony of Rome, and of course the one worst pillaged by the tax-collectors. Accident compelled Scaevola to return home and Rutilius began a campaign against the abuses in the provincial administration. His enemies never forgave him. He was falsely indicted under the Lex Calpurnia, the original purpose of which was to prevent abuse in office, and condemned to exile in Smyrna (92 B.C.), where Cicero visited him in his old age. The memoirs of such a man would be very valuable for the history of the Roman provincial system, but their preservation was too damaging to the Roman political leaders.<sup>4</sup>

If the memoirs of Rutilius were worthy of approval by Cicero, this seems not to be the case with Aemilius Scaurus. His character is an enigma. He was popular with the aristocratic party, while the democratic party despised him as a *parvenu* who had made a fortune by questionable methods in the Jugurthine War. Sallust characterizes him as "noble, active, intriguing, eager for power, honor, riches, and extremely adroit in concealing his vices." He was implicated in the banishment of Rutilius. He was consul in 117 and again in 104, censor in 109, and leader of the aristocratic party before Sulla. One would think the memoirs of such a man would have been preserved, yet even in Cicero's time they were seldom read, and in the first century of our era apparently only a cultured historian like Tacitus or an antiquary like the elder Pliny knew of them.

The memoirs of Lutatius Catulus clearly show that the Roman memoir owes its birth to a desire on the part of the author to vindicate his political course. Lutatius Catulus was a colleague of Marius in the

<sup>4</sup>G. L. Hendrickson, "The *Memoirs of Rutilius Rufus*," *Classical Philology*, XXVIII (1933), 153-75.

consulship in 102 B.C. Although the aristocrats were in power Marius was elected because of his military record, for Italy was threatened by the invasion of the Cimbri and Teutons. Marius encountered the latter at Aix, while Lutatius proceeded against the Cimbri, whom he met at Vercellae on the Adige River. A panic of the soldiers compelled him to fall back to the Po. Marius came to his rescue. The victory was really won by Lutatius, for Marius made a bad manœuvre which might have overthrown the Roman army. But Marius, like Napoleon at Marengo, garbled the official report in order to save his military reputation. His party supported him and a bitter partisan controversy ensued. In the end politics won. Marius was awarded a triumph. Undoubtedly Lutatius wrote his memoirs in protest against the injustice done him.

Of all early Roman memoirs, the loss of those of Sulla are most to be regretted. What the memoirs of the French Revolution are to us, these lost *mémoires pour servir* of Sulla would be to Roman history. And the parallel would be remarkable. Sulla instituted terror and proscription as a principle of rule in 82 B.C. exactly as Robespierre and Danton resorted to terror as a political experiment in 1793-94. After his retirement to Cumae, the great dictator spent his declining years in the composition of his memoirs. They were entitled *Commentarii rerum gestarum*. At the time of his death he had finished twenty books. Plutarch, who lived in the second century A.D., used them in composing the lives of Lucullus, Marius, and Sulla himself.

Comparable to Sulla's memoirs, if he had ever composed them, would have been those of Cicero. That the great orator once contemplated writing them we know from a letter to his friend Luceius whom he urged to write the history of his consulship, pleading his own bashfulness—a singular admission in the light of the excessive vanity which characterizes his forensic utterances.

Lesser memoir writers of the last century of the Republic before we reach Sallust, the last and greatest Roman historian before the founding of the Empire, were Cornelius Sisenna and Licinius Macer. The former belonged to the gens Cornelia, one of the greatest Roman families, and was a friend of the brilliant orator Hortensius with whom he defended the notorious Verres against Cicero's torrential invective. Thus he was an advocate and a forensic orator. He was praetor in 78 B.C., the year in which Sulla died. In 67 B.C. when Pompey obtained his extraordinary command in the war against the pirates of the Mediterranean, Sisenna was one of the thirteen lieutenants chosen from among the aristocracy for that campaign. He died in Crete during that expedition. As to his work, at least we know its contents.

It was a history of the Social War (90–88 B.C.) and the Civil War between Sulla and Marius (88–82 B.C.), that terrible conflict between the aristocratic and democratic parties, which did much to wreck the Roman Republic and make the Roman Empire inevitable. It concluded with the last years of Sulla down to his abdication and death in 78 B.C. Thus it covered twelve eventful years. It was in twenty-three books. Unfortunately Sisenna's theme was better than his execution. His style seems to have been tedious and turgid. Cicero says he wrote as if for children (*puerile*). But then Cicero was prejudiced.

Licinius Macer was a contemporary and friend of Sisenna. The history of his tribunate was famous in the annals of the democratic party. From the victory of Sulla in 78 B.C. down to 73 B.C., during five years, the party was discouraged, ruined, without a leader, and without an army. The office of tribune, the time-honored bulwark of popular liberties, was reduced to impotence, an "empty shadow (*inanis species*)," says Sallust. Licinius Macer revindicated the suppressed rights of his office. Rome at this juncture was sustaining three separate wars: in Asia against Mithridates, in Spain against Sertorius, and in Sicily against a rebellion of the slaves. On Macer's advice, the commons "struck" and refused to do military service. This action brought the aristocratic party to its knees. Though Macer's work has not been preserved, we know that it was in either sixteen or twenty-one books; that he consulted the archives and used unpublished sources; that he was careful of chronology and a conscientious writer.

With Claudius Quadrigarius and Valerius Antias we reach the last historians of the republican era before Sallust. They wrote between 80 and 70 B.C. The former made a step in advance by beginning his *Roman History* with the invasion of the Gauls (391 B.C.), instead of with the legendary period. It seems to have been a substantial but somewhat dull work, and written in archaic diction, which offended those who were fond of rhetorically written history. Valerius Antias was the author of a ponderous history in at least seventy-five books extending from the earliest history of Rome to his own time. It was a huge and ungainly compilation. In extent, if not in quality, "it is the most important immediate predecessor of Livy."

It is one of the anomalies of the history of literature that in the last decades of the corrupt Roman Republic, when it was swiftly declining towards spectacular collapse, on the ruins of which the Roman Empire was established, the two most brilliant historians of the republican era lived and wrote. These were C. Sallustius Crispus and Julius Caesar.

Sallust (86–34 B.C.) was of good plebeian family. In 59 B.C. he was quaestor, in 52 B.C. tribune. Rome at that time was torn with fac-

tional strife. Sallust was a declared enemy of Cicero, whose political career was as dubious as his literary pre-eminence was undisputed. After Caesar's triumph over Pompey, Sallust accompanied the victor to Africa where the last partisans of Pompey were crushed, and Sallust was made pro-consular governor of Numidia, whose native prince Juba was deposed and the country reduced to a Roman province. In this capacity Sallust accumulated a prodigious fortune by rapine and extortion, and retired to private life in his magnificent palace on the Quirinal. His gardens (*horti sallustiani*) were the most celebrated in Rome.

Sallust<sup>5</sup> is the author of two remarkable works, the *Conspiracy of Cataline* and the *Jugurthine War*, and is also known to have written a *Roman History* which has not been preserved. The first is a valuable corrective to Cicero's four invectives against Cataline, but has the defect of being a pamphlet of special pleading in favor of the notorious conspirator, for whom, however, something may be said in extenuation of his conduct. Roman politics were in an evil case, and every man was fishing in troubled waters. On the other hand, the *Jugurthine War* is almost matchless history. Before Sallust there had been annalists, chroniclers, compilers, but Sallust is the first great Roman historian. He adorned impartiality and historical accuracy with an unexcelled power of dramatic narration. His narrative is a series of word pictures drawn with infinite literary art. His pen portraits are like etchings. The interest never flags, though at times he may seem too declamatory, too rhetorical to a modern reader. But these were universal literary qualities of the age.

Julius Caesar (d. 44 B.C.)<sup>6</sup> was a statesman, soldier, orator, poet, grammarian, historian, at once the greatest and most versatile genius of ancient Rome. We are here concerned with him only as an historian. Caesar's *Commentaries on the Gallic War* (*De bello gallico*, in seven books) are not, as was once supposed, merely military relations. The work is a species of political propaganda. For Caesar planned his book to influence public opinion, to defend himself against his accusers,

<sup>5</sup> Translation of all of Sallust save minor fragments by John C. Rolfe (London and New York, 1921: Loeb Classical Library); TEUFFEL, I, secs. 205-06; Gaston Boissier, *Le conjuration de Catalina* (3rd ed., Paris, 1913); Werner Schur, *Sallust als Historiker* (Stuttgart, 1934).

<sup>6</sup> There are numerous English translations of Caesar; among the best are those of the *Gallic War* by T. Rice Holmes (London, 1908) and by H. J. Edwards (London and New York, 1917: Loeb Classical Library), and of the *Civil War* by A. G. Peskett (1914, in the same series). TEUFFEL, I, sec. 196; T. Rice Holmes, *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul* (2nd rev. ed., Oxford, 1911), and by the same authority, *Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar* (Oxford, 1907) and C. Iuli Caesaris commentarii rerum in Gallia gestarum VII, A. Hirti commentarius VIII (Oxford, 1914); Jules Martha, "César écrivain," RCC, XXII (1914), pt. i, 560-71, pt. ii, 72-79, 281-88, 798-801, XXIII (1921-22), pt. i, 50-56; E. Benoist and S. Dossion, *Commentaires sur la Guerre des Gaules* (10th printing, Paris, 1914); Camille Jullian, *Vercingetorix* (3rd ed., Paris, 1903).

to represent the conquest of Gaul not as an expression of his own vaulting ambition and as a stepping-stone to wider power, but as a war forced upon Rome by the Gauls themselves, and, therefore, a war of necessity and patriotic duty. Further, Caesar meant to serve notice upon his enemies that he had a powerful and devoted army back of him. Accordingly there is a *tendance* which pervades the *Commentaries*, whose calculation and influence must always be taken into account. The same motive characterizes his *Commentaries on the Civil War* (in three books). Both are political pamphlets and filled with specious argument and special pleading artfully disguised. With apparent, but false, candor Caesar himself says that his intention was merely to provide future historians with the materials of history. One must read between the lines and be on his guard against being deceived by the simplicity and clarity of Caesar's style, and his apparent truthfulness; one must also critically control Caesar's narrative by other sources of the time. Unfortunately, in the case of the *Gallic Wars* it is almost impossible to do this. Caesar himself is the only source. In the case of the *Civil Wars*, however, it is possible, in part, to check Caesar's fidelity to historical truth. Caesar knew to a hair when to pass over adverse events in silence, when and how to interpret facts in his own favor.

The *Commentaries on the Gallic War* were published not later than 46 B.C., for Cicero notices them with admiration in his *Brutus*, which appeared in that year. Most probably indeed they were both written and published several years earlier; for it is more than unlikely that Caesar would have had time for literary composition during the intense labour of the civil war, and moreover, as Mommsen says, the book was doubtless intended (at least in part) to justify before the Roman public what Caesar had done in Gaul. . . . There are two main theories about the way in which Caesar composed his book. Some critics believe that he wrote each commentary year by year, after the campaign which it described; others that he wrote the whole seven—for it must be remembered that the eighth was written by his friend, Aulus Hirtius—in the winter of 52–51 B.C. or in the year 50. The latter view is supported by Hirtius, who says (Praef. § 6) “*ceteri enim quam bene atque emendate, nos etiam quam facile atque celeriter eos perfecere scimus*” (“others know the flawless excellence of his work; I know more—how easily and rapidly it was done”). . . . The statement of Hirtius, who was one of Caesar's most intimate friends, and probably also his literary secretary, is the only original testimony that we have, and must be accepted unless it can be shown to be inconsistent with facts. . . . Why should not the publication have taken place in 50 B.C.,—the year before that in which the civil war began? It seems to me most probable that it did, for this was the only year between Caesar's first consulship and the last year of his life in which he was not fighting; and, as far as we know, he was then comparatively at leisure.<sup>7</sup>

The transition from Republic to Empire was made by Cornelius Nepos (99–24 B.C.), a friend of Cicero and the poet Catullus, who

<sup>7</sup> Holmes, *C. Iulii Caesaris commentarii* (see preceding note), pp. ix–x.

marks the emergence of a new type of historical writing, namely biography in his *De viris illustribus*, in at least sixteen books. He also wrote elaborate lives of Cato the Elder and Cicero. Grave doubt exists whether the few biographies attributed to Nepos which have survived are really from his pen, or whether they may not be abridged or modified forms of the original. They are uncritical and chatty accounts, but the language is a model of chaste, elegant Latinity. Hence the *Lives* have long been a favorite school textbook.

## CHAPTER V

### ROMAN HISTORIOGRAPHY UNDER THE EARLY EMPIRE: LIVY, TACITUS, SUETONIUS

NO STATE in history ever began under happier literary auspices than the Roman Empire. The assassination of Julius Caesar in 44 B.C. had been followed by thirteen years of civil war, which terminated with Augustus' victory at Actium in 31 B.C. Two years later the first emperor celebrated three triumphs and the temple of Janus was closed for the third time in Roman history. Vergil began the composition of the *Aeneid* in 29 B.C. In the same year Livy, too, began to write. The first book of his *History* appeared in 27 B.C. Both writers were inspired by the conviction of the greatness and grandeur of Rome, and the faith that a new and golden age had dawned. For the first time the Roman world was united under a single master. The *pax romana*, of which the Mediterranean peoples had dreamed for a hundred years, at last was a reality. The feeling of joy and patriotism was almost explosive in its energy. The emperor was hailed as Divus Augustus.

Livy was born at Padua in 59 B.C. (the year of the first triumvirate of Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus) and died in 17 A.D. Thus he saw the fall of the Roman Republic, the founding of the Roman Empire, and lived through the whole reign of Augustus. Nothing is known of his family, but his aristocratic preferences and the fact that he was rich indicate that he was of upper class lineage. Padua was a prosperous city and had five hundred citizens of equestrian rank. Undoubtedly Livy was educated in the local grammar school, and then carefully trained by a professional rhetorician in political and forensic eloquence. He lived all his life in Rome, and may have seen Sallust in his old age. He owned a summer villa in the Campania and a winter home near Naples. At Rome he became a member of that distinguished coterie of men of letters, among whom were Vergil and Horace, which Augustus drew around him.

The first portion of Livy's *Roman History*<sup>1</sup> appeared in 29 B.C. It

<sup>1</sup> Translation of Livy by B. O. Foster, F. G. Moore, E. T. Sage, and A. C. Schlesinger (London and New York, 1919-40, 10 v. completed out of 13: Loeb Classical Library); TEUFEL, I, secs. 256-57; J. R. Seeley, ed., *Livy, Books I-X* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1874), I, introduction, 1-98; T. *Livi ab urbe condita libri*, Wilhelm Weissenborns erklärende Ausgabe neu bearbeitet by H. J. Müller, vol. I, pt. i (9th ed., Berlin, 1908), 1-74; G. F. Unger, "Die römischen Quellen

begins with the arrival of Aeneas in Italy. Thus Livy adhered to time-honored Roman tradition, the philhellenic tradition of the poets Ennius and Naevius, and the earliest historian, Fabius Pictor. It terminates with the death of Drusus in 9 A.D. Probably Livy intended to conclude his work with the death of Augustus, which would have been a natural terminal point. This hypothesis is confirmed by the number of books into which the *History* is divided. There are 142 of them. Eight more books would have carried him to the end of Augustus' reign. The whole work is divided into "decades," or blocks of ten books. This custom was not new and is a characteristic of historiography in Roman times. The work of Ephorus formed two decades; Polybius has four; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Josephus, Pliny the Elder, Diodorus of Sicily, Dio Cassius, and Nicholas of Damascus are similarly divided. But Livy himself counted his work in books. The division into decades is not mentioned until 496 A.D. in a letter of Pope Gelasius I. The grand divisions do not always terminate in a multiple of ten, as a conspectus will show:

I-V.	From the foundation of Rome (ab urbe condita, 753) to the taking of Rome by the Gauls (390 B.C.).
VI-XV.	Down to the conquest of Italy.
XVI-XXX.	First Punic War (down to 219 B.C.).
XXXI-XLV.	Down to the end of the Third Macedonian War, 168 B.C.
XLVI-LXX.	Down to the beginning of the Social War, 90 B.C.
LXXI-LXXX.	Down to the death of Marius, 86 B.C.
LXXXI-XC.	Down to the death of Sulla, 78 B.C.
XCI-CIII.	Down to Pompey's triumph over Mithridates and Tigranes, 62 B.C.
CIV-CVIII.	Down to the beginning of the Second Civil War, 49 B.C., between Pompey and Caesar.
CIX-CXVI.	Down to the death of Caesar, 44 B.C.
CXVII-CXXXIII.	Down to the battle of Actium, 31 B.C.
CXXXIV-CXLII.	Down to the death of Drusus, 9 A.D.

In the preface—which is too long to quote, but should be read—Livy divides Roman history into two grand periods, ancient times, and modern times (*haec nova nostra aetas*), the latter beginning with the war between Pompey and Caesar (49 B.C.). The *History* progressively becomes fuller as Livy advances, as one might expect. Book I covers 245 years; Book II, 41 years; Book III, 19 years; Book IV, 44 years; Book V, 15 years. For the important period between 49–31 B.C. the books are measured by months. Books CXXI–CXLII were completed after Augustus' death (14 A.D.).

des Livius in der 4. und 5. Dekade," *Philologus*, Supplementband III (1878), pt. iii, 3–211; Othon Riemann, *Études sur la langue et la grammaire de Tite-Live* (2nd ed., Paris, 1885); S. G. Stacey, "Die Entwicklung des livianischen Stiles," *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik*, X (1898), 17–82.



Of this immense work, which was still intact in the seventh century, there have survived only thirty-five books, i.e., Books I-X<sup>2</sup> and XXI-XLV, but Books XXXI-XLV are badly mutilated. In 1531 Simon Grynius found Books XLI-XLV in a Swiss monastery. Few losses of classical antiquity have been more deplored than the lost books of Livy. The explanation of this singular perdition is to be found in its colossal dimension. It was so big that few libraries, whether public or private, could possess it. The cost of its production, as manuscript books were produced, by professional copyists, was almost prohibitive. According to Martial, already at the end of the first century, or in the beginning of the second century, an abridgment was current. The popularity of the *Epitome*<sup>3</sup> killed the original work, just as it sometimes seems to be a wonder that the epitome of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* did not eclipse his ponderous tomes. It is certain that the Middle Ages knew no more of Livy than we do. Certain fragments, however, of the lost books have come down to us.

Ever since the revival of classical learning in the Renaissance, scholars have hoped against hope that the lost books of Livy would some day be found. In the sixteenth century Paolo Giovio (1483-1552) alleged that a complete Livy was in the old Irish monastery on the island of Iona, whither it had been brought by an Irish chieftain after Alaric's sack of Rome in 410 A.D. Francis I persuaded the Scottish king, who was his ally against Henry VIII, to seek for it. Later belief was current that the lost books of Livy might be found in the Escorial Library, or at Fez in Morocco. In 1682 a Greek monk in France told Colbert that a complete Livy, which had been rescued from Constantinople in 1453, was preserved in the island of Chios. It is not impossible that new fragments, at least, of Livy may come to light. In 1772 two scholars in the Vatican Library in a palimpsest discovered part of Book XCI relative to the war with Sertorius. Portions of Books II-XXX have been found at Mainz. The Jesuit scholar P. Hoirion found a valuable number of fragments at Bamberg.

Livy had a clear idea of what he wanted to write. "I wish to write the history of the Roman people," he says in the preface, "from the foundation of the city down to my own times" (*a primordio urbis res populi Romani perscripserim*). He clung tenaciously to this intention. He does not, like Cato, enter into a consideration of racial antecedents or ancient customs and institutions. He is brief in dealing with the wars of Rome outside of the peninsula, whether in the East or in Spain

<sup>2</sup> Less the first part of Bk. II.

<sup>3</sup> See C. H. Moore, "The Oxyrhynchus Epitome of Livy in Relation to Obsequens and Cassiodorus," *American Journal of Philology*, XXV (1904), 241-55.

and Gaul. His terrain is Italy. The matrix of the work are the First and Second Punic Wars, and the Social and Civil Wars of the first century B.C. Rome, or at most Italy, is the constant object of his attention. Even within this prescribed sphere Livy does no more than touch certain things of Roman history. He is brief with regard to the Roman constitution, financial questions, and economic conditions, and literature for Livy does not exist. The earliest Roman historian who wrote general history was Trogus Pompeius, as the first Roman historian to include the development of Latin literature in his survey was Velleius Paterculus.

To Livy history was a species of rhetorical exposition; it was eloquence. This accounts for his flowing, sometimes florid style. Further, like all Romans, he believed that history should be didactic, that is to say, it should inculcate morals, teach civic virtues, and promote patriotism.<sup>4</sup> These conceptions were borrowed from the Greeks and became an inalienable characteristic of Roman historiography. To the Romans history was an art, not a critical science; clear and pleasingly expressed narration was the aim, without tedious inquiry into conditions and causes and processes. It was a literary panorama in which the great historical personages were portrayed in word pictures. In the preface Livy deplores the impossibility of writing the history of early Rome owing to lack of documents, and elsewhere indulges in some ironical reflections on the difficulty of distinguishing between legend and history, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*. He frequently writes: "I neither affirm nor deny"; "It is not worth the price of the labor to investigate"; "I hesitate . . . (*nec affirmare, nec refellere . . . non operae pretium est . . . piget*)." Between two conflicting accounts he will accept the one which seems "more probable" but does not always explain his preference (*malim*). If he is sometimes incredulous of the past, he has implicit belief in the official clairvoyance of the augurs and the priests in olden times to predict the future. Time and again he cites the *Annales maximi* in regard to prophecies and presages, nor does he seem to be upset when the event proves otherwise than as foretold. In short, Livy is not a critical historian; yet he is not indifferent to exactness, if it can be ascertained without too much critical labor or original research. The immense dimensions of his work and

<sup>4</sup> R. B. Steele, "The Historical Attitude of Livy," *ibid.*, XXV (1904), 15-44. In his preface Livy wrote: "Here are the questions to which I would have every reader give his close attention—what life and morals were like; through what men and by what policies, in peace and in war, empire was established and enlarged; then let him note how, with the gradual relaxation of discipline, morals first gave way, as it were, then sank lower and lower, and finally began the downward plunge which brought us to the present time, when we can endure neither our vices nor their cure. What chiefly makes the study of history wholesome and profitable is this, that you behold the lessons of every kind of experience set forth as on a conspicuous monument; from these you may choose for yourself and for your own state what to imitate, from these mark for avoidance what is shameful in the conception and shameful in the result" (Foster's tr.).

the mass of his material sometimes overwhelmed Livy. Thus he repeats himself and not always in the same way. These "doublets" are curious, and there are many of them, which show that he was not always able to synthesize or organize his material. Contradictions and chronological errors are numerous.

As to his sources, Livy had or could have had under his hand all the Roman historians before him from Fabius Pictor down. Polybius he followed almost literally, not always giving him credit. For the period 753-391 B.C. there were no documents—nothing but legend. After that the priestly annals, the laws and some private archives were available. The *senatus-consulta* were chronologically arranged, but the proceedings of the Senate, their debates, were not made a matter of record. Moreover—and this is astonishing—Rome had no state archives until as late as Cicero! Laws, treaties, etc. were deposited for custody in various temples or retained in private hands. The introducer or framer of a law frequently kept the official text in his own possession. In short, little documentary evidence was available to Livy, and the archives of the Senate were almost inaccessible. Livy examined texts of old laws when he could, and sometimes complains of the archaic nature of the language, which makes it doubtful if he always understood what he was trying to read. Livy was indifferent to geography and topography. Although his birthplace was not over thirty miles from Lake Trasimene he did not visit that famous battlefield. If he had visited the scene of the disaster of Caudine Forks he would not have written as he did.

Livy's strength and charm as a writer repose upon his gift for vivid narration, and his sense of the striking and picturesque. Byron's phrase, "Livy's pictured page," sums him up. Descriptive power and literary portraiture are his outstanding qualities as an historian. In the latter quality he displays that fondness for biography which was general in the Greek and Roman world, and of which Plutarch's *Lives* is the greatest example.

Livy was the only historian of the Augustan Age who enjoyed the personal acquaintance of the emperor, like Vergil and Horace. Contemporary with him was Trogus Pompeius,<sup>5</sup> another historical writer not to be despised, the loss of whose work, except in an abridged form by Justin,<sup>6</sup> has deprived him of much credit which he well deserved.

<sup>5</sup> TEUFFEL, I, sec. 258.

<sup>6</sup> There is an English translation of Justin's abridgment by J. S. Watson (London, 1876: Bohn's Classical Library). See also R. B. Steele, "Pompeius Trogus and Justinus," *American Journal of Philology*, XXXVIII (1917), 19-41. Justin wrote before 226 A.D., when the Parthian power had fallen. His reduction often amounted to sheer mutilation; Bk. XXXIII was reduced to 55 lines.

He was a Gaul, not a Roman by birth, and wrote *Historiae Philippicae*, in forty-four books, extending from Ninus to his own time. This was the first known attempt to write universal history and deserves to be remembered. It represents a new point of view, a new attitude towards the subject of history. His sources were Greek, chiefly Timagenes, whose writing is otherwise unknown.

It was a universal history of the Hellenic and oriental world. Roman history was excluded up to the point at which Greek and Eastern peoples came into contact and collision with Rome. It has been plausibly conjectured that the author omitted Roman history because it had been so fully treated by his contemporary, Livy. But though its universal character was thus limited, it showed a sense of unity and continuity, like that of Polybius; and this was reflected in the title of the work, *Philippica*, which indicated that Macedonian history was, more or less, the guiding or binding thread. Older history had culminated in the Macedonian Empire, and out of it had developed the great monarchies after Alexander. The work was thus an intelligent development of Polybian ideas.<sup>7</sup>

Probably it was from Timagenes that Trogus derived the concept of the "passing of empire" which the prophecy of Daniel made so popular in the Jewish and Christian world.

The work begins in the Far East and ends in the Latin West. It is the first example of non-Roman history in Latin literature. Trogus Pompeius broke with tradition and declared that history had a right to be interested in the achievements of every people. It was a daring undertaking for one who was neither a Greek nor a Roman to set himself to write history. It symbolizes the concept of universal humanity cherished by the Stoics that the inhabitants of the Roman Empire were all one people, that the world was a great, a wider Rome. In the time of Augustus the ancient Latin pride, the ancient Latin prejudice, was declining. Race mixture was the process of the time. Gauls, Africans, Spaniards, even British, were becoming fused in the vast melting pot. Slavery was declining and freedmen were increasing enormously in number. A new society was in process of formation.<sup>8</sup>

It is impossible to know the style of Trogus Pompeius under the mutilated abridgment of Justinus. Linguistically the loss of the text is great because it might have told us much of how a Latinized Gaul wrote Latin. It is regrettable that we have no account of the Roman conquest of Gaul from the pen of so cultivated a Gallo-Roman. But there is a faint reflection of Gallic patriotism in the saying which Trogus puts into the mouth of Mithridates, a jibe at the Romans because of their veneration "for their founders nurtured at the breast

<sup>7</sup> BURY, 236-37; most recent on Trogus is J. W. Swain, "The Theory of the Four Monarchies," *Classical Philology*, XXXV (1940), 1-21.

<sup>8</sup> See Tenney Frank, "Race Mixture in the Roman Empire," *AHR*, XXI (1916), 689-708.

of a she-wolf, and so has the whole Roman people inherited the spirit of wolves, insatiate of blood, greedy and hungry for wealth (XXXVIII, 6)."

Seven other historical writers of the age of Augustus are known to us by name, but not a vestige of their works has survived. These were Fenestella, Hyginus, Calpurnius, Volumnius, Marathus, Arruntius, and Clodius Licinius. Fenestella, who died in 19 A.D. and whom Lactantius lauded as a "diligentissimus scriptor," was the author of some *Annals* in at least twenty-two books. Hyginus was a freedman<sup>9</sup> of Augustus, a friend of Ovid, and librarian of the Palatine Library. He wrote some biographies after the fashion of Cornelius Nepos. Calpurnius and Volumnius were friends of Marcus Decius Brutus and his brother and wrote upon the civil wars. Marathus was another freedman of Augustus who wrote the history of his reign. Arruntius was author of a *History of the Punic Wars*, in which he slavishly imitated the style of Sallust and was ridiculed for his pains. Clodius Licinius began his history with the Punic wars and carried it down to the reign of Augustus.<sup>10</sup>

Suddenly this promising output of historical writing at Rome was suppressed. The government clamped down upon all literary activity with a rigid censorship. What would be today called liberty of speech and liberty of the press ceased. It was a new phenomenon in the history of literature. With what freedom had Aristophanes ridiculed the public men in ancient Athens! Caesar, although he was accused and derided as no Roman had ever been before him, had made no effort to suppress liberty of speech and liberty of writing. "Hitherto," as Tacitus has recorded, "men had been arraigned for their actions, but speech was free." The first conspicuous victim of the new order of things was Caesar's old lieutenant Labienus. His memoirs were not published, but circulated secretly until the manuscript fell into the hands of the police and was destroyed. Another who suffered was Cremutius Cordus. Tacitus has written his scorn of such measures. "One is inclined to laugh at the stupidity of men who suppose that the despotism of the present can efface the remembrance of the next generation. The persecution of genius merely procures infamy for the perpetrators of oppression and glory for the victims of tyranny." There was a law of treason at Rome, of course, but lese majesty hitherto had been defined as treason in war, incitement to sedition, and criminal administrative conduct.

It is important to understand the reasons for this abrupt change of

<sup>9</sup> The first freedman who wrote a history was L. Otacilius Pilitus, a former slave of Pompey, who freed him. He was the author of a *History of Pompey*.

<sup>10</sup> On these minor historians see TEUFFEL, I, secs. 255, 259, 262.

policy. Until late in his reign Augustus adhered to tradition and the law. But he became increasingly irritated over the interpretation of the great events of the last century of the Roman Republic by certain historians. Caesar had profited most from those events. But among the historians there were partisans of Marius, of Pompey (Livy at heart seems to have been a Pompeian), of Crassus, even of Sulla and Mark Anthony. The fall of the Republic and the thinly disguised imperial Principate established upon its ruins embittered republican die-hards. Brutus secretly was admired in many circles for having murdered Caesar. The Senate in particular was the center of this unreconciled republican sentiment of opposition. For the senators resented having been shorn of their powers under the new regime.<sup>11</sup> The profligacy which prevailed in high society, and of which members of his own family were guilty, afforded further opportunity for ridicule of the emperor. The republican opposition found capital in the scandals of the court. Accordingly the government shut down upon all literary activity in Rome, and severely regulated what might be published. This policy of regulation and suppression endured down to 96 A.D.

All kinds of literature suffered in this sharp transition from indulgence to severity, but history the most; for history dealt with politics and the emperors. Accordingly, all history had to be written with prudence, and much of it was written with flattery. Velleius Paterculus<sup>12</sup> was the first conspicuous example of the "new" history. He came of a distinguished family and was a soldier by profession, having served in Thrace or Macedonia, and later been a staff officer of Tiberius, when he was yet a prince and had not become emperor. His *Roman History* in two books is a symptom of the times. Book I begins with the first settlements of the Greeks in Italy and concludes with the Punic Wars (146 B.C.), and accordingly is a mere outline. Book II extends to 30 A.D., that is to say, down into the middle of the reign of Tiberius. The end is abrupt and unnatural. Why? Because Velleius Paterculus all of a sudden disappeared. It has been conjectured that he was implicated in the fall of Sejanus, the powerful minister of Tiberius, founder of the formidable praetorians, and poisoner of Drusus, son of Tiberius, who was executed with many others for conspiracy in 31 A.D.

Velleius Paterculus viewed history in terms of great men. The Second Punic War is a life of Hannibal; the Third Punic War a life of Scipio Africanus. The whole work is a portrait gallery in words. The

<sup>11</sup> For a masterly exposition of this subject, see Gaston Boissier, *L'opposition sous les Césars* (5th ed., Paris, 1905); also Jules Martha, "L'histoire et la liberté sous Auguste et ses successeurs," *RCC*, XII (1903-04), pt. i, 635-42, 776-84.

<sup>12</sup> TEUFFEL, II, sec. 278. English translation of his writings by Frederick W. Shipley (London and New York, 1924: Loeb Classical Library).

novelty of the work is in the appreciation he displays for literary and artistic history. He has the merit of having been the first to perceive these values. He is impressed with the intellectual supremacy of Athens and the intellectual apathy of Sparta, and wonders why the Greeks of Sicily and Lower Italy never developed as Attic Greece did. He is curious about the influence of Hellenism upon Roman civilization. A less pleasing novelty is his flattery of the powers that be. His pompous and turgid language becomes dithyrambic when writing of Tiberius, with whom he served on the Rhine in 6 A.D., when he found out that "the Lombards are fiercer than the other Germans," a passage which Tacitus later quoted (*Germania*, ch. 40).

Valerius Maximus<sup>13</sup> was a lighter dilettante, a base flatterer, and a shallower writer than Velleius Paterculus. His *Nine Books of Memorable Deeds and Sayings* (*Factorum dictorumque memorabilium libri novem*) is a compilation of anecdotes, fulsomely dedicated to Tiberius. These gleanings are classified topically under various heads, such as "Courage," "Patience," "Men of obscure birth who became famous," "Curiosities of great men," "Extraordinary deaths," etc., and on every one of them Valerius comments with invariable banality. He loved to adorn a tale and point a moral. The value of the work is in its lack of value. It shows the degraded condition of historiography under the Early Empire. History has become reticent, even silent over important things, and seeks to protect itself by adulation. The sole merit of Valerius Maximus is that he wrote almost Ciceronian Latin.

But even under these guarded and perverted conditions it was dangerous to write history in the reigns of Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero. In order to escape censure, and even death, it was safer not to write Roman history at all, especially that of the Civil Wars and Early Empire. This is what Quintus Curtius Rufus<sup>14</sup> did, who took refuge in Greek history and wrote a *History of Alexander the Great* in ten books, of which only the first two have come down to us. The loss is not serious, for Quintus Curtius was a mere compiler who wrote rhetorically and had a predilection for long speeches which he put in the mouths of his characters, at the same time indulging himself in pompous moral reflections. The biographical method of writing history was becoming tedious. But what other type could be written?

Between Quintus Curtius, who lived in the time of the Emperor Claudius (41-54 A.D.) and Tacitus, whose *Life of Agricola* appeared in 98 A.D., an interval of fifty years elapsed from which time no contemporary historical work has been preserved. But although it was the

<sup>13</sup> TEUFFEL, II, sec. 279.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, II, sec. 292; S. Dosson, *Étude sur Quinte Curce, sa vie et son oeuvre* (Paris, 1887).

age of the delator, the informer, history was not utterly silent. Among the historians anterior to Nero, four, of unequal value, deserve to be mentioned. These were: Brutteditius Niger, the Emperor Claudius, Aufidius Bassus, and Servilius Nonianus.<sup>15</sup> They are almost wholly known through the use which Tacitus made of them later. Brutteditius Niger was a servile flatterer, ambitious, unmoral, but with a flair for writing which Tacitus, though he despised the man, appreciated. He was friendly with Sejanus and was put to death with him. His *History* was of even less value than those of Velleius Paterculus and Valerius Maximus, whom he resembles.

The Emperor Claudius,<sup>16</sup> a pedant on a throne like James I of England, prided himself on his learning, which indeed was copious but antiquarian. He was an industrious compiler, the author of twenty books on the Etruscans, an eight volume *History of Carthage*, a *History of the Civil Wars* in eight books, and an *Autobiography*. The very listing of these works by Suetonius is sufficient evidence of his pedantry. The loss of these works for the factual information which must have been in them, however, is to be deplored. Aufidius Bassus was a writer of a different type. He was a man of philosophic mind, of real culture and real character. Seneca, who knew him when he was an old man, admired him.

It is uncertain with what events Aufidius Bassus began his narrative, whether from the commencement of the Civil Wars, from the death of Caesar or from where Livy ended, and at what point it closed, with the end of Claudius, or that of Caligula, or that of Tiberius. We only know that Pliny, who continued his work, treated at least of the latter part of the reign of Nero.<sup>17</sup>

Aufidius Bassus also wrote a *History of the German War (Libri belli germanici)*. Servilius Nonianus, who lived at the same time, is praised by Quintilian and Tacitus. We do not know what history he wrote.

A safer sort of history than that of the Civil Wars or Early Empire was written in this time, which may be described as half history and half travel literature. Such were Domitius Corbulo, who described his personal adventures and observations in Asia; C. Suetonius Paulinus, his travels in Mauretania; Titus Claudius Balbillus, his travels in Egypt; and L. Antistius Vetus, his adventures in Germany; he had been in command of the garrisons along the Rhine in 58 A.D. The value of these lost works for geography and ethnology, as well as for history, is evident, especially the last.<sup>18</sup>

These historical writers closed the period of the emperors of the Julian house, which expired with Nero (68 A.D.). Under the Flavian

<sup>15</sup> TEUFFEL, II, secs. 277, 291. <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, sec. 286. <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, sec. 277. <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, sec. 291.



dynasty were Fabius Rusticus, Cluvius Rufus, and Pliny the Elder.<sup>19</sup> We are well informed on all three of them, for Tacitus made large use of them. All three of them related the events of Nero's reign and as historians excelled their immediate predecessors. Pliny also wrote a *History of the Wars with the Germans* in thirty-one books. Fabius Rusticus was an intimate friend of Seneca the philosopher, who had been Nero's tutor. He survived all his friends and lived until 108 A.D. Tacitus could have talked with him. Cluvius Rufus was of aristocratic birth and active in public life. He was consul in 54 A.D. at a very early age, and governor of Spain late in Nero's reign. In the triangular civil war between Galba, Otho, and Vitellius which followed Nero's death, Claudius Rufus and Silius Italicus, author of a popular epic poem on the Second Punic War (*Punica*), were the secret agents who negotiated with Licinius Mucianus, governor of Syria—who incidentally may be said to have collected historical documents which he put at the disposal of his friend Pliny—to procure the triumph of Vespasian (69–79 A.D.) and so put an end to the wanton struggle. Tacitus expresses a very high opinion of Cluvius Rufus as an historian.

Pliny the Elder, whose *Natural History* alone has survived of all his works, was a commander in the Roman provinces along the Rhine during most of Nero's reign, then saw service in Spain, and under Vespasian was paymaster of the army in the East and on the staff of Titus at the siege of Jerusalem. He was a man of open mind, insatiable curiosity, and an omnivorous reader. He read at home and abroad, when travelling, when eating, when in the bath. He was always accompanied by slave secretaries to whom he constantly dictated. His nephew Pliny Minor has given a vivid account of his uncle's literary labors (*Letters*, III, 5). At the time of the great eruption of Vesuvius in 79 A.D. Pliny was in command of the fleet in the Bay of Naples and his curiosity to study the violent phenomenon at close quarters resulted in his death by asphyxiation. The loss of the *History of the Wars with the Germans* is a serious one, for Pliny's keenness of observation and his fulness of description were great. Undoubtedly it was the principal source of Tacitus' information when he wrote the *Germania*.

We must now turn to a consideration of another, and far more interesting type of historical literature. Under the Early Empire *historical memoirs* became as typical a form of literary expression as they did many centuries later in seventeenth and eighteenth century France. Even the emperors were authors. Augustus' *Historia sui temporis* is cited by Pliny the Elder, Suetonius, Plutarch, Appian, and Dio Cassius. Claudius wrote eight books of *Memoirs*, which Suetonius characterizes

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, secs. 312–14.

as "magis inepte quam ineleganter." Tiberius was the author of a *De vita sua* of brief compass, but it must have been of surpassing interest. What would we not give for the other side of the dark portrait painted by Tacitus? Even Vespasian, though he was a burly soldier and void of literary inclination, left memoirs, and his son Domitian must have had a hobby for them. "He never read anything except memoirs," says Suetonius. But of all the memoirs written during the Early Empire whose loss is to be deplored, probably the loss of Agrippina's memoirs is the greatest. Pliny and Tacitus praise them. Agrippina was the mother of Nero and the Catherine de Medici of the Roman world.

But there was another class of memoirs—the surreptitiously circulated and sometimes anonymous memoirs of writers opposed to the Caesars, which represented the literature of detraction, from which Tacitus and Suetonius acquired their often dark and scurrilous information. The former's somber pages in especial owe much to these sources. Without them even the genius of Tacitus could not have endowed dull annals and dry official documents with that lambent flame which his pages possess, for they have the sound and fury of Saint Simon's memoirs of the reign of Louis XIV. For example, take the chapter in the *Annals* (XIII, 15–16) which recounts the poisoning of Britannicus. The reader seems in the very presence of the actors of this drama. We see Nero, fat, sensual, cruel; the implacable Agrippina; Locusta the courtesan playing the part of a Lucretia Borgia; the strippling Britannicus; the great dining hall glowing with lights and throbbing with music. The picture is painted by a master hand. The same is true of that wonderful chapter in which Tiberius, after the death of Augustus, with feigned modesty addresses the Senate. The account has the serio-comic air of the Day of Dupes in the time of Richelieu, and must have been derived from the memoirs of some De Retz of imperial Rome. Interesting as these secret memoirs must have been, Tacitus perceived the difficulty and the danger of using them. "For while we instinctively shrink from a writer's adulation," he says, "we lend a ready ear to detraction and spite because flattery involves the shameful imputation of servility, whereas malignity wears a false appearance of honesty." The pithy nature of this analytic and antithetical sentence is typical of Tacitus' style.

C. Cornelius Tacitus<sup>20</sup> is the greatest name in Roman historiography,

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, secs. 333–39; Gaston Boissier, *Tacitus and Other Roman Studies*, tr. by W. G. Hutchison (London, 1906); Henry Furneaux, ed., *Cornelii Taciti Annalium ab excessu divi Augusti libri* (Oxford, 1884–91, 2 v.), I, introduction, 1–32; B. W. Henderson, *Civil War and Rebellion in the Roman Empire A.D. 69–70, A Companion to the 'Histories' of Tacitus* (London, 1908). There are various English translations of Tacitus' works; the versions in the Loeb Classical Library are by William Peterson, Clifford H. Moore, and John Jackson (London and New York, 1914–37, 4 v.).

comparable to Thucydides in Greek historiography. He was a copious writer. The list of his works arranged in their probable chronological order is: (1) *Dialogue on Orators*, (2) *Life of Agricola*, (3) *Germania*, (4) *Histories* (*Historiae*), (5) *Annals*. He was born about 55 A.D. and died about 120 A.D. By birth, character, and education he was essentially an aristocrat. Tacitus was destined for the law—hence his careful training in oratory, which powerfully influenced both his style and his method of exposition—but under Vespasian entered public life, and became in succession military tribune, aedile, and in 88 A.D. praetor. In the terrible rule of Domitian he retired to private life. His literary career begins with his *Life of Agricola*, who died in 93 A.D. and was his father-in-law, a former praetorian legate in Germany, pro-praetor in Belgica, and governor of Britain. It is of some historical value, but more interesting as an almost perfect tribute to an excellent Roman citizen who was not corrupted by the times. Then ensues a long silence. Tacitus found refuge among his books, but discreetly let few know that he was writing a history of the imperial period.

According to chronological order the *Annals* relate facts which were anterior to the *Histories*. But as the two periods were sharply distinct, the one being the Julian period, the other the Flavian period, Tacitus reversed the natural order of composition and began with the latter age which he knew well as a contemporary. The *Histories* extends from the death of Nero (68 A.D.) to the death of Domitian (96 A.D.) and is, therefore, a history of the Flavian dynasty. It contained fourteen, or possibly twelve books, of which only the first four and the first half of the fifth have come down to us. The question of the sources of the *Histories* is hotly disputed among scholars. Some think that Tacitus did a great deal of independent research (as he could since he did his historical writing in the reign of Trajan) in the archives, information which he supplemented from the recollections of friends and his own contemporary reminiscences. Others think that Tacitus was too much of a literary artist to perform the drudgery of digging in dry and dreary state papers, and that he relied for information upon the works of Cluvius Rufus and Pliny the Elder, who were in their prime in the Flavian period. Still a third group of scholars believe that Tacitus derived much of his material from Greek historians of the age, notably Plutarch. Plutarch's style in his *Lives* of the Emperors Galba and Otho is different from his usual style, and there is a remarkable parallel between Plutarch's account and Tacitus' account of these two shortlived emperors. This parallelism has led to various inferences. Did Plutarch copy Tacitus or Tacitus copy Plutarch? Or did both borrow from another historian? The supposition is strong that both

largely utilized the work of Cluvius Rufus, and that he is the main source of the *Histories*.

The method of exposition employed by Tacitus in the *Histories* was that of the orator. He rarely omits an opportunity to recite events, to formulate causes, to interpret movements by the device of throwing the narration or the argument into direct discourse and putting his own words into the mouths of interlocutors in the drama. There are seven of such notable discourses, as the address of Galba to Piso when he adopts him (I, 15), the speech of Piso to the soldiers (I, 29), Otho's speech to his army (I, 37), Otho's harangue to the revolted soldiers (I, 83), Otho's last speech to his soldiers (II, 47), Mucianus' address to Vespasian endeavoring to persuade him to declare himself emperor (II, 76), Vitellius' speech when he entered Rome (II, 90). As has been said, this was a literary device of ancient historical writers, which Thucydides introduced and which became a vogue in Greek and Latin historiography. The modern reader finds the practice tedious.

The *Annals*—a title for which there is no ancient authority—record the history of the emperors of the Julian house from Tiberius to Nero. Tacitus did not begin with Augustus. The period covered is from 14 to 68 A.D. Nine books have been preserved intact; of Books V, XI, XVI, there are only fragments. The whole of the reign of Caligula, the first six years of Claudius, and the last three years of Nero<sup>21</sup> are missing. Thus we have the record of forty years out of a total of fifty-four. The question of the sources of the *Annals* is a controverted one. He could not, of course, as in writing the *Histories*, acquire information from men who were still living, and seems to have used the works of previous writers such as Brutidius Niger, Aufidius Bassus, Servilius Nonianus, Pliny the Elder, and Seneca. Most scholars are convinced that he was content with drawing his information from these writers and the memoirs of the time, all of which are lost. It is as though a modern French historian were to write the history of Louis XIV from the memoirs of Cardinal de Retz, Saint Simon, Madame de Motteville, etc.

Judged by modern standards of historical research this method would not assure substantial history. But this reproach would not have disquieted Tacitus. He was an austere Roman of the old school, an aristocrat, a republican at heart because he believed that a republican form of government was more conducive to liberty than a monarchy, although he was honest enough to admit that in consequence of the abasement of public morals and the enormous expansion of Roman sway, the

<sup>21</sup> For Tacitus' reference to the "Chrestiani," see Adolf Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*, tr. by James Moffat (2nd rev. ed., New York and London, 1908, 2 v.), I, 413-14.

Republic had broken down and the Empire was necessary. Thus paying only left-handed homage to the Empire and hating or despising the emperors, history as it flowed from Tacitus' pen was deeply adverse to men and events under the Early Empire. His sources were almost wholly that literature of detraction which was surreptitiously circulated in every reign and which, if it does not itself survive, still lives in the vivid pages of Tacitus who imbibed its spirit.

Tacitus was less interested in ascertaining the facts and telling the truth in the light of them than in indicting the emperors, and with them by implication at least, the imperial government itself. A masterly analytic power, especially of psychology and character, combined with irony of superlative degree and a trenchant style made Tacitus what he is: one to be read as a great writer—Macaulay for example—is yet read, as a literary genius, but not as an historian. As to historical fidelity Tacitus must be read with infinite caution. In the dramatic character of his technique one finds the motive of his selection of material in accordance with his admitted prejudice against the principate. The anti-Caesarian tradition was well established before Tacitus wrote. The Tacitean Tiberius is one of the most criminous, cruel, and sadistic human monsters known to literature. But modern criticism has shown that the real Tiberius was one of the best of Roman rulers, and that Tacitus' account of him is a tissue of lies so artfully woven together that the fabric has the appearance of truth.<sup>22</sup> Modern scholarship has vindicated the character of the Emperor Claudius, the victim of the venom of Tacitus and Suetonius. The aspersions of the former were long believed as he was the darling of nineteenth-century German historians for his *De Germania*, a pastoral fantasy about the manners and customs of the ancient Germans. Yet Mommsen declared that in a military age Tacitus was "the most unmilitary of historians." Primarily Tacitus was a moralist to whom History was a lesson.

In the *Annals* Tacitus' style reaches the acme of forcible expression, "the most sustained example of a lapidary style before Gibbon." His language is so terse, so taut, so sinewy, that it is the hardest prose in Latin literature to read. But few writers are more worth reading, for Tacitus abounds with ideas. Sometimes his thought is so condensed, so compressed, so weighty that the language seems to sink under it. He is eminently a philosophic historian. His style is the antithesis of Cicero's balanced, flowing, and sonorous periods. The gradual develop-

<sup>22</sup> See T. J. Jerome, "The Tacitean Tiberius, a Study in Historiographic Method," *Classical Philology*, VII (1912), 265-92; the same writer's *Roman Memories in the Landscape Seen from Capri* (London, 1914), ch. xv, and *Aspects of the Study of Roman History* (New York and London, 1923), chs. xv-xvii; J. C. Tarver, *Tiberius the Tyrant* (New York, 1902); and Furneaux (n. 20 above), I, 112-37.

ment of it can be traced through all his writings, if taken in their chronological order, until its culmination in the almost terrific prose—the subtle lightning flash, the sullen peal, the thunderous roar, of the *Annals*. No Roman author except Horace is so eminently quotable as Tacitus. He is like Thucydides in his power of sententious observation, but far more cynical. Thucydides had no illusions, but there is a tinge of regret at times in his depression; Tacitus seems almost to glory in disillusionment and the negativeness of everything except himself. For he was a vigorous individualist, and in the face of the bitter realities around him he never lost faith in the value and the virtue of a resolute and honest man. It may not be amiss to quote a few of Tacitus' sententious observations:

In war every commander claims the credit of victory, but none admits the blame for defeat.

No hatred is so bitter as that of near relations.

Benefits received are a delight to us as long as we think we can requite them; when that possibility fails they are repaid with hatred instead of gratitude.

The more corrupt the state, the more numerous the laws.

All nations and cities are ruled by the people, the nobility or by one man. A constitution formed by selection out of these elements it is easy to commend, but not to produce; or if it be produced, it cannot be lasting.

There is some injustice in every great precedent.

The greatest crimes are perilous in their inception, but well rewarded after their consummation.

Magistrates administer their offices better at the beginning than towards the end of their term, when they are candidates for re-election.

Of all things human the most precarious and transitory is a reputation for power which has no strength to support it.

Everything which we now hold to be of the highest antiquity was once new.

The death of Germanicus was by none more ostentatiously mourned than by those who most rejoiced at it.

More faults are committed when we try to oblige than when we give offence.

History's function is to commend the just, and to hold up the evil to the reprobation of posterity.

Tyrants merely procure infamy for themselves and glory for their victims.

Bitter jests are longest remembered.

We extol the past and are indifferent to our own times.

It is easier to sway men in the mass than to avoid the dagger of the assassin.

One other work of Tacitus remains to be considered. This is the *Germania*,<sup>23</sup> or, more fully "On the Origins, Seat, and Customs of the Germans," which was written in 98 A.D. and therefore after the *Vita Agricolae* and before either of his historical works. It is a physiographic description of Germany, an ethnographic monograph, a study of the

<sup>23</sup> Excellent discussion by Jules Martha, "Tacite: La Germanie," *RCC*, III (1895), pt. ii, 304-10, 359-66, 426-33. On the sources, see A. Gudeman, in *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, XXXI (1900), 93-111.

institutions and moral nature of the German barbarians. The primary source of his information probably was Pliny the Elder's *History of the German Wars*, supplemented by information which Tacitus easily could have acquired from Roman officers who had seen service along the Rhine-Danube frontier. Except for Caesar's short notes upon the ancient Germans which he inserted in his *Gallic Wars*, matter for which he derived from Roman merchants resorting to the Germans for purposes of trade, and from the Gauls, Tacitus' *Germania* is the earliest account of them we have. Within the one hundred and fifty years which elapsed between Caesar and Tacitus, the Germans had greatly changed—at least those in the West, who dwelt near the Rhenish frontier. They were barbarians, but they were not necessarily barbarous. The great value of Tacitus' *Germania* is in the extended account which he gives of Germanic institutions: the family, the tribe, agriculture, social classes, morals, and manners. He faced enormous difficulties in writing of them, for the Germans were so different from the Mediterranean peoples, so different from any people of antiquity, a new race, in fact, with which the Roman world had come into contact, that there were often no words in the Latin language capable of describing their institutions. The German village (*dorf*) was utterly unlike the Roman *vicus*; there was nothing similar to the German *einzelhof* (*aedificium*) among the Romans; their agricultural system had nothing in common with Roman agriculture; there was no Latin word to describe the *hufe*, the *virgate*, or *ploughland*, even the plow was different. What did Tacitus mean by the words *arva per annos mutant*? Did he intend alternation between cultivated and fallow land? Or did he mean a rotation of crops? He was more successful in describing the German chieftain (*herzog*) and the war-band (*comitatus*), but unless we had later and purely Germanic evidence, we would be hard put to it to understand what Tacitus meant. Again, the religion of the ancient Germans baffled him. He searched for analogies in Greek and Roman religion and mythology, whereas the religion of the Germans was so different from that of classical antiquity that all analogies are false.

The intention of Tacitus in writing the *Germania* has been much discussed. Is it a serious, earnest endeavor to understand the ancient Germans and to describe their manners and customs to the Romans at a time when the German question was looming large upon the horizon of history? Or is the *Germania* a tract, wherein under the guise of history the great ironist flayed the morals of the Romans by contrasting their depravity with the purity of morals of a primitive people yet uncontaminated by the evils of civilization? Or again, did Tacitus

intend, in so lauding the individualism, the intense love of liberty of the Germans, covertly to reproach the Romans for their loss of liberty under worthless and tyrannical emperors like Caligula and Nero? Is the *Germania* history, or a moral tract, or a political pamphlet? Perhaps it is all three of these in one. If so, one may concur with Teuffel's judgment:

The *Germania* is neither an idyl nor a novel nor a political pamphlet (calculated e.g. to dissuade Trajan from an expedition to Germany), although it was doubtless partly occasioned by the fact that the new Emperor was at that time stationed in Germany, and Rome was then specially interested in the affairs of that country. It is rather a contribution to the task which is a. 4, 33 acknowledged to be an attractive one, *situs gentium describere*, and to which the *Agricola* had already contributed. But the execution is of course characteristic of Tacitus. Just as Horace (ca. 3, 24, 9) had represented the Scythians and Getae in an ideal light to bring into relief the corruption of Rome, Tacitus does likewise in respect of the Germans. He describes them with constant reference to his contemporaries, and frequently dwells on all that is fortunately strange to the Germans. . . . Yet the writer is far from merely holding up the Germans to his own age as perfect models; on the contrary, he notices serious faults in them . . . and even pronounces himself as a thorough Roman in opposition to their peculiarities.<sup>24</sup>

The "lost" books of Tacitus are more to be deplored than the "lost" books of Livy. The story of the discovery—or recovery—of the manuscripts of the *Historiae* and the *Annals* is a romance in itself. The *Annals*, XI–XVI and *Historiae*, I–V are preserved in only one MS., in the Laurentian Library at Florence. It was probably written at Monte Cassino between 1053–87, and was found in 1427. The MS. of *Annals*, I–VI was discovered in 1509 in the ancient monastery of Corvey in Westphalia. It is a ninth century MS. which was brought to Rome in the time of Leo X and thence removed to Florence. Tacitus was the least known of classical authors in the Middle Ages. Rudolf of Fulda, ca. 852, is the only writer known to have read the *Annals*.

With the death of Tacitus not merely vigorous historical writing terminated, but all Latin classical literature. For Martial the epigrammatist, the author of fifteen books of *Epigrams* "which turn on the social life of the Rome of those days with all its filth and its servility," and Juvenal the satirist, were younger contemporaries of Tacitus. The Silver Age of Latin literature begins in the second century.<sup>25</sup>

The decline, insofar as historiography is concerned, is typified by Suetonius (perhaps 75–160 A.D.).<sup>26</sup> He began life as a lawyer, but

<sup>24</sup> TEUFFEL, II, sec. 336, 3.

<sup>25</sup> For general characterization see *ibid.*, sec. 345.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, sec. 347; Gaston Boissier, *JS*, 1901, pp. 69–79; E. K. Rand, "On the History of the *De vita Caesarum* of Suetonius in the Early Middle Ages," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXXVII (Cambridge, 1926), 1–48; B. W. Henderson, *Five Roman Emperors: Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, A.D. 69–117* (Cambridge, 1927), and *The Life and Principals of the Emperor Nero* (London, 1903). Translation of Suetonius' works by J. C. Rolfe (London and New York, 1928–30, 2 v.: Loeb Classical Library).



became the Emperor Hadrian's private secretary, in which capacity he could have had access to official documents and archive material if he had so wished. Unfortunately there is little ground to believe that he practiced any original research. He was a man of erudition rather than of scholarship, a genial pedant, and a pleasant companion, as the *Letters* of Pliny Minor show. Besides history, Suetonius was interested in antiquities and especially in science and compiled a work entitled *De naturis rerum* in at least twelve books, which was important as one of the media through which ancient science was transmitted to the Middle Ages, though the work itself has not been preserved.

Of all Suetonius' voluminous writings only the *Lives of the Twelve Emperors* from Caesar to Domitian has come down to us. This work fixed the vogue for writing history in the form of biography so completely that henceforth to the end of the Roman Empire and well down into the Middle Ages it became a stereotyped practice. The *Lives* follow a rigid model. Each begins with an account of the family and lineage of the subject, followed by birth and education, an exposition of his career in chronological order of events, a physical description of his appearance, reflections on his character—in which Suetonius indulges in a great deal of prating and tedious moralizing—and finally an account of the emperor's decease. The work is monotonous in design, yet interesting, and not without historical value, although the author is indifferent to political and military matters, and primarily interested in producing a literary portrait that shall have balanced and proportioned treatment, with lights and shades imparted by means of judiciously selected anecdotes. Suetonius handled his sources intelligently, though not always with good taste, in the pragmatic way that was fashionable at the time. "He devoted himself entirely to that historical research which, if it has not won for him any dazzling fame, has made historical students, in spite of some reservations as to his sources, his debtors for all time."<sup>27</sup> But the *Lives of the Twelve Emperors* both in style and spirit represent a marked decline from the vigor of Tacitus or the vivid narration of Livy. The *Life of Domitian*, however, exhibits a much clearer understanding of Christianity than does Tacitus.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Samuel Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius* (2nd ed., London, 1905), 168.

<sup>28</sup> See Harnack (n. 21), II, 46.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE LAST LATIN HISTORIANS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

THERE was a marked decline in the quality and character of Roman historical writing in the second century, and few names need engage attention. This deterioration was partly due to the fact that under the Antonines there was little active history owing to the universal peace that prevailed, and partly due to the dissolving influence of the philosophic and religious spirit of the age. The ascendancy of the rhetorical method further vitiated effective writing.<sup>1</sup> The real history of these centuries is written in the inscriptions and the vast mass of administrative sources preserved in the Theodosian Code in the fifth century.

The only Latin historian of the second century worthy of the name was Fronto (ca. 100–170 A.D.),<sup>2</sup> a native of Africa, a rhetorician and an advocate, friend of the Emperor Antoninus Pius and tutor of Marcus Aurelius. Fragments of his *De bello Parthico*, which deals with the expedition of Verus in the East, and his *Principia historiae* survive. The most valuable of his writings are his *Letters* written to Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, which Cardinal Mai discovered concealed under a palimpsest in the Ambrosian Library, in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The *Epitoma de gestis Romanorum*, compiled from Livy by Florus, who lived in the reign of Hadrian, deserves notice only because of its immense popularity in the Middle Ages.<sup>3</sup>

In the time of the Severi (193–235 A.D.), however, there seems to have lived an historian whose name we do not know and whose work has perished, except insofar as it is embodied in “that ambiguous collection” of imperial biographies known as the *Historia Augusta*.<sup>4</sup> Whoever he was, he is to be distinguished from Marius Maximus (ca. 165–230), another historian of the same time, whose work also survives only as it has been embodied in the first part of the *Historia Augusta*.

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire* (2nd rev. ed., London, 1899), 440, n. 5; Henry Nettleship, *Lectures and Essays*, 2nd series, ed. by F. Haverfield (Oxford, 1895), 67; Theodore Haarhoff, *Schools of Gaul, A Study of Pagan and Christian Education in the Last Century of the Western Empire* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1920), 209–19.

<sup>2</sup> TEUFFEL, II, sec. 355.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, sec. 348; Danou, *JS*, 1824, pp. 44–52.

<sup>4</sup> This is the interesting thesis of Ernst Kornemann, *Kaiser Hadrian und der letzte grosse Historiker von Rom* (Leipzig, 1905); see also Otto T. Schulz, *Das Kaiserhaus der Antonine und der letzte Historiker Roms* (Leipzig, 1907).

Other biographers of the Severian epoch mentioned by the compilers of the *Historia Augusta* were Aelius Junius Cordus, Parthenianus, Aelius Maurus, and Marcellinus.

The question of the authorship, the credibility, and the time when the *Historia Augusta*<sup>5</sup> was written is the most controverted in Roman historiography. This collection of biographies of the Roman emperors falls into two parts. The first series comprises the lives of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, Pertinax, Julianus, Septimius Severus, and Caracalla, and was probably written by a single author. The second series was the work of various writers whose names are Spartianus, Julius Capitolinus, Vulcacius Gallicanus, Trebellius Pollio, Aelius Lampridius, and Flavius Vopiscus. Internal evidence in the biographies in the second part shows that they are largely rewritings of previous biographies by other hands. A great show is made of original documents, but all are subject to suspicion. Most of them are spurious. All are written in slavish imitation of Suetonius, but the Latin is not as good. Fortunately the authors are not rhetorical, but matter-of-fact writers. The first four probably lived in the reign of Diocletian (284-305); the last two perhaps as late as the time of Julian or Valentinian I (361-75). Gibbon described the *Historia Augusta* as having "neither method, accuracy, nor chronology. I think them below the worst monkish chroniclers extant." Another critic is more temperate and fuller in his estimation.

Their style is tame and plebeian; their conception of biography is that of a collection of anecdotes; they have no notion of arrangement, no measure of proportion, and no criterion of discrimination between the important and the trivial; they are equally destitute of critical and of historical insight, unable to sift the authorities on which they rely, and unsuspicious of the stupendous social revolution comprised within the period which they undertake to describe. Their value, consequently, depends very much on that of the sources to which they happen to have recourse for any given period of history, and on the fidelity of their adherence to these when valuable. Marius Maximus and Aelius Junius Cordus, to whose qualifications they themselves bear no favourable testimony, were their chief authorities for the earlier lives of the series. . . . For the later they have been obliged to resort more largely to public records, and have thus preserved matter of the highest importance, rescuing from oblivion many imperial rescripts and senatorian decrees, reports of official proceedings and speeches on public occasions, and a number of interesting and characteristic letters from various emperors. Their incidental allusions sometimes cast vivid though undesigned light on the circumstances of the age, and they have made large contributions to our knowledge of imperial jurisprudence in particular. Even their trivialities have their use; their endless anecdotes respecting the personal habits of the subjects of their biographies, if valueless to the historian, are most

<sup>5</sup> TEUFFEL, II, sec. 392; Léon Homo, *Essai sur le règne de l'empereur Aurélien*, 270-275 (Paris, 1904), 3-4; Orma Fitch Butler, *Studies in the Life of Heliogabalus* (New York, 1908: Univ. of Michigan studies, Humanistic series, IV, pt. i); Norman H. Baynes, *The Historia Augusta, Its Date and Purpose* (Oxford, 1926).

acceptable to the archaeologist, and not unimportant to the economist and moralist. Their errors and deficiencies may in part be ascribed to the contemporary neglect of history as a branch of instruction. Education was in the hands of rhetoricians and grammarians; historians were read for their style, not for their matter.<sup>6</sup>

In the matter of research and employment of sources, the compilers followed Roman precedent from afar. They were content to reproduce a source with more or less exactness, to copy shamelessly. This was the universal Latin custom. Probably they honestly did not know the name of the continuator of Suetonius, and none but Capitolinus seems to have discerned the importance of Marius Maximus. If we had the full text of Herodian we would know how much he was plundered. They stole entire chapters from a single author, and then inserted the name of imaginary writers in order to give the impression of research. We know almost nothing of the six supposed authors of the work, but their relations with the imperial court are absolutely certain, although they were not attached thereto, but dwelt in Rome, as the numerous references to the monuments and the environs of this city show. Not one of these biographers was capable of making researches in the archives, in spite of their pretensions.

The fourth century had two popular epitomizers: Aurelius Victor and Eutropius. The former, born at Leptis near Carthage ca. 325, was the author of two works: the *Caesares* and the *Epitome*.<sup>7</sup> The first extends down to Constantius (360), the second to the death of Theodosius (395 A.D.). Whoever the writer was whose work Aurelius Victor abbreviated, Monceaux goes so far as to write: "If his History had come down to us intact, Africa would have had her Tacitus in him."<sup>8</sup> He was a contemporary of Ammianus Marcellinus but wrote far better Latin. Eutropius lived in the reign of Valens (died 378) and wrote a *Short History of Rome* (*breviarium ab urbe condita*) in ten books, "with good judgment, skill, and impartiality and in a simple style. The brevity and practical arrangement of the work soon recommended it to a large class of readers, and it was both translated (into Greek) and continued."<sup>9</sup> Eutropius was a favorite book in the Middle Ages.

Certain technical works of an historical nature are also found in the late imperial period. As far back as the first century a military engineer named Sextus Julius Frontinus<sup>10</sup> wrote a manual of strategy, *Strategematon libri III*, based on a lost work on the art of war, and a treatise on the Roman aqueducts, both of value for the historical notes in them.

<sup>6</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th ed.), article "Augustan History" [Richard Garnett].

<sup>7</sup> TEUFFEL, II, sec. 414.

<sup>8</sup> Paul Monceaux, *Les Africains. Étude sur la littérature latine d'Afrique; les païens* (Paris, 1894), 424.

<sup>9</sup> TEUFFEL, II, sec. 415.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, sec. 327.

Far more valuable, however, is the *Epitoma rei militaris* of Flavius Vegetius,<sup>11</sup> written at the end of the fourth century, the most important work of its kind bequeathed to us from antiquity, a favorite book of medieval rulers, and the only technical military handbook before the Renaissance. Vegetius' sources, which he indicates, were Cato, Cornelius Celsus, Frontinus, Paternus, and the edicts and rescripts of Augustus, Trajan, and Hadrian. The work was dedicated to Valentinian II (375-92). An English version through the French was printed by Caxton in 1489. Living in a time when the military power of the Roman Empire was decaying, Vegetius aimed to improve it by making a study of the Roman army in the past. Book I deals with recruiting and instruction of soldiers; Book II with the organization of the legions and discipline; Book III with tactics and strategy; Book IV with attack and defense; Book V with the Roman navy. With Vegetius' work we may associate various *Itineraria*,<sup>12</sup> i.e., official road-books giving the courier stations of the imperial *cursus* or post. The most important of these is the *Antonine Itinerary*. Some of these works seem to have had maps in them. A *Handbook for the City of Rome anno 354*, was a partly historical, partly archaeological guide book to Rome.

Roman historiography, like the Roman Empire and its civilization and culture, was still slowly declining in the second half of the fourth century, although it was yet another century before it was eclipsed. In this penumbral period lived and wrote the last Latin historian before historical writing became a monopoly of the Church. This was Ammianus Marcellinus.<sup>13</sup> He alludes to himself as "*graecus*," i.e., from the Greek-speaking provinces of the Roman Empire, and was perhaps a Syrian, and certainly of noble birth. He learned Latin in the army and court where Latin was the official language.<sup>14</sup> He was born of a well-to-do family living in Antioch and enlisted in a cohort of cavalry of the imperial army in the reign of Constantius; served under Julian before he became emperor, and was yet prefect of Gaul against the Allemanni; was a member of Julian's staff when he was emperor and was with him in the disastrous expedition against the Persians in 363 when the emperor was killed. Ammianus then resigned his commission and retired

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, sec. 432.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, sec. 412.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, sec. 429; J. W. Mackail, "Ammianus Marcellinus," *Journal of Roman Studies*, X (1920), 103-18; H. A. L. Fisher, "The Last of the Latin Historians," *QR*, CCXXX (1918), 38-56, reprinted in his *Studies in History and Politics* (Oxford, 1920), 7-26; T. R. Glover, *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century* (Cambridge, 1901), ch. ii; HODGKIN, I, pt. i, 112-14; Jean Gimazane, *Ammien Marcellin, sa vie et son oeuvre* (Toulouse, 1889); Léon Dautremere, *Ammien Marcellin, étude d'histoire littéraire* (Lille, 1899). English translation of his history by John C. Rolfe (London and Cambridge, Mass., 1935-39, 3 v.: Loeb Classical Library).

<sup>14</sup> His *History* concludes with the words: "These things have I as an old soldier and a Greek set forth to the best of my ability."

to Rome in order to write his *Rerum gestarum libri XL*—the last important (if not great) history of Rome. Although a Greek by birth he wrote in Latin. His purpose was to continue the *History* of Tacitus, which had terminated with the murder of Domitian in 86 A.D. Unfortunately, of this very substantial and important work only Books XIV–XXXI have been preserved, which cover the years 352–378. The loss of the first thirteen books is a deplorable one for Ammianus was the best Latin historian after Tacitus. The work seems to have been published as each book was completed, the last one probably having been finished about 390. No writer since Dio Cassius made such careful and such full use of sources, or possessed so much good sense and intellectual honesty.

For a soldier, without other experience in writing, and writing in an acquired language, Ammianus' *Roman History* is a remarkable achievement. He must have been an assiduous reader and collector of books all his life. Moreover, he brought to bear upon his studies a large amount of information acquired from actual experience and observation. He is very valuable for military matters, administrative institutions, geography, and ethnographical information with regard to the border peoples of the Roman Empire. As a soldier he had seen service in Gaul, Thrace, Egypt, and the East. He is the earliest historian to mention the Burgundians and the Alani, and the first to describe the manners and customs of the Huns. As to his reliability, he himself says, and there is no reason to doubt the statement, that he has never distorted or suppressed evidence which he believed to be trustworthy. His style is diffuse but not turgid. It has the defects of the epoch—affectation, artificiality, exaggeration, and obscurity, and abounds in strained figures of speech. Internal evidence shows that Ammianus utilized all the authorities available, all previous historians, both Latin and Greek, and that he made some endeavor to do research in the archives.

Although Ammianus would not have understood the term "culture history," it is as an historian of culture that he is most valuable. His work is a *locus classicus* for much of our knowledge of the intellectual nature of the fourth century: its beliefs, superstitions, its pseudo-science, its religions. He lived in a time when the pagan culture was slowly dying and when Christianity was rapidly acquiring an ascendancy both as a religion and as a political force; for in 392 Theodosius I proscribed paganism, and made Christianity the state religion of the Roman Empire. But Ammianus' heart was with the old religion; it could not have been otherwise with one who was the intimate friend of the Emperor Julian. Yet he is not unjust to Christianity. He is

justified in complaining of the clergy's intolerance, graft, and corruption. St. Jerome himself is far harsher than Ammianus in criticism of the evils of Christianity. Like all Roman historians he was a moralist and inveighs time and again against political corruption, the frivolity and licentiousness of the age, exalts the old-fashioned virtues, and scores the current vices. He disliked lofty metaphysical speculation. As an old soldier he had rugged, disciplinary ideas of regulation of society. In the darkness falling around him Ammianus could see no light. Pessimism was a characteristic of classical Latin literature, but there is nothing more poignant in it than the words of Ammianus Marcellinus: "Nothing remained but tears and fears, the remembrance of the past being bitter, the expectation of the future still sadder."<sup>15</sup>

With Ammianus Marcellinus Latin and pagan historiography in the West ended. "Bibliothecis ritu sepulcrorum in perpetuum clausis—the libraries were closed forever like tombs" wrote Ammianus. It was so also in the East. Julian had futilely endeavored to restore paganism. When his death was known in Antioch the furious populace destroyed the great library which Trajan had established and which Julian had loved. Julian himself was the author of a lost work on the battle of Strassburg against the Allemanni.

The history of the Western Empire between 378 and 493 (aside from the meager allusions of ecclesiastical writers—to whom we shall come in the next chapter) is preserved for us in the *Anonymous Cuspiniani*, because first published by a Renaissance scholar named Joseph Cuspinianus. "It begins with a mere list of names of Consuls, very fragmentary, and of no great value. With the year 378, the point where St. Jerome's chronicle ends, 'the *Anonymous of Cuspinian*' becomes more valuable. He begins to insert much fuller notices of passing events, and is exceedingly precise in mentioning the day of the month on which each event occurred. It would probably not be too much to assert that at least half of the dates recorded by historians who write of the accessions and depositions of the Roman Emperors in the fifth century are due to the *Anonymous Cuspiniani*."<sup>16</sup>

After the *Anonymous*, historiography becomes a ravelled sleeve. Ausonius mentioned history as an accomplishment of some of his professors at Bordeaux, and Augustine estimated the study of history as of some value for the study of grammar.<sup>17</sup> There is a *Chronicon Imperiale*, one wrongly attributed to Prosper of Aquitaine; a *Chronica Gallica* to 511, which contains two important notices on the Saxon

<sup>15</sup> Bk. XXV, iv, 25: "Nihil (multa et nefanda perfessis hominibus) praeter lacrimas supererat et terrores, ubi et praeteritorum recordatio erat acerba, et expectatio tristior impendentium."

<sup>16</sup> HODGKIN, II, 190.

<sup>17</sup> Ausonius, *Profess.*, XX, 8, XXI, 26, XXVI, 3; Augustine, *De ordine*, II, 37.

conquest of Britain (408 and 441), the latter part of which was written at Marseilles; a continuation of Prosper compiled in the seventh century, probably in Italy, called the *Chronica Italica*, which really is a rehash of a chronicle which seems to have been first published in 387, and based upon a lost *Chronicle of Constantinople*. It was, from time to time, brought up to date, perhaps, as Mommsen suggests, by book-sellers.<sup>18</sup>

At the end of the fifth century we are standing on the threshold of the Middle Ages. Paganism is dead. The classical spirit has expired. The Latin language has changed both in vocabulary and in syntax. Words from the base language of the common people (*sermo plebeius*) have thrust up their heads; ancient classical words have disappeared or if preserved are only known to grammarians as archaisms. The Church and the Vulgate have created a new language, *Latina ecclesiastica*, which differs little except in technical words from the Low Latin of the people, or *lingua rustica*. All sense of proportion in historical writing has vanished. The influence of Christianity has monstrously distorted things, so that the historian begins with the Creation or the Flood or the Exodus. Only a most conservative writer will begin as late as the inception of the Christian era, although occasionally the belated influence of classical tradition may embolden an historian to begin with the Trojan War or Romulus and Remus.

In the poverty of decent historical literature the modern scholar is compelled to grasp at semi-historical—and even pseudo-historical sources—in order to eke out information. An example is the poetry of Claudian,<sup>19</sup> who flourished in the reign of the Emperor Honorius. By birth he was an Alexandrian Greek; hence Latin to him was an acquired language. Nevertheless, he had an extraordinary facility in the use of Latin and his poetry has both rhythm and dignity. All his effusions are commemorative of events; the most important of them are eulogistic of Stilicho, the brilliant Roman general of barbarian extraction who destroyed Radagaisus and his invading host in 404 and twice foiled Alaric's attempt to invade Italy. Claudian probably perished when Stilicho was murdered. He was, with Rutilius Namatianus, another contemporary poet, the last Latin pagan writer.

Protadius, a friend of Symmachus, had proposed to write a *History of Gaul*; and Sidonius Apollinaris at the suggestion of Prosper, bishop of Orleans, began a history of the *Wars of Attila and the Siege of Orleans*,

<sup>18</sup> GIBBON, III, 489.

<sup>19</sup> TEUFFEL, II, sec. 439; HODGKIN, I, pt. ii, 636-37; Dill (see n. 1 above), 44-45; J. H. E. Crees, *Claudian as an Historical Authority* (Cambridge, 1908); John C. Rolfe, "Claudian," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, L (Cleveland, 1919), 135-49. Translation of Claudian by Maurice Platnauer (London and New York, 1922: Loeb Classical Library).



for which through his relation with Avitus and other great men in Gaul of the time he must have had voluminous materials, but he never executed the project, and in a letter to Leo, the secretary of state to the Visigothic king, he gave his reasons at length for not undertaking to compose a history.<sup>20</sup> "You are the man to shoulder the burden," he wrote to his friend.

It remains to notice another class of historical sources which is of a narrative nature, although not formal chronicles. These are the *Letters of Symmachus* in the fourth century, the *Letters of Sidonius Apollinaris* and the *Letters of Synesius* in the fifth century. Quintus Aurelius Symmachus (ca. 345-405)<sup>21</sup> was descended from one of the oldest and noblest families of ancient Rome and was praetorian prefect in 384-85 and consul in 391. He pertained to that coterie of cultured nobles who in an age of decadence kept alive a love of classical literature, and loyally and loftily adhered to the pagan religion. Without being a scholar Symmachus was an urbane, cultivated Roman gentleman not unlike Pliny Minor in the second century. His *Letters*, for all their studied rhetoric, after the fashion of the day, are sincere reflections of an honest and intelligent mind, and a valuable source for the history of the fourth century, especially for the tragic effort of enlightened paganism "to uphold the flag of desperate fidelity in a hostile world."

In a letter written to his friend Protadius in the year 396 Symmachus writes that he will try to find for him a copy of Pliny's *History of the German Wars* and the last book of Livy. Hence the whole of Livy was still extant at the end of the fourth century, although perhaps difficult to procure. Three years later Symmachus gave another friend, Valerianus, a complete transcript of Livy.<sup>22</sup>

The *Letters of Sidonius Apollinaris* (ca. 430-480)<sup>23</sup> are of a far different sort. These chatty epistles of the bishop of Clermont in Auvergne are written to his friends among the lay proprietors and bishops of Gaul and reveal in intimate detail the easy-going, even luxurious life of the rich proprietary class of the time, the bishops among them, for by this time most of the bishops were drawn from the ranks of the Roman aristocracy. We see them superintending the cultivation of their vast estates by hundreds or thousands of slaves and *coloni* tenanted upon their lands, amusing themselves with hunting, lolling over rich and

<sup>20</sup> *Epist.*, IV, 22, tr. in O. M. Dalton, *The Letters of Sidonius* (Oxford, 1915, 2 v.), II, 38-40.

<sup>21</sup> TEUFFEL, II, sec. 425; Gaston Boissier, *La fin du paganisme: étude sur les dernières luttes religieuses en Occident au quatrième siècle* (9th ed., Paris, 1928, 2 v.), II, 155-94; Glover (see n. 13), ch. vii.

<sup>22</sup> *Epist.*, IV, 18, IX, 13. Cp. SANDYS, I, 226-28.

<sup>23</sup> Translation of the poems and letters of Sidonius Apollinaris by W. B. Anderson (London and Cambridge, Mass., 1936: Loeb Classical Library), and of the letters only, by O. M. Dalton, with a valuable introduction (see n. 20). TEUFFEL, II, sec. 467; HODGKIN, II, 297-373, a complete chapter on his writings; Dill (see n. 1 above), consult index; C. E. Stevens, *Sidonius Apollinaris and His Age* (Oxford, 1933).

heavy meals or in the bath, playing at reading or writing poetry, listening to the music of a slave orchestra, gambling, or drinking. We have a picture, too, in these letters of the Goths and Burgundians who in the fifth century occupied southern Gaul. They were not a half-bad lot, and the Roman population, patrician and peasant alike, got along with them without great friction. For the *real* nature of the so-called German conquest these letters are invaluable.

With the writings of Sidonius, we may associate the *Letters of Synesius*, though this person was a Greek, not a Latin. Synesius (ca. 370–430)<sup>24</sup> was a cultivated country gentleman, who had been born at Cyrene and educated at Alexandria, where he became a friend of the brilliant Hypatia. He was converted to Christianity by Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria in 409, who in the following year compelled Synesius against his will to be made bishop of Ptolemais in the Libyan Pentapolis. The office was no sinecure; for at this time the Eastern Roman Empire seemingly was in a state of dissolution, like the Western Empire. The province of Cyrene suffered as all the provinces did from internal abuses and corruption, while the fierce nomadic tribes of the Libyan desert beset the land with pillage and slaughter. Between times Synesius, like Sidonius Apollinaris in Gaul, found consolation in studying Neo-Platonic philosophy, writing poetry, and maintaining a large correspondence with his friends. We have one hundred fifty-three of his *Letters*. They are a valuable source for the history of the causes of the decline of the Roman Empire and for the light which they cast upon the intellectual interests of the age.

Finally, any consideration of the historiography of the late Roman Empire must include the *Theodosian Code*,<sup>25</sup> a codification of the laws of the Roman Empire made in the reign of Theodosius II, and published in 438. It is in sixteen books, and comprises the imperial legislation from the time of Constantine. It is the richest and most valuable source which we have for administrative and institutional history, for economic and social conditions, for the decline of paganism and the formation of the Christian Roman Empire.

<sup>24</sup> English translations by Augustine Fitzgerald, *The Essays and Hymns of Synesius of Cyrene, including the Address to the Emperor Arcadius and the Political Speeches* (London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1930, 2 v.), with a valuable introduction, I, 1–102, and an exhaustive bibliography, 103–07, and *The Letters of Synesius of Cyrene* (Oxford, 1926); German translation by Wolfram Lang, *Das Traumbuch des Synesius von Kyrene* (Tübingen, 1926). Henri Druon, *Études sur la vie et les oeuvres de Synésius* (Paris, 1859); Glover (see n. 13 above), ch. xiv; T. R. Halcomb, "Synesius," *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, ed. by William Smith and Henry Wace (London, 1877–87, 4 v.), IV, 756–80.

<sup>25</sup> TEUFFEL, II, sec. 461; Dill (see n. 1 above), all of Bk. III; J. H. Robinson, *Readings in European History* (Boston, 1904–06, 2 v.), I, 23–27; W. K. Boyd, *The Ecclesiastical Edicts of the Theodosian Code* (New York, 1905: Columbia Univ. studies in history, economics, and public law, XXIV, no. 2); J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius to the Death of Justinian, 395–565 A.D.* (London, 1923, 2 v.), I, 232–34.

## CHAPTER VII

### GREEK HISTORIANS UNDER ROMAN SWAY

POLYBIUS, as we have seen in a former chapter, was the first Greek historian who wrote under Roman sway. He is the earliest of a long series of historians of Greek blood, Greek culture, and the Greek language who lived in the last days of the Republic or during the Empire. In them we see the tradition of classical Greek historiography—for most of them never got wholly away from Herodotus or Thucydides—combined with the encyclopaedic method of the Alexandrian school and the rhetorical practices introduced by Socrates and cultivated by the rhetorical school. In spite of the faults of these historians who were Hellenic in culture, even if Roman subjects, they make a creditable showing—in the long run a better showing than the Latin historians, for their vitality lasted longer. The inalienable genius of ancient Greece tinctured them, gave them a zest for learning, and preserved their imagination when both these qualities had forsaken Latin literature. Roman historiography was all but dead by the second century. Greek historical writing under Roman sway endured until the passing of antiquity into the early Middle Ages. While the pagan world lasted, Greek historiography retained a remarkable vitality.

More than a hundred years after Polybius, in the first century B.C. when Rome's domination over Greece had been completed, lived Alexander Cornelius, a native either of Ephesus or Phrygia. He had been taken prisoner by Sulla and sold as a slave to Cornelius Lentulus who brought him to Rome as a tutor for his children, and gave him his freedom. He wrote a geographical-historical work in forty-two books, and many other works the titles of which are known. But none of these has survived except in fragments. He perished at Laurentium in the burning of his house and library. The most interesting of the fragments relate to the history of the Jews, for which Alexander drew on lost historical writings of Jewish and Samaritan Hellenists.<sup>1</sup>

Dionysius of Halicarnassus came to Rome about 29 B.C. and remained

<sup>1</sup> J. Freudenthal, "Alexander Polyhistor und die von ihm erhaltenen Reste jüdischer und samaritanischer Geschichtswerke," forming Heft 1 and 2 of his *Hellenistische Studien* (Breslau and Berlin, 1875-79, 3 pts. in 1 v.).

there for twenty-two years. "I took ship for Italy," he says of himself, "when the civil war was terminated by Caesar Augustus, and I have spent twenty-two years in Rome and learned the Latin language thoroughly and become acquainted with the national records." During all this period he devoted himself to the study of the Latin language and history and to the collection of materials for a great work, the *Antiquitates Romanae*, written in Greek, on which he believed that his fame would rest. It was published in 7 B.C. in twenty books, of which the first nine and a few fragments of the others have survived. His profession was that of a teacher of rhetoric and he wrote in the spirit of a Greek rhetorician. His object was to remove the prejudice of the Greeks towards the Romans. Its prolixity is shown by the single fact that no less than eleven books are occupied with the subjects contained in the first three books of Livy. His ideals were better than his execution. He quoted his sources, he used inscriptions as well as literary sources, he was accurate in chronology and knew the importance of geography. But he did not know when to stop, what to include and what to omit, and how to arrange his material.<sup>2</sup>

The geographer-historian Strabo (63 B.C.-24 A.D.)<sup>3</sup> was a native of Pontus. Plutarch quotes his *Memoirs* (in forty-three books), but his great work is the *Geography*, which was the most comprehensive attempted up to his time. It is a geographical survey of the whole Mediterranean world with many historical allusions. Humboldt said of it that "it surpassed all the geographical writings of antiquity both in grandeur of plan and in the abundance and variety of its materials." Strabo's mother's family was one of eminence; certain members of it had been in the service of Mithridates Eupator. His grandfather abandoned the Mithridatic cause and became a sympathizer with Rome's policy in the East. Strabo received a thorough education in philosophy, history, mathematics, and astronomy. His greatest interest was in history and geography and he seems to have owed special inspiration to Polybius, in whom, as we have seen, history and geography were associated. He travelled widely in the East. His knowledge of the West was derived from much reading of books rather than from observation. The *Geography* consists of seventeen books. The first two form a general intro-

<sup>2</sup> *The Roman Antiquities of Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, with an English translation by Earnest Cary (London and Cambridge, Mass., 1937-39, 2 v. published, to be complete in 6: Loeb Classical Library); extracts in Arnold J. Toynbee, *Greek Historical Thought from Homer to the Age of Heraclius* (London and New York, 1924), 223-29.

<sup>3</sup> *The Geography of Strabo*, with an English translation by Horace L. Jones (London and New York, 1917-32, 8 v.: Loeb Classical Library); H. F. Tozer, *Selections from Strabo, with an Introduction on Strabo's Life and Works* (Oxford, 1893); E. H. Bunbury, *A History of Ancient Geography Among the Greeks and Romans* (2nd ed., London, 1883, 2 v.), II, chs. xxi-xxii; J. P. Mahaffy, *The Silver Age of the Greek World* (Chicago, 1906), chs. x-xi.

duction, the next ten deal with Europe, the four following with Asia, and the last with Egypt and Africa. He

. . . reviews his principal predecessors, beginning with Homer and passing on to Anaximander, Hecataeus, Democritus, Eudoxus, Dicaearchus, Ephorus, Eratosthenes, Polybius, and Poseidonius. He also gives us his general notions of the figure and dimensions of the earth, and the climatology of the different zones. According to him the earth is a globe, fixed in the center of the universe, and its habitable portion resembles a military cloak, and extends from Ireland to Ceylon.

The most famous passage is that in Bk. I, ch. iv, 6, in which he conjectures that, as the inhabited world is only one-third of the circumference of the globe, which he calculated at 25,200 geographical miles, there might be two or more continents besides those then known.

The concept of universal history, which originated out of the enormous conquests of Alexander the Great, whose power supplanted that of the four great monarchies which preceded Macedonian sway,<sup>4</sup> became an established form of historiography in the first century B.C. This concept was partly the result of Rome's *Weltmacht*, partly the result of the influence of the Stoic idea of the brotherhood of man. In the reign of Augustus, Diodorus of Sicily wrote his *Bibliotheca*,<sup>5</sup> a universal history of huge dimensions, and said in the preface:

Furthermore, it has been the aspiration [of those writers who have composed universal histories] to marshal all men, who, although united one to another by their kinship, are yet separated by space and time, into one and the same orderly body. And such historians have therein shown themselves to be, as it were, ministers of Divine Providence. For just as Providence, having brought the orderly arrangement of the visible stars and the natures of men together into one common relationship, continually directs their courses through all eternity, apportioning to each that which falls to it by the direction of fate, so likewise the historians, in recording the common affairs of the inhabited world as though they were those of a single state, have made of their treatises a single reckoning of past events and a common clearinghouse of knowledge concerning them.<sup>6</sup>

His history, which from its comprehensiveness was styled *Bibliotheca*, or a whole library, is divided into three parts and comprises forty books. The first dealt with the mythical age of the non-Hellenic, and then with the Hellenic peoples; the second part ended with the death of Alexander; the third carried the subject to the beginning of Caesar's conquest of Gaul. Of this enormous work there have survived only the first five

<sup>4</sup> Conrad Trierer, "Die Idee der vier Weltreiche," *Hermes*, XXVII (1892), 321-44. Daniel's "vision of empires" was of Greek, not Hebrew, origin.

<sup>5</sup> *The Library of History of Diodorus of Sicily*, with an English translation by C. H. Oldfather (London, New York, and Cambridge, Mass., 1933-39, 3 v. published, to be complete in 10: Loeb Classical Library).

<sup>6</sup> Compare this idea with St. Paul's Stoic ideas—"God made of one blood all men for to dwell on the face of the whole earth."—See G. Busolt, "Diodors Verhältnis zum Stoicismus," *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, CXXXIX (1889), 297-315; Curt Wachsmuth, *Einleitung in das Studium der alten Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1895), 93-94.

books, dealing with the mythical period of the peoples of antiquity, Egyptians, Assyrians, Ethiopians, and Greeks, and Books XI-XX, beginning with the history of the Persian Wars and ending with the wars which ruptured the Macedonian Empire. Only fragments remain of the residue of the work. Diodorus never mastered his materials nor did he have a clearly thought out method of exposition. Nevertheless his *Bibliotheca Universalis* is a valuable book because what we have of it preserves so much that we can form some estimate of the knowledge of the ancient Orient possessed by the classical peoples.

In the preface Diodorus complained of the deplorable practice of publishers of mutilating the works of authors by reducing them to mere epitomes or abridgments and promised the reader that he would not have his book thus abused. He kept his word. For he quoted copiously from his sources—too copiously. He could not assimilate all that he read, but his method of composition makes Diodorus a mine of information on many ancient Greek historians who are otherwise unknown. Literary inferiority does not always disqualify an historian. Diodorus was uncritical and his style is wearisome, but he is invaluable for the fullness of his information. He is the chief guide for the history of Sicily before Polybius.

The Far East of the Roman Empire in the reign of Augustus also had its historian. This was Nicholas of Damascus, the former tutor of Herod the Great, whom he followed to Rome, where he won the regard of the emperor and was entrusted with the education of the children of Anthony and Cleopatra. His literary work was very varied, for he wrote tragedies and comedies, divers philosophical treatises, a *Life of Caesar*, a *Life of Augustus*, his own *Autobiography*, and finally a great *Universal History* in one hundred forty-four books, of which only a few fragments remain.<sup>7</sup>

The history of the Jews had attracted the interest of Alexandrian Jewish writers ever since the wide and pacific dispersion of the Jews as the result of Alexander's union of the Eastern world. Among these were Demetrius, Eupolemus, Artapanus, Aristaeas, Malchus, and Thallus, the last probably a Samaritan.<sup>8</sup>

It is to be observed that these writers were Hellenized Jews. A curious inhibition prevented the writing of history among the orthodox Jews.

In the days of Jesus the Jews of Palestine were not engaged in writing books. It is not too much to say that a Jerusalem or Galilean Jew of the time of Christ would regard

<sup>7</sup> What has survived of the *Historia universalis* is found in *Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, ed. by Karl Müller and others (Paris, 1868-84, 5 v.), III, 313 f.; *Vita Augusti*, ed. by Grelli (Leipzig, 1804); *Vita Julii Caesaris*, found in the Escorial Library and published by Piccolos with a French translation (Paris, 1850).

<sup>8</sup> On all these see W. N. Stearns, *Fragments from Graeco-Jewish Writers* (Chicago, 1908).

writing a book in his native tongue with positive horror. Even a century before, a Jew who wrote a book felt obliged to put it under the name of some ancient worthy like Enoch, the seventh from Adam, or to claim as its author some ancient Jew of what was called the Prophetic Period, which was understood to extend from Moses to Ezra, and from which it was believed all sound books on religion must come. This aversion to writing books was not merely negative. It was positive. They had plenty of things to say and they said them, but they would not write them. Those were the days when the famous oral amplification of the Jewish Law was being developed by such masters as Hillel and Shammai. But the Jews would not write it; they memorized it. It seemed an act of impiety to write it, for then it might seem to rival the Scripture itself. . . . It is impossible to realize the fantastic unreality of the first-century Jewish attitude toward writing books. . . . If anything could heighten the picture, it is the behavior of Jews of that very period [following 50 A.D.] who escaped from these narrowing walls into the great Greek world of the day. Such men wrote books freely, but they wrote them principally in Greek . . . Philo, Paul, and Josephus tell the story.<sup>9</sup>

Josephus was the first Jewish historian to attract the attention of the gentile world.<sup>10</sup> He was a prolific writer. We possess his *Jewish War*, *Jewish Antiquities*, *History of the Ancient Jews*, his *Autobiography*, and various controversial tracts. He wrote in Greek, but the historical works were translated into Latin in his own life time, and the *Antiquities* was written in Latin, for Josephus was equally fluent in the Greek and Latin languages. He was sent to Rome to present the complaints of the Jews in the reign of Vespasian, and when the Jewish War broke out defended the citadel of Jotapata in Galilee and fell into the hands of the Romans. He became a favorite of Titus, the imperial commander and son of Vespasian, and thereafter was an intense partisan of the Romans, for which he incurred the hatred of the Jews, who still execrate his memory. It is not to be denied that Josephus was ambitious for his own advancement. After the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. Josephus accompanied Titus to Rome where he occupied himself in composing those works which for the first time introduced the history of the Jews to Western society, and made knowledge of it a general literary possession.

Josephus must always be read with caution. He transformed the Pharisees and Sadducees into philosophical sects which discussed free will and the immortality of the soul. He must have deliberately omitted

<sup>9</sup> E. J. Goodspeed, "The Original Language of the Gospels," *Atlantic Monthly*, CLIV (1934), 475.

<sup>10</sup> Translation of Josephus' works by H. St. J. Thackeray and Ralph Marcus (London and New York, 1926-37, 6 v. published, to be complete in 8: Loeb Classical Library); there are many others, as of the *War of the Jews* by William Whiston (Everyman's Library). See H. St. J. Thackeray, *Josephus, the Man and the Historian* (New York, 1929); F. J. Foakes-Jackson, *Josephus and the Jews* (London, 1930); Bernhard Brüne, *Josephus der Geschichtsschreiber*; Emil Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi* (4th ed., Leipzig, 1901-11, 3 v.), tr. into English as *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Christ* (2nd ed., New York, 1885-91, 5 v.); Lion Feuchtwanger, *Josephus*, tr. by Willa and Edwin Muir (New York, 1932); S. Krauss, "Josephus," *The Jewish Encyclopaedia* (New York and London, 1901-06, 12 v.), VII, 274-81, and J. Gutmann, in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Berlin, 1928-34, 10 v. to date), IX, 394-420, both with excellent bibliographies.

mention of the Messianic expectations of the Jews, and wilfully thrown the whole responsibility for the Jewish revolt upon a few fanatics so that the Jewish people as a whole might seem blameless. He also was capable of claiming to be copying from official documents when it is evident that he was not doing so; and one must doubt that he was an eye-witness, as he says, of some of the events which he relates. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that without Josephus it would be impossible to reconstruct the Graeco-Roman period of Jewish history. Moreover, it is to be kept in mind that Christian copyists have often interpolated or mutilated the texts.<sup>11</sup>

After the death of Titus, Josephus evidently was stricken off the payroll of Domitian, and was thrown upon his wits to earn a living. The book trade in Rome at this time was a flourishing one, and a certain Epaphroditus employed writers on commission.

Adaptable as ever, Josephus took on work under Epaphroditus . . . not Nero's favourite of that name, as has often been supposed, but a man who is described to us by Suidas as a "grammarian," and great collector of books. He seems, in fact, to have been a speculative publisher on a large scale in Rome, and probably maintained a number of writers who produced works for him which he caused to be copied for the market by a large staff of professional slaves. He had started life in Chaeronea as a slave himself, but having acquired proficiency in letters had been bought by a prefect of Egypt and employed to teach his son. Later on in Rome the prefect gave him his freedom and Epaphroditus, after an early life of strange vicissitudes, found himself a man of mark in the literary world. . . . Whilst the memory of the Jewish war was still fresh in men's minds, and the arch of Titus, with its representation of the sacred candlestick and other Jewish spoils carried in procession, was a new feature of the [Roman] Forum, there may well have been a demand in the Roman world for books about the Jews. Josephus had already produced one book which had been issued with imperial authorisation. From the point of view of Epaphroditus, it would probably be a good speculation to maintain Josephus whilst he composed a really large work, which told the whole story of the Jewish people from the beginning. Thus it was that Josephus sat down to the longest literary work of his life, the *Ἰουδαϊκὴ Ἀρχαιολογία* [*Jewish Antiquities*] in twenty Books. . . . It was the year 93/94 A.D., when the last roll was added to the rest. The work must have sold well, since we find Josephus after its publication writing the two books of the *Contra Apionem* for Epaphroditus.<sup>12</sup>

It was long ago pointed out by Mommsen that Cluvius Rufus was the probable source of Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*, XIX, secs. 201–11. More recently the late St. John Thackeray has shown by internal evidence that almost all of Books XV to XIX is derived from Cluvius Rufus. The moralizing tone of the subject-matter in these books, notably the delineation of the character of Caligula and Nero, is in marked contrast with Josephus' treatment elsewhere. From Cluvius Rufus,

<sup>11</sup> For an adverse judgment on Josephus as an historian, see Charles Guignebert, *The Jewish World in the Time of Jesus*, tr. into English by S. H. Hooke (London, 1939).

<sup>12</sup> Edwin Bevan, "Josephus," *QR*, CCLIII (1929), 85–100, quotation from 94–95.



too, Tacitus got his lofty tone of moralizing, though he was far too good an artist merely to adopt another writer's phrasing of opinions, as Josephus seems to have done. Josephus also utilized Nicholas of Damascus' *History of Syria* and some unidentified historical work which began with Antiochus Epiphanes and furnished important information up to at least the period of the Seleucids.<sup>13</sup>

But narrative history was less interesting to the Graeco-Roman mind than biography. The influence of great men upon history is still a moot point of discussion among historians. The "great man" theory of historical interpretation has many votaries, and is certainly a popular method of presentation.<sup>14</sup> In our time the life of an individual is studied as often as not independently of the general circumstances which surrounded him. In antiquity, on the other hand, biography was intimately associated with the history of country or state or culture. Not only separate biographies of great persons, political and military, were popular; but biographies in classified series were current, as Cornelius Nepos' *Lives of Great Captains*, Suetonius' *Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, and Diogenes Laërtis' *Lives of the Philosophers*. All biographical treatment, however, in antiquity was inclined to moralize—to make the subject a pattern to be admired and imitated, or an object of repulsion. Cicero, in his *De officiis*, concisely expressed this view in the words: *Neminem laedere et suum cuique tribuere*: to injure no one and to give each his due.

The vogue for biography reached its maximum in Plutarch's *Lives*,<sup>15</sup> one of the world's classics. Plutarch was born at Chaeronea in Boeotia, between the years 46 and 48 A.D., in the reign of the Emperor Claudius. He was educated at Athens where he studied medicine, rhetoric, and philosophy. Later, he visited Egypt and Italy and resided in Rome during the Flavian rule. During these twenty years he travelled much, and always displayed a patriotic solicitude for his native country whose political attorney he practically was at Rome. He seems to have supported himself by teaching at Rome with some success. He devoted himself to researches in the Roman libraries and archives, and perhaps had knowledge of Pliny Minor and Tacitus, though it is not clear that

<sup>13</sup> Adolphe Buchler, "Les sources de Flavius Josèphe dans ses *Antiquités* (XII, 5–XIII, 1), *Revue des études juives*, XXXII (1896), 179–99, XXXIV (1897), 69–93.

<sup>14</sup> For a discussion of this matter, see G. P. Fisher, "The Function of the Historian as a Judge of Historic Persons," *Annual Report of the American Hist. Association*, 1898 (1899), 15–33.

<sup>15</sup> The best English translation is that of Bernadotte Perrin (London and New York, 1914–26, 11 v.: Loeb Classical Library). Lord North's original translation of Plutarch's *Lives* (1579), not from the original Greek but from the French translation of Amyot, profoundly influenced Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, *Coriolanus*, and *Anthony and Cleopatra*. Friedrich Leo, *Die griechisch-römische Biographie nach ihrer literarischen Form* (Leipzig, 1901); Konrat Ziegler, *Die Ueberlieferungsgeschichte der vergleichenden Lebensbeschreibungen Plutarchs* (Leipzig, 1907); E. Egger, "De quelques publications récentes concernant Plutarque et ses écrits," *JS*, 1884, pp. 117–25, 191–99, 246–57.

he knew either of these personally. Shortly before the death of Domitian he returned to Chaeronea where he lived until a great age, much honored by his fellow citizens. Neither Tacitus, nor Pliny, nor Suetonius mentions him.

Plutarch was one of the most prolific writers of antiquity. His known works comprise forty-eight biographies, and seventy-eight treatises or dialogues. Besides these, he wrote one hundred thirty other works which are lost. By far his best-known work is the *Parallel Lives*, forty-six of them, in which he portrays eminent Greeks and Romans side by side, first writing of each separately and then instituting a comparison, in which his fondness for moralizing comes out. Examples of such are: *Themistocles and Camillus*; *Lycurgus and Numa Pompilius*; *Aristides and Cato*; *Pyrrhus and Marius*; *Alexander and Caesar*; *Demosthenes and Cicero*.

Plutarch is to be interpreted as a moralist, not as an historian. He admired the Roman civilization and the political solidity of the Empire, but he loved his native land and was sensitive to influences to which Rome was indifferent.

In order to explain Plutarch's character and to understand the fashion in which he conceived antiquity, it is necessary to take into account the times in which he lived. After the death of Alexander the Great, in the last quarter of the fourth century B.C., a profound change took place in the Greek world. Between this date and that of Plutarch is a space of four hundred years; and in this interval a crowd of facts, culminating in the Roman conquest of Greece, profoundly altered the eastern Mediterranean world and gave birth to a new form of Hellenism. Before Alexander, Greece was composed of independent city states, each living its own life and having its own past traditions in history. But after Alexander's conquests these cities all of a sudden sank from independent city states to mere capitals of Roman provinces. The horizon of the actual Greek world was narrowed again. Hellenic civilization, having penetrated the East, had created states which were a mixture of Oriental and Greek civilization, like the empire of the Seleucids and the kingdom of the Ptolemies. But what was left of Greece itself? Nothing but a group of cities shorn of their independence, cut off from their past, forcibly attached to Rome. Under these circumstances, the old life abandoned them and found new habitation in the provinces of Roman Asia and Africa. This condition of things reacted upon intellect and culture. The spirit of Greece was transformed, municipal issues and petty provincial rivalries took the place of discussion of the great political problems such as had interested Thucydides and Pericles. It was natural that a Greek of feeling should look back upon the past through the transfiguring

mists of time and see things in an idealized way. What had the Greek world after the Alexandrian epoch in common with ancient Greece? Hundreds of towns of the Hellenic world had a population which had nothing in common with Greece. Alexandria, Antioch, Tarsus, were peopled by men who had not a drop of Greek blood in their veins. Under these conditions how could literature flourish as of old? Greece had lost her national character and with the change suffered the loss of many other national elements. This transition accounts for the materialism, the pettiness, the lack of ideals, which characterized Hellenic civilization when the Greek world was under Roman sway. It was Plutarch's almost passionate purpose to recall that vanished Greek idealism and reverence for morality.

It is curious that Plutarch, after having enjoyed so great a glory, should be today so little read. The reason is that he no longer reflects the idea which we have of the ancients. We do not wish to see Pericles under the same traits as Caesar and Augustus; nor the great personages of antiquity represented in a vague ideal and without accurate lines. The abstract portraiture of Plutarch has nothing in common with modern taste or modern scientific method. We want to know the spirit of the age, the politics, institutions, the civilization of a man's time.

But from the Renaissance to the French Revolution, Plutarch enjoyed a great popularity. The intense individualism of the Renaissance which found expression in so many biographies of men of action and men of letters felt a sympathy for Plutarch which we do not have today. During the French Revolution, the fantastic admiration for men and things of the classical epoch, and the demoralization of the manners of the *ancien régime*, contributed to give Plutarch an immense vogue. Perhaps some day Plutarch may come into his own again, when men once more read him as an escape from the materialism of our modern mechanized civilization, and seek to find solace in ideas and ideals instead of things.

Appian was an exact contemporary of Plutarch, and like him a Greek who lived in Rome.<sup>16</sup> He was a native of Alexandria, and became a distinguished advocate, pleading the causes of Greek citizens of the Roman world who had cases before the courts. He wrote in Greek, but wrote of Roman history and not of Greek history. This fact of itself entitles him to distinction. Appian's *Roman History* was a voluminous work which covered the history of the Republic and the Empire down to his own

<sup>16</sup> *The Roman History of Appian of Alexandria*, tr. by Horace White (New York and London, 1899, 2 v.), with translator's preface, pp. vii-xlviii, and a bibliography, pp. xlix-liv. White's translation was reissued in the Loeb Classical Library (London and New York, 1912-13, 4 v.), but the preface and bibliography were omitted.

times, i.e., the reign of Hadrian. He was an admirer of Rome. Fortunately it is the least valuable portion which has perished. We have the entire history of the wars in Spain, the Punic Wars, the conflict with Macedonia and Mithridates, the Civil Wars, and some fragments of the Celtic and Gallic Wars, in all about one-half of the original twenty-two books. Appian's method consisted in grouping events by nations or countries. His *Roman History*, therefore, is a series of separate monographs. He lacks critical ability, is careless of chronology, and gives no indication of his sources, which must be ascertained from internal evidence. Nevertheless, Appian's work is of very great value, for it enables us to control other historians of the same events. This is conspicuously true of his account of the Gallic Wars. For it is only by Appian that Caesar's *De bello gallico* may be checked, and the "control" is adverse to the truthfulness of Caesar's account. The best part of Appian's work is the history of the conflict between Sulla and Marius. It is the best documented. In choice of facts Appian is interesting. He cared little for religious matters, the details of private life, or mere military history. His dominant interest is in administration, the laws, and institutions. His primary sources seem to have been Livy and Velleius Paterculus, but he used many other sources which have not survived. Probably Sisenna was the common source of Livy, Velleius Paterculus, and Appian. There are traces in Appian of the use of four other sources. The most interesting of these is Rutilius Rufus whose valuable memoirs have entirely disappeared. Another source seems to have been Aurelius Victor. The resemblance is striking between parts of Plutarch and Appian, which arises from the fact that both followed the same Greek source. Finally, there is evidence that Appian used documents in the archives. He has introduced three such texts and there is proof of his employment of legislative documents as well as inscriptions.

Another Greek writer in the reigns of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius, who although not strictly an historian, yet embodied much historical information in his work, was Pausanias.<sup>17</sup> In order to understand his work it is necessary to know what intense interest cultivated people of the Roman world took in the mythology, legends, and antiquities of Greece. The Hellenistic renaissance under Hadrian gave an enormous impetus to tourist travel in Greece, which had not been light even in the previous century, chiefly owing to Nero's romantic

<sup>17</sup> *Pausanias' Description of Greece*, tr. with a commentary, by J. G. Frazer (2nd ed., London and New York, 1913, 6 v.); another translation by W. H. S. Jones and R. E. Wycherley (London and New York, 1918-35, 5 v.: Loeb Classical Library). Frazer has an admirable introduction on Pausanias' sources, method, etc.; see also Karl Robert, *Pausanias als Schriftsteller, Studien und Beobachtungen* (Berlin, 1909), reviewed by D. M. Robertson, *American Journal of Philology*, XXXI (1910), 213-22.

visit to Greece.<sup>18</sup> So great was this form of traffic through Brindisi that guide books were sold at the piers to voyageurs. Like Herodotus and Strabo, Pausanias was an inquiring traveller, anxious to see every important site and sight in Greece, which then, as now, was the acknowledged cradle of culture. Then, as not now, temples and stoas and walls and inscriptions were still standing, roads were good, traditions and legends cherished and still well-nigh intact. Greece in Roman times was a vast open air museum of exquisite desiccated antiquities. Genealogical lore, religious traditions, archaic art, and archaeology were Pausanias' hobbies. To the historian the book is a mosaic out of which he picks pieces and fragments of historical evidence according to his interest.

Plutarch, Appian, and Pausanias, though Greeks, owed something of their art and their culture to Roman influence. But in these same years far away in Nicomedia in Bithynia dwelt a Greek historian who dreamed and wrote of a history that happened when Rome was still a hill-town of Latium. This was Arrian (ca. 95-175).<sup>19</sup> Yet perhaps Arrian was more romanized than Plutarch and Appian and Pausanias, for his first name was Flavius. He was both a Roman and an Athenian citizen and in his youth came to Rome to study philosophy. When an edict of Domitian drove the philosophers out of Rome and Italy, Arrian found a home with Epictetus, the great Stoic philosopher, in Nicopolis, became his literary heir, edited his lectures, and published an abstract of his philosophy. When the Emperor Hadrian was travelling in the East in 126 A.D. he met Arrian and was so impressed with him that he persuaded him to enter the government service. In 131 A.D. Arrian was military inspector of the Black Sea coast. In 146 A.D. he was raised to the consular rank. The remainder of his life Arrian spent in quiet, studious retirement as a priest of the temple of Demeter and Proserpine in Nicomedia.

Arrian's masterpiece is his *Anabasis of Alexander the Great*. In his day, although it was nearly five hundred years since Alexander's time, many sources which have since perished were available to Arrian. This work is distinguished for sedulous regard for truth, critical handling of materials, wide geographical knowledge, understanding of military tech-

<sup>18</sup> Ludwig Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms in der Zeit von August bis zum Ausgang der Antonine* (8th rev. ed., Leipzig, 1910, 4 v.), II, 97-292, or see the English translation of the 7th ed. by L. A. Magnus and others under the title *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire* (London, 1908-13, 4 v.), I, 323-428.

<sup>19</sup> English translations of his *Anabasis of Alexander* and *Indica* by E. Iliff Robson (London and New York, 1929-33, 2 v.: Loeb Classical Library), and by E. J. Chinnock (London, 1893). See W. Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* (5th ed., rev. by W. Schmid and O. Stählin, Munich, 1908-13, 2 v. in 3 pts.), II, sec. 699; and J. G. Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus* (2nd ed., Gotha, 1877-78, 3 v.), index.

nique and administrative questions, besides a sympathetic appreciation of his subject. The account of the last days and death of Alexander (Bk. VII, chs. 25–30) is one of the most moving descriptions in history. Arrian was also the author of a *History of Bithynia*, his native country, a *History of the Parthian Wars*, a book on *Military Tactics*, a *Patrol around the Euxine*, inspired by his duties as military inspector, and a little treatise on the *Ionic Dialect*. None of these works has survived.

Hadrian had a Greek freedman named Phlegon who compiled an historical work, seemingly to provide the emperor with some information on Greek history when he was on tour in Greece. This was the *Olympiads*, a sort of general history compiled from the chronicles of Olympic victories from the first Olympiad in 776 B.C. to the two hundred and twenty-ninth in 137 A.D. It was in sixteen books and must have been dry, factual reading. The Byzantine scholar Photius in the ninth century knew it or an epitome of it. It must have been a bare and disjointed summary, yet valuable for chronology and facts. For this reason its loss may be deplored.

The study of geography and the attendant knowledge of history in this second century of the Roman Empire was advanced beyond where Strabo had left it, in the famous *Geography* of Ptolemy.<sup>20</sup> Nothing is known of his life. Apparently he was attached to the temple of Serapis as an astronomer. His reputation in the Graeco-Roman, and later in the Mohammedan world, rested upon his mathematical and astronomical works more than upon his *Geography*, which has much less historical information in it than Strabo's work. In his statements of the distance between important places, Ptolemy used military records and road-books of the Roman Empire, of which the so-called *Antonine Itinerary* is a survival. One can measure the progress made in geographical and ethnographical knowledge in antiquity by comparing Ptolemy with his predecessors. Eratosthenes (276–196 B.C.) lived and wrote in Alexandria and was director of the great library there, but was primarily an astronomer, not a geographer. Strabo, as we have seen, flourished in the reign of Augustus. His work gives a general picture of the physical, social, and historical conditions of each country. The enlarged horizon is evident in his accounts of the native races of distant lands. Yet he was ignorant even of western Asia, representing the Caspian Sea as a bay of the ocean, and his knowledge of India was slight. The little which he knew of Arabia was derived from the verbal reports of Aelius Gallus, a Roman army officer with whom he talked in

<sup>20</sup> English translation by E. L. Stevenson, with an introduction by J. Fischer (New York, 1932); Bunbury (see n. 3 above), II, chs. xxviii–xxix.

Egypt. Of Ethiopia he knew only the coast, and was ignorant of northern Europe from the Elbe to the Caspian.

With Ptolemy, however, India emerges from obscurity, not merely the coast but the interior. He notices twenty towns in Ceylon and is the first geographer who mentions the peninsula beyond the Ganges. His description of Arabia is much fuller than that of previous writers. No less remarkable is Ptolemy's knowledge of northern Europe. He was acquainted with Jutland, if not also with Scandinavia. The Germanic tribes, even those beyond the Elbe and along the Baltic were known to him. The Caspian Sea is no longer a gulf and vast tracts north of it are known, even if vaguely.

What were the reasons for this enlarged geographical knowledge of Ptolemy? First, we may say, were the wars in the first century A.D. against the Germans and in Britain, the circumnavigation of which by Agricola is an important item in the expansion of knowledge under the Romans. Next to these events were the wars against the Parthians under Nero, Vespasian, and Trajan, and the conquest of Mauretania, which brought Rome into contact with the tribes of interior Africa. In the time of Domitian the war on the lower Danube began and was concluded by Trajan, the effect of which was to reveal to the Romans knowledge of the vast territory between the Carpathians and the Black Sea. To these influences must be added the operation of commerce. The discovery, ca. 48 A.D., of the regular seasonal blowing of the trade winds or monsoons in the Indian Ocean greatly stimulated commercial relations between the Mediterranean countries and the Orient. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*,<sup>21</sup> a guide book for merchants, was compiled in the first century out of pilot books and traders' journals; it reveals an astonishingly detailed geographical knowledge of the Red Sea, Arabian, East African, and Indian coasts. All this new geographical and ethnographical information Ptolemy used to advantage.<sup>22</sup>

A map showing traffic routes between China, India and Rome about 100 A.D. published in the *Proceedings* of the Institute for Research in Comparative Religion of the University of Leipzig for 1922 contains impressive evidence of the high development of inter-communication throughout the world at that period. The average reader notes with surprise the density of the road-net between Europe and Asia, especially the great number of competing trade routes lying between the tenth and fourteenth parallels of latitude, and the numerous connections between Egypt and Asia Minor and Sogdiana, Bactria, Gandhara and down the Malabar coast. Besides this network of caravan and sea routes, the map also shows what an important part the valleys of such rivers as the Indus played at that time in world commerce.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Wilfred H. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (New York and London, 1912).

<sup>22</sup> For the Oriental expansion of Roman commerce, see my *Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages, 300-1300* (New York, 1928), 20-25 and the bibliography cited, 810 f.

<sup>23</sup> *Frankfurter Zeitung Wochenblatt*, June 12, 1926.

Nearly a century elapsed before another Greek historian of any eminence appeared. Greek historiography was losing its vitality. We shall shortly see what the influences were which slowly wrought this decay.

An example of this "Asianism"—for that is what this influence or tendency may be called—is Herodian (ca. 170–240), an Alexandrian Greek, who lived for years in Rome where he held some sort of civil office. He wrote in unusually good but rhetorical Greek a *History of the Roman Emperors* from the death of Marcus Aurelius in 180 A.D. to that of Gordian III in 238. The work suffers from the defect of the rhetoricians, a tendency towards abstract, general ideas, lacks chronological accuracy and geographical exactness. Herodian's importance is owing to the sparsity of both history and documents for the third century.<sup>24</sup> It is remarkable that, so late as the middle of the third century, he does not mention Christianity.

A greater historian than Herodian, and contemporary with him, was Dio Cassius (d. 235 A.D.).<sup>25</sup> Indeed, Dio Cassius is superior to any other Greek historian of imperial times except Appian. He was born in Nicaea, in Bithynia, during the latter part of the second century A.D., probably about 155. Events in his history after the time of Marcus Aurelius are narrated from the point of view of a contemporary, frequently of an eye-witness. Hence we may assume that by 175 A.D. he had come to man's estate. The family was of provincial origin, of considerable, though perhaps not of outstanding prominence. Any importance they had was purely local till the time of Dio Chrysostom, the great orator of the second century, who first made the family famous. He was the maternal grandfather of the historian. His father had risen to Senatorial rank and had held the post of governor of Cilicia and later of Dalmatia. The young Dio had accompanied his father on a mission to Cilicia, but had returned to Rome during the time of Commodus (193–197) and had entered the Senate. He was praetor under Pertinax in 194. But it was to Septimius Severus (197–211) that he owed his advancement to official and literary prominence. He appears to have followed the career of Septimius with the closest attention and interest for the hopes which it held out, and to have been disillusioned in the outcome. Under Macrinus he held the office of "curator ad corrigendum civitatum statum." He accompanied Caracalla on his tour of the East and speaks of passing the winter of 216–217 with the court in Nicomedia. Here he apparently remained during the short reign of Elagabalus and did not return to Rome till the time of Alexan-

<sup>24</sup> Old English translation, London, 1629.

<sup>25</sup> English translation of *Dio's Roman History* by H. B. Foster (Troy, N. Y., 1905–06, 6 v.), and based on this, an improved version by Earnest Cary (London and New York, 1914–27, 9 v.: Loeb Classical Library).



der Severus. He was sent as pro-consul to Africa and later to Dalmatia and Upper Pannonia. He held the office of *consul ordinarius* in 229, but owing to the hostility of the praetorian guard was compelled to spend his time away from Rome after 229 and his history closes with this year. We know nothing of his life beyond this point.

The history of Dio has come down to us in a very garbled form. It consisted originally of eighty books and covered the whole field of Roman history from 1000 B.C. to the reign of Alexander Severus (d. 235 A.D.). Apparently his fame as a writer declined and when it was revived in the twelfth century at Constantinople a great part of his work had been lost, more particularly Books XXII to XXXV. During this century summaries were made by Byzantine writers, especially Zonaras and Xiphilinus. Some of these summaries have been preserved, and it is on them that we have to rely largely for Books I–XXI, LX–LXIX, LXXI–LXXVII, and LXXX. We have Dio's own work for Books XXXVI–LX, which extend from the time of Pompey (69 B.C.) to the time of Claudius (53 A.D.); Books LXXVIII–LXXIX are also intact and cover the time of Caracalla. For everything else we are dependent on epitomes or fragments. The central part of the *Roman History* is, of course, the most valuable; yet it is doubtful whether this would be true if we had the complete work for the later period, where Dio's own personal observation and judgment were brought to bear. The work was begun during the reign of Septimius Severus and carried through to completion during the quarter of a century which followed.

Dio's *History* falls into three main portions: first, that part dealing with the history of Rome from its founding down to the battle of Actium; secondly, that part from the battle of Actium down to the death of Marcus Aurelius; and lastly, that part from the accession of Commodus down to the end, that is the time of Alexander Severus. These divisions, which are formed by two great watersheds in Roman history, show also marked differences in treatment. As the problem of method concerns itself first with the sources of which the historian availed himself, we shall turn first to the question of Dio's original sources.

In the earlier period of republican Rome, it is obvious that Dio has adopted largely the conventional account of Rome's early development, enshrined in Livy and in other accounts. There was very little scope for originality in working over all the old materials for the early period of Roman history and we are little the losers because much of this part of his work is fragmentary or is available only in the summaries of Zonaras, a Byzantine monk of the twelfth century.

For the period of the Punic Wars, Dio probably had recourse to the

memorable work of Polybius, while for the succeeding era the older chroniclers again were called into use. From about the year 69 B.C. the complete work of Dio is now available. Events of the last half century of the Republic are traced in great detail and with considerable interest, but this account is less valuable as there are other authorities for this period in abundance.

With the change of government ushered in by the battle of Actium (31 B.C.), Dio makes us feel that we have entered on a new era in the history of the world and one in which even history must vary its methods.

Nevertheless, the events occurring after this time cannot be recorded in the same manner as those of previous times. Formerly, as we know, all matters were reported to the senate and to the people, even if they happened at a distance; hence all learned of them and many recorded them, and consequently the truth regarding them, no matter to what extent fear or favour, friendship or enmity, coloured the reports of certain writers, was always to a certain extent to be found in the works of the other writers who wrote of the same events and in the public records. But after this time most things that happened began to be kept secret and concealed, and even though some things are perchance made public, they are distrusted just because they cannot be verified; for it is suspected that everything is said and done with reference to the wishes of the men in power at the time and of their associates. As a result, much that never occurs is noised abroad, and much that happens beyond a doubt is unknown, and in the case of nearly every event a version gains currency that is different from the way it really happened. Furthermore, the very magnitude of the empire and the multitude of things that occur render accuracy in regard to them most difficult. In Rome, for example, much is going on, and much in the subject territory, while, as regards our enemies, there is something happening all the time, in fact every day, and concerning those things no one except the participants can easily have correct information at all. Hence, in my own narrative of later events, so far as they need to be mentioned, everything that I shall say will be in accordance with the reports that have been given out, whether it really be the truth or otherwise. In addition to these reports, however, my own opinion will be given, as far as possible, whenever I have been able, from the abundant evidence which I have gathered from my reading, from hearsay, and from what I have seen, to form judgment that differs from the common report.<sup>26</sup>

It is apparent from this very significant passage that Dio implied a radical change in the character of the sources and in his method of handling them. It is to be noted that nowhere does Dio state that he himself had access to, or used, official documents as sources. Indeed his introductory words give a plain enough indication that for the early part of Roman history, at least, he relied on other authors exclusively. Any reference he makes to documents is never such as to enable us directly to infer that he is indebted to them for any material.

For the period of the Early Empire, Dio apparently used Tacitus or else both he and Tacitus had common sources. Individual passages

<sup>26</sup> Bk. LIII, 19.

reveal a striking similarity. In fact, except that they expressed themselves in different languages, many sentences in Dio might have been appropriated from Tacitus. Nevertheless, we must remember that the two men had a totally different outlook and approached the question of Roman history from an entirely different angle.

After the death of Marcus Aurelius, we feel a sort of quickening of the narrative. In rhetorical language Dio exclaims that he is passing from an age of gold to one of iron. Again he indicates a change of method, as he passes out of the realm of the past into the present: "I state these and subsequent facts not as hitherto on others' reports but from my own observation." Events from there on are described with the surety of touch of an eye-witness. To his own evidence he adds that of his father Apronianus, whom he accompanied to at least one of his provinces and from whom he had gathered a good deal of information of value with reference to the generation that had just preceded his own.

We come now to deal with Dio's interpretation of the events which he describes. To enable us to find the central thread which runs through his narrative, we must bear in mind that Dio was not a native Roman nor even an Italian but came from the Bithynian city of Nicaea. Whether Greek or Hellenized Oriental, he was an outsider as far as Rome was concerned and it is natural to assume that he was not altogether assimilated to the Roman type. As a late comer, he is inclined to take things as he finds them and reads Roman history in the light of after events. The result of this is that he finds the "princiate" justified by its works. In fact the theme of much of the central part of his history is the total failure of the attempt of Rome to conduct its government on democratic lines, and the inevitability of the adoption of absolute monarchy. For the earlier part of his work Dio scarcely departs from the canon of Roman history; but in dealing with the close of the Republic and the adoption of the princiate, he is independent in his opinion. While Tacitus is full of scorn for the shifts by which the first emperors veiled their newly won authority, Dio admits the shifts but claims that the transition was necessary.

It is to be expected that in developing his theme, Dio should have recourse to that favorite device of antiquity—speeches put into the mouths of the most prominent actors. In working up the struggle of the two competing forms of government to a dramatic conclusion, Dio achieves a marked literary success. This rivalry is personified by the two great ministers of Octavian—Maecenas and Agrippa. These two protagonists plead the merits of their respective schemes before the attentive Octavian. This is really a master stroke for it enables Dio to marshal all the arguments and to array the facts for us in a most strik-

ing way. But it is down on the cards that monarchy should win. And Dio, in addition to giving us an outline of the arguments in a vivid way, has incidentally succeeded in laying down the principles on which the Empire is to proceed for many generations.

Of course, this particular alleged debate is a mere literary device. What about other speeches which we know were actually delivered? An example of these is Cicero's speech in Book XLV which summarizes the main points of the whole fourteen *Philippics*; or other messages delivered by ambassadors or set orations delivered in Senate or in forum. Here we are held up by the fact that we do not know anything of the sources whence Dio draws his material. But it is probable that in some cases there was some original to go on, however he may have embellished it for his own purposes.

What of Dio's impartiality? Here we encounter the peculiar attitude of antiquity towards history. It was literature first and foremost; and the historian, in addition, was frequently trained as a rhetorician. This is why we have constantly to be on our guard. The biographical trend and the passion for moralizing, so marked a feature of Roman historiography, is constantly reflected. The characters of emperors and others are drawn with a view to effect rather than the exact truth. Dio has also collected a large number of *bon mots* and anecdotes relating to well-known characters. These are the sort which tradition loves to hand on; for instance, Augustus' famous dictum: "I found Rome of clay; I leave it to you of marble." One saying of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius on his death-bed: "Go to the rising sun; I am already setting," is ascribed in a slightly changed form also to the Emperor Tiberius.<sup>27</sup> There is nothing inherently improbable in the declaration that both voiced this sentiment; but one may speculate whether any man on his deathbed, with the shadows closing round him, would indulge in language so highly rhetorical.

Much of this sense of the artificial, of course, came from his conscious imitation of his models. Dio felt that his style needed to be polished up in accordance with the craze for Attic purity which had swept over the Roman Empire in the second century. Dio records that he devoted much study to the reading of Greek authors; we are not left in doubt as to one of them. We are continually catching echoes of Thucydides; phrases of his are repeated, without acknowledgment, and many of the most rhetorical passages are almost transcribed from him. The description of the Sullan proscriptions and later those of the third triumvirate are modelled on the famous passage in the third book of the *Peloponnesian War* in which Thucydides gives an account of the social strife in

<sup>27</sup> See Bk. LXXII, 34 and Bk. LVIII, 28.

the Greek city states. This is a most unfortunate practice, as we never know when we are getting the historical facts regarding the Roman civil wars of the first century B.C., or a description of conditions in the Greek city states of the fifth century B.C.

In summing up the tendencies of Dio shown in his interpretations of his evidence, we may say that he was handicapped at the start by the intellectual limitations of the age, which was eager to find in exceptional occurrences portents, fortunate or otherwise, of events to come. His second fault was his striving after rhetorical effect, which leads him to stress what will produce this effect; this is especially the case where he is handling the more famous characters, or even the humbler ones where a moral sentiment can be drawn from the example of their lives. In addition to these very serious blemishes on his work, Dio has certain biases with reference to interpretation. The Civil Wars are conceived as a struggle between the principles of democracy and monarchy. The early period of the Empire is conceived from the point of view of the relations of the *Princeps* to the Senate and all events are grouped around this central theme and to some extent referred to it. It certainly gives continuity to the narrative, but once the theme is pursued through the really formative years of the first emperors, interest languishes and does not revive till we reach Dio's own time.

Dio's method of presentation follows the conventional lines of both Greek and Latin writers, in that it is a chronological arrangement. True, he attempts to modify this by the use of the topical arrangement at times where he may run on beyond the year limits. This is not happy as these passages give the appearance of a digression. But this does not prevent him from showing the utmost care in assigning the event to its proper year and avoiding confusion. He always gives the names of the eponymous consuls, and at points where confusion is likely to arise he is very careful to dispel it. For instance, during the year of the three emperors 69-70, he is at great pains to state that the three pretenders held the throne concurrently and actually gives the period of the "interregnum" as 1 year and 22 days. The length of the emperor's reign is always given, though he does not follow this system in dating. He also takes the trouble to give the exact age of the emperor at death. The question of time is apparently of great interest to him; he gives an elaborate account of the reform of the calendar in 46 B.C. and describes in detail the Alexandrian calendar on which it was based. In fact his pedantry leads him to emphasize in a somewhat tiresome manner the exact number of days intercalated by Caesar. This is not to say that Dio does not make mistakes in chronology; following authorities as he does for so much of his history, his work is bound to contain errors.

A few words may be said on what we may perhaps call the cultural standards of the age which are reflected in Dio Cassius. There is a good deal of evidence that the third century was quite well satisfied with its achievements. We read for instance: "Let no one be surprised, now, that we have made discoveries unknown to the ancient Greeks."<sup>28</sup> Dio's digression on the cause of solar eclipses (LX, 26) shows that at least the educated plumed themselves on their learning. But we are somewhat shocked to learn that the Nile rises in Mount Atlas.<sup>29</sup> That a well-informed senator should have been so ignorant of geography seems almost incomprehensible; yet it must have reflected but the general ignorance of the age in matters that lay outside their immediate interest. The signs and wonders in which Dio revels give us glimpses into the mind of the age which prided itself on advances made since the time of the ancient Greeks, yet kept alive the crudest superstitions. The combination of two canons of criticism, an esoteric and exoteric, strikes us as intellectual juggling but was characteristic of an age at once well informed but credulous.

By the end of the third century, however superior Greek historiography was to Roman, it too showed signs of serious decline of vigor and quality. The reasons are not far to seek. Primarily it was due to the growing ascendancy of the Oriental religions, especially Christianity, "which inculcated the communion of the soul with God and its eternal salvation as the only objects worth living for, objects in comparison with which the prosperity, and even the existence of the state sank into insignificance."<sup>30</sup> The very axis of life was changed. Men grew indifferent to politics, law, government, history. At the same time superstition and ignorance were increasing appallingly. Belief in magic was universal. The keen, critical, analytic faculty which had been the glory of Greek thinking degenerated. Quality of thought decayed and flamboyant rhetorical presentation became the literary order of the day. A vicious type is the panegyrics, whose style pleased everyone, though no one believed what was said in him. In the third century Lucian, the sole writer of the time with an antiseptic mind, inveighed satirically against the adulatory history which was being written in a biting essay *How to Write History*, in which he mocks at the current credulity and imposture. "The historian's sole task," he says, is to tell the thing as it happened. He should be "fearless, incorruptible, independent, a believer in frankness . . . an impartial judge, kind to all, but too kind to none. . . . Facts are not to be collected as haphazard but with careful,

<sup>28</sup> Bk. LXXVI, 13.

<sup>29</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>30</sup> J. G. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris: Studies in the History of Oriental Religion* (3rd ed., New York, 1935, 2 v.: Pt. IV of *The Golden Bough*), I, 300.

laborious, repeated investigation. . . . Prefer the disinterested account.”<sup>31</sup>

Fate was against historical writing being able to preserve its quality or its integrity—though that was never large—or its dignity. After Herodian and Dio Cassius, history degenerates to sorry stuff. A certain Publius Herennius Dexippus, who resisted the Goths who had invaded Greece and captured Athens in 262 A.D., wrote an account of this inroad entitled *Skylthia*, fragments of which are extant, and was also the author of a meager *Chronica* which terminates with Claudius II (270). A century later (mark the interval) Eunapius, who was a sophist philosopher (!), wrote an *Historical Chronicle since Dexippus*. It extends from 270 to 404. Nothing but fragments remain. More than a hundred years again elapsed before another Greek historian arose. By that time the Roman Empire had vanished. The Byzantine Empire and the German kingdoms were in its stead.

Before concluding this chapter one broad observation remains to be made concerning most of the Greek historians who wrote under the Roman Empire. Nearly all the information which we have concerning the history of Parthia under the Arsacid dynasty and its successor, Sassanid Persia, is derived from them. But even when all of it has been combined, the history of the Roman Orient is very imperfectly known.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup> *The Works of Lucian of Samosata*, tr. by H. W. and F. G. Fowler (Oxford, 1905, 4 v.), II, 128, 129, 131.

<sup>32</sup> On this subject see Neilson Debevoise, "Parthian Problems," *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, XLVII (1930-31), 73-82.

## CHAPTER VIII

### EARLY CHURCH HISTORIOGRAPHY <sup>1</sup>

PAGAN historiography disappeared in the fifth century. After this century opened, most historical writing in the West for eight hundred years thereafter was written by Christian writers, almost every one of whom was a cleric—either a bishop, or deacon, canon, simple priest, or monk. Lay-written historiography almost completely disappeared until the thirteenth century.

The only avowedly historical book in the New Testament is the *Book of Acts*, which is of interest to the historian because it throws light upon the spread of early Christianity from Palestine into the wide Roman world, and also because of the evidence it has of the beginnings of church government. Tradition ascribes *Acts* to St. Luke but some modern critics are skeptical of the Lucan authorship.

The Gospels are of very slight historical value, for they were not written as history but as religious treatises. Moreover, they are later in time than usually supposed. The period between the life of Jesus and the first Christian literature is very obscure. "The first churches recounted stories about Jesus, passed them from mouth to mouth as independent narratives or copied them from papyrus to papyrus." <sup>2</sup> Missionary zeal was the cause and preaching the means of spreading abroad the information which the disciples possessed as recollections, and there is evidence of the fixation of tradition in St. Luke's prologue. The

<sup>1</sup> Friedrich Overbeck, *Ueber die Anfänge der Kirchengeschichtsschreibung* (Basel, 1892); Charles T. Cruttwell, *A Literary History of Early Christianity* (London, 1893, 2 v.); Gustav Krüger, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (2nd ed., Freiburg i. Br., 1898), first ed. also tr. by C. R. Gillett as *History of Early Christian Literature in the First Three Centuries* (New York and London, 1897); Pierre de Labriolle, *Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne* (Paris, 1920), tr. by H. Wilson as *History and Literature of Christianity from Tertullian to Boethius* (London and New York, 1924); Aimé Puch, *Histoire de la littérature grecque chrétienne depuis les origines jusqu'à la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1928-30, 3 v.); Otto Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Litteratur* (Freiburg i. Br., and St. Louis, 1902-32, 5 v.); Adolf v. Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius* (Leipzig, 1893-1904, 2 v. in 4). The chief writings of the church fathers have been translated in two great sets: *The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325*, ed. by A. Roberts and J. Donaldson (American reprint of the Edinburgh ed., rev. by A. C. Coxe, Buffalo, 1885-1907, 10 v.; vol. X has a valuable bibliographical synopsis and general index), and *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, ed. by Philip Schaff (first series in 14 v., Buffalo and New York, 1886-90; 2nd series, also in 14 v., ed. by P. Schaff and H. Wace, New York, 1890-1900). See *QR*, CLXXXII (1895), 369-98; *GIBBON*, II, 531-40, III, 482-91; C. H. Turner, "Early Chronicles of the Western Church," *CQR*, XXXV (1892), 117-43, reprinted in his *Studies in Early Church History* (Oxford, 1912).

<sup>2</sup> Martin Dibelius, *From Tradition to Gospel*, tr. from the 2nd rev. ed. of *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums*, by Bertram Lee Woolf (London, 1934), p. v.



priority of Mark is generally admitted, though there probably was a Proto-Mark or Ur-Mark. The Ur-Mark is also called "Q," or "Quelle," the German word for *source*. He may have had a Passion-narrative and one or more documents containing a collection of "Sayings of Jesus." Some details may have been supplied by Mark himself as a resident of Jerusalem, and at least two incidents which he relates seem to be based on hearsay. The Gospel bears traces of the persecution under Nero (68 A.D.), and chapter XIII refers to a period subsequent to the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. The reconstruction of Q is difficult, though its probable contents can be indicated. Apparently it was a Greek translation of an original Aramaic collection of the sayings of Jesus and may have been written in Syria (Antioch) to meet the struggle begun by Gentile Christianity about 47 A.D. Some critics doubt that Mark was acquainted with Q, or he would have made larger use of it. The writer of it is unknown. Luke, the oldest gospel next to Mark, found his primary source not in Mark, but in a document compiled through a combination of Q and a Proto-Luke. Mark probably was Luke's secondary source. Matthew made Mark the base of his gospel and pieced it out with sayings from Q and other narrations.

From this brief account it will be perceived that the historical value of any narrative or saying depends, not upon the evidence of the Gospels as we know them, but *upon their sources*, and that the Gospels do not contain a complete record of the life of Jesus. The writers, on the one hand, were influenced by the local history of individual churches, and on the other, were indifferent to the chronology of Jesus' life, being primarily interested in Jesus as the Redeemer. Broadly speaking, Mark was published about 80 A.D.; Luke about 90 A.D.; Matthew about 100 A.D.; John, which has much spiritual but no historical value, was probably written as late as the first third of the second century.

The transformation of Christianity into a gentile religion changed this situation.

Within a generation of the death of Jesus Christianity had entered the Greek world and begun to establish itself there. In that world it found a wholly different attitude to writing and publication. "If you find a saying of a certain philosopher and have no paper," ran the Greek proverb, "write it upon your garments!" The Greeks took notes, and they wrote books. They were insatiable readers. Novelty did not repel them; it attracted them. The Athenians seemed to Luke to spend all their time telling or listening to something new. Certain it is that from the time Christianity really entered the Greek world it instinctively went about recording itself in writing—first letters and then books. . . . Once out in that Greek atmosphere, even the Christians felt the spirit of it and began to write.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> E. J. Goodspeed, "The Original Language of the Gospels," *Atlantic Monthly*, CLIV (1934), 475-76.

Christianity began to be historically self-conscious, but in a different way from the Greeks. The Greeks had little interest in the past; they lived intensely in the present. Herodotus always comes back to the Persian Wars. The Greeks had little sense of history in the large because they had slight sense of time. The Christian mind viewed every period of time as a segment of eternity. Schelling long ago pointed out this historical nature of Christianity.<sup>4</sup>

St. Paul had a sort of philosophy of history, which was formed of a combination of Christian revelation with Neo-Stoicism.<sup>5</sup> In *Romans* V, 12 f., Paul divided history into three periods represented by Adam, Moses, and Christ. He excluded the period before the "fall" as an ideal rather than a historical period. The first period was an epoch of ignorance, i.e., savagery. The Mosaic law began the second epoch. Christianity introduced the third. In Paul's thought the Jews had been made the depositary of divine truth and revelation that through them in the fulness of time the world might be saved. In *Romans* XVI, 26-27, he suggests his philosophy of history: ". . . According to the revelation of the mystery which was kept secret since the world began, but now is made manifest . . . to all nations for the obedience of faith." Again, in *Ephesians* I, 4-11 he writes of the foreknowledge and plan which God made before the foundation of the world. But God looked forward to the instrumentality of the Roman Empire in his plan. "Rome triumphed because God wished to achieve the unity of the human race as a precursor of the Gospel."<sup>6</sup> Here we see the influence of Neo-Stoicism. For "God made of one blood all people for to dwell on the face of the whole earth." But once the conversion of the race to Christianity was achieved, then the Roman Empire—the last human creation—retarded the end of things on earth, i.e., the Second Advent, the coming of Christ to earth with power.

Tatian (second century A.D.) in his *Address to the Greeks* was the first who prefixed ancient Hebrew history to the Graeco-Roman concept of "succession of empires." This double tradition and fusion of ideas was what gave the form to Sextus Julius Africanus, from whom the concept passed to Eusebius, and so on to Jerome, Augustine, Isidore, etc.<sup>7</sup>

Such reconstructions and interpretations prepared the framework

<sup>4</sup> The higher any religion is in the scale of spiritual, ethical, and intellectual values, so much the more it is rooted in history. See Clement C. J. Webb, *Problems in the Relations of God and Man* (London, 1911), 62-63.

<sup>5</sup> See William M. Ramsay, "Paulinism in the Graeco-Roman World," *Contemporary Review*, XCII (1907), 468-88.

<sup>6</sup> E. K. Rand, *Founders of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1928), 19.

<sup>7</sup> O. Holder-Egger, "Untersuchungen über einige annalistische Quellen zur Geschichte des 5. und 6. Jahrhunderts," *NA*, I (1876), 13-120; Franz Hipler, *Die christliche Geschichtsauffassung* (Freiburg i. Br., 1884: Vereinsschrift der Görresgesellschaft).

into which universal histories in the Middle Ages were compressed. Ecclesiastical historiography undertook the task of synchronizing Greek, Roman, and Hebrew records, and of making a universal history in the interest of theology. While the Church made exaggerated and fantastic claims for the priority and superiority of ancient Jewish history, it had to allow room for the history of other peoples—Egyptians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans.<sup>8</sup>

It must be said at once that from its inception ecclesiastical history was violently distorted, first by the adoption of ancient Jewish history as pre-Christian history; secondly by its association of revelation and history; thirdly by the vicious distinction made between "sacred" and "profane," or secular, history.

It has ever been a weakness of church history that it so seldom is regarded in a scientific way, to be handled and criticized as dispassionately as any other kind of history. Unfortunately nothing which pertains to the history of the Church is quite free from an indefinable, but quite enveloping protective halo, a false guardianship of piety or authority. When the late Monsignor Duchesne shortly before his death was asked when he would complete his fourth volume, he replied, "Je n'ose pas." Cardinal Manning branded the appeal to history as treason to the Church. Early in the last century Goethe deplored the lack of a history of Christianity based on an honest interpretation of the facts, and Bishop Creighton expressed a similar opinion in the last decade of the same century.<sup>9</sup>

It required years, however, even three centuries, in fact, before the Church became clearly historically minded. Greek and Roman society subordinated the individual to the state and set the commonwealth above the safety of the individual. Christianity, on the other hand, was introvert and made communion with God and eternal salvation of the soul superior to every other purpose of life. The center of gravity, so to speak, was shifted from the present to the future life. This indifference of early Christianity to the public welfare was accentuated by the prevalent Christian belief that Christ would soon return to earth to establish his power—that the second advent was always impending. Under the influence of this eschatological teaching the early Christians had no interest in the past; their eyes were fixed on the future. Why be interested in history, when all history would terminate shortly in a new heaven and a new earth? As late as the middle of the third century the

<sup>8</sup> Max Büdinger, "Die Universalhistorie im Mittelalter," *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-hist. Classe, XLVI (Vienna, 1900), pts. i-ii (47 and 43 pp.) has dealt at length with the concept of universal history in the early Middle Ages.

<sup>9</sup> *Life and Letters of Mandell Creighton*, by his wife, Louise Creighton (London, 1904, 2 v.), I, 279.

author of the *Didascalia Apostolorum* exclaims: "What dost thou miss in God's word that thou dost plunge into these pagan histories? If thou wilt read history, there are the books of Kings." Biblical history was the only true history. The spirit of research, the search for truth, at last became hopeless, when "the world, mistrusting Reason, weary of argument and wonder, flung itself passionately under the spell of a system of authoritative Revelation which acknowledged no truth outside itself, and stamped free inquiry as sin."<sup>10</sup> Belief in truth by revelation and the substitution of allegory for reason put an end to the critical spirit. Worse still mendacity even became a virtue. Some of the Christian fathers do not hesitate to attribute mendacity to God and to Jesus.<sup>11</sup>

Inevitably, the need of history was more and more thrust upon the Church by circumstance. The years passed. The apostolic period merged into the post-apostolic period, the first and second centuries passed away, and still the second advent had not come. Christianity was making history, and it became necessary to record and preserve its traditions for the instruction and edification of the faithful. In spite of its indifference the Church was compelled to take cognizance of its history. The slow growth of historical consciousness in the Greek East during the early centuries of the Church is exemplified by the fact that, if we except the lost *Hypomneta* of Hegesippus, an interval of over two hundred years elapsed between the *Book of Acts* and the work of Eusebius, the first important ecclesiastical historian.

The earliest constructive effort of ecclesiastical historiography was an endeavor to synchronize Greek and Roman history with Jewish and Christian history, and so to construct a universal history of mankind. For Christianity, in the teaching of the fathers, had been predestined from the foundation of the world and was to become the universal religion, the religion of all mankind. Already Trogus Pompeius had prepared the way in his general history of the Hellenic and Oriental world. Oldest history had culminated in the Macedonian Empire; later history was written in the history of Rome; the newest history was being written in the history of the Church.

The first important Christian chronicler was Sextus Julius Africanus, whose *Chronographia* extended as far as the fourth year of the Emperor Elagabalus (A.D. 221), and was a primary source of Eusebius in the fourth century. He combined classical and biblical chronology. Contemporary with Sextus Julius Africanus, but more prolix, was the Roman

<sup>10</sup> Gilbert Murray, *A History of Ancient Greek Literature* (New York, 1903), 404.

<sup>11</sup> Adolf Harnack, *History of Dogma*, tr. from the 3rd German ed. by N. Buchanan (London, 1896-99, 7 v.), III, 307 and V, 264, where instances are mentioned in Origen, Gregory of Nyssa, Ambrose, Augustine, Leo I, and Gregory I.

chronographer Hippolytus. Considering the great historical tradition attached to Rome and the great authority of the bishop of Rome, it is perhaps not astonishing that Latin Christianity should have exhibited an appreciation of the importance of church history before the Church in the East did so.<sup>12</sup>

By the third century, therefore, the Church had become historically minded. The last and greatest persecution of the Christians under Diocletian accentuated the new attitude. Church history rose to the opportunity in Lactantius' *De mortibus persecutorum*. He was born at Trèves, but was of Punic descent<sup>13</sup> and was educated in Africa. Although a Latin, Lactantius became a teacher of rhetoric in Nicomedia, the imperial capital. He was a pagan when the persecution began and was converted by the heroic faith of the martyrs. His Latin style is almost classical, and he is known as the Christian Cicero. Lactantius was also author of other notable works. In *Divinarum institutionum libri septem*, Lactantius sought to prove the superiority of Christianity over the pagan cults by making comparisons and contrasts. It is a valuable study of the religions under the Roman Empire.<sup>14</sup>

The recognition of Christianity by Constantine in 313 confirmed the Church's dawning inclination towards historiography. The time was ripe for a real, a genuine historian of the Church, and he appeared in Eusebius (ca. 260–340),<sup>15</sup> the father of ecclesiastical history. Eusebius lived and worked almost all his life in Caesarea in Palestine. The rich library there was the foremost Christian library in the Roman world, which had fortunately escaped destruction in the persecution under Diocletian, though the imperial edict especially enjoined the burning of all Christian literature by the police. In faith he was an Arian and repre-

<sup>12</sup> In the Lateran Museum the visitor may even now see the statue of Hippolytus seated in a chair upon whose panel is inscribed in Greek the catalogue of his writings. The statue was found in the catacombs near S. Lorenzo Fuori le Mura. Two Latin versions of a *Liber generationis mundi* have been preserved—the former in the work of the chronicler of A.D. 354, the other in the seventh-century writer Fredegar. Both are Latin translations of a common Greek original written in A.D. 235, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Alexander Severus. Their Hippolytean origin is manifest. These early ecclesiastical chronicles in the West have been edited by Theodor Mommsen, in *Chronica minora saec. IV, V, VI, VII* (Berlin, 1892–94: *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Auctores antiquissimi*, vols. IX, XI, XIII).

<sup>13</sup> *Journal of Theological Studies*, II, 418.

<sup>14</sup> Lactantius' works are translated by W. Fletcher in the *Ante-Nicene Fathers* (see n. 1 above), VII, 3–328.

<sup>15</sup> English translations of Eusebius' writings in the *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (see n. 1 above), 2nd series, vol. I, by A. C. McGiffert and E. C. Richardson; of the *Ecclesiastical History* by Kirsopp Lake, J. E. L. Oulton, and H. J. Lawlor (London and New York, 1926–32, 2 v.: Loeb Classical Library). See GUILDAY, 3–29 with bibliography; *CQR*, XXXIV (1892), 95–128; Turner, *Studies* (see n. 1 above), 135 ff.; F. J. Foakes-Jackson, *Eusebius Pamphili, Bishop of Caesarea in Palestine and First Christian Historian* (Cambridge, 1933); J. B. Lightfoot, "Eusebius," *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, ed. by William Smith and Henry Wace (London, 1877–87, 4 v.), II, 308–55; H. M. Gwatkin, "Eusebius of Caesarea," in *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History*, with a preface by W. Lefroy, Dean of Norwich (London, 1896).

sented that creed at the council of Nicaea in 325.<sup>16</sup> Eusebius was a learned and prolific writer. Among his historical works are the *Chronicle*, the *Ecclesiastical History*, *Lives of the Martyrs of Palestine*, a collection of *Ancient Martyrologies*, and the *Life of Constantine*. Fortunately for later generations, Eusebius made copious extracts from the sources he used, many of which no longer exist. He left these quotations to be copied out by a secretary and then inserted in the text.

The greatest of all church chronicles is that of Eusebius. The original Greek version is almost wholly lost, but there are Latin, Armenian, and Syriac translations.<sup>17</sup> It terminates in 324 A.D.; St. Jerome translated it into Latin and continued it until 378 A.D. This great chronicle of Eusebius begins with the birth of Abraham, and is a synchronous treatment of history in parallel columns. For the Christian era these data are of course limited to the Roman Empire and ecclesiastical history. In a sense it may be said that Eusebius' *Chronicle* is a factual outline for his later and greater work, the *Ecclesiastical History*. For in the preface to that he describes his method, and if we turn to the *Chronicle* we perceive that on its ecclesiastical side, though not, of course, for other history in it, the four main divisions of the subject-matter of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* are exactly reproduced—the episcopal successions in the great apostolic sees of Alexandria, Rome, Antioch, and Jerusalem; the most important ecclesiastical personages of the times, bishops, writers, heretics; the history of the Jews from the time of Jesus to the final rebellion of the Jews in the reign of Hadrian; and the history of the persecutions from Nero to Diocletian.<sup>18</sup>

The *Chronicle*, or *Chronographia*, written in imitation and continuation of the earlier work of Sextus Julius Africanus, was a comparative chronology of all known peoples. It was divided into two books. In the first, which extended down to 329, Eusebius endeavored, by comparing the various opinions of ancient historians, to establish the exact chronology of every people according to its own reckoning; in the second book in synoptic tables he presented the concordance of all the ancient chronological systems—biblical, Egyptian, Assyrian, the Greek Olympiads, the Roman consular fasti. The most important events were noted on the margin. In these dry chronological tables history for the first time is considered as a single entity and grouped around a unique center. For the Hebrew and Christian religions vividly palpitate between these chronological lanes. The Old Testament is the core of the work. The

<sup>16</sup> Both Catholic and Protestant historians usually suppress this unpalatable fact.

<sup>17</sup> Only the Latin version was known before the nineteenth century. For the story of Scaliger's attempt to reconstruct the original see PARRISON, I, 163-70; for editions, POTHAST, I, 436.

<sup>18</sup> Turner, *Studies* (see n. 1), 138.

years are calculated from Creation to the establishment of the Jewish monarchy. Jewish history is the point of departure of all peoples. Every date in the end is calculated according to the chronology of the Bible, even the succession of the Roman emperors.<sup>19</sup> Ecclesiastical events, the death of martyrs, and the appointment of bishops are noted with as much care as the accession and death of the emperors. In the eighth century chronology will take another step and begin to count the years from the Incarnation, and modern chronology will be founded. The interest which the Christians had in marking the relation and the subordination of "profane" history to "sacred" history, the necessity of determining exactly the year of the birth of Christ and that of the crucifixion, finally the wish to calculate exactly the year of the fulfillment of prophecy and of the coming again of the reign of God on earth, gave great importance to such chronological works. We owe to Christianity the establishment of chronology as an auxiliary science to the study of history. One can hardly exaggerate the importance of Eusebius' *Chronographia*.

Eusebius' knowledge of events in the East was far fuller than his information in regard to the West, and it was just this defect which St. Jerome set himself to amend in the Latin translation of Eusebius which he made with the help of Rufinus.

You must know [he says to his readers] that I have undertaken the part both of a translator, and to some extent of an original writer, since while I have faithfully translated the Greek, I have filled up sometimes what seemed to me omissions, especially in Roman history, a portion of history which Eusebius passed lightly over, as a Greek writing for Greeks. . . . From the twentieth year of Constantine down to the sixth consulship of the Emperor Valens every word is my own.

Jerome's independent part extending from 324 A.D. to 378 A.D. is more readable than accurate, and seems to have been hastily done. Apparently he wrote from what he could remember, without checking himself up. In spite of the fact that he was relating events within his own life-time of some of which he must have been an eye-witness, the date of every pope is wrong, even that of Damasus I, his intimate friend. This translation became the cornerstone of early medieval historiography.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Compare the preface of the *Chronographia*: "Opportunum duxi, immo perutile ac necessarium, breviter haec omnia disponere; praetereaque sanctis Hebraeorum litteris contentas hebraicas antiquitates atque chronologiam sermoni meo adjungere: scilicet ut possimus apte intelligere, quanto tempore ante salutarem Dei manifestationem Moses exstiterit, necnon qui post Hebraeorum prophetae divino spiritu afflati vaticinati sunt; atque ut facile cognoscamus Graecorum vel barbarorum insignes homines, quo tempore occurrerint celebribus illis veteribus apud Hebraeos, prophetis videlicet, iisque singulis qui eidem genti cum imperio profuerunt."

<sup>20</sup> Alfred Schöne, *Die Weltchronik des Eusebius in ihrer Bearbeitung durch Hieronymus* (Berlin, 1900); edition by J. K. Fotheringham, *Eusebii Pamphili canones latine veriti, adauxit, ad sua tempora produxit S. Eusebius Hieronymus* (London, 1923).

A whole family of chronicles emerged as its offspring. In the East Marcellinus, the chancellor of the Emperor Justinian, extended it from 379 to 534. He gives four lines to Alaric's capture of Rome in 410, and fifty-four to the discovery of the head of John the Baptist. In Spain a bishop named Idatius extended it from 379 to 468; it is the basis of Visigothic history in Spain. In Gaul Prosper of Aquitaine extended Jerome's version down to 455, which was later continued by Marius of Avenches (Lausanne) to 581.<sup>21</sup> In Africa Victor, bishop of Tunis, continued it to 566, thus making it a source for the history of the Vandals. Again, in Spain, an abbot of Biclaro, a monastery at the foot of the Pyrenees, continued Idatius and Victor conjoined to 590. Finally Cassiodorus in Italy (d. ca. 590), Isidore of Seville (d. 636), and Bede (d. 735) in England, each continued the *Chronographia*, the first down to 519, the second down to 627, the third down to 726. In the eighth century the series merged into the great monastic chronicles of the Carolingian renaissance.

This consideration of the continuations of Eusebius' *Chronographia* has carried us far beyond the fourth century, to which we must now return. Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica* is a very different work from the *Chronographia*. It is a co-ordinated, sustained, critical and interpretative history of the Church in ten books which grows deeper and fuller as the subject advances. With the great library at Caesarea at his disposal, with sound scholarship, influential position, a wide circle of friends, and means to travel, Eusebius utilized as much historical evidence as the age afforded him. He used copious sources unknown except through him, and preserved documents which otherwise would have perished by incorporating them into his narration. Considering the heated theological controversies of the time, and that he himself could remember the great persecution of 303, it is written with remarkable temperateness and understanding. The same cannot be said for his *Life of Constantine* which is a panegyric of which Eusebius should have been ashamed. He exaggerates with flattery on the one hand, and suppresses or misrepresents evidence adverse to the emperor's character on the other. The genuineness of all the documents which Eusebius quoted as if in proof of his research was impugned by Otto Seeck, who called the *Vita Constantini* a "Book of Lies (Lügenbuch)."<sup>22</sup> Later, however, he retracted so wholesale a condemnation.<sup>23</sup> Yet the *Vita* is without value as history; it is a pity for his own reputation that Eusebius was induced to write it and that it should have been spared. The *Book of*

<sup>21</sup> TEUFFEL, II, secs. 460, 484; HODGKIN, I, pt. ii, 703-09, II, 374.

<sup>22</sup> *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XVII (1897), 10, n. 3, and 53; cp. GIBBON, II, 533.

<sup>23</sup> O. Seeck, "Die Urkunden der Vita Constantini," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XVIII (1898), 321-45.



*Martyrs* is less important for history—much of it is mingled with miracle and wonder—than as a type of history which the future was to cultivate to profusion: the Lives of the Saints (*Vitae sanctorum*).

Veneration of saints was an early development in the Church. The first saints were the martyrs, of whom the Church compiled long catalogues, wherein real historic persons were soon listed side by side with many imaginary and fictitious martyrs. The veneration of the martyrs is found about 100 A.D. in *Revelations* II, 10, 13; XII, 11; XVII, 6 and the intercession of the saints is declared in the Nicene Creed (325 A.D.). By that time the memory of pious bishops and ascetics had begun to divide honors with the martyrs in the hearts of the faithful. At least in the first centuries the saints were historical personages. In the beginning the cult of each martyr and each saint was local; and in fact only the great martyrs and saints ever attained universal veneration.

The veneration of the saints presents a striking analogy to hero-worship among the pagans. In Greek mythology the worship of Heracles and Dionysios was followed by the veneration manifested for actual heroes, like Achilles and Aeneas. The fondness of antiquity for biography accentuated this development. In course of time Greek and Roman romanticism idealized types of character. "Cato was hardly dead before his party began to canonize him."<sup>24</sup> Philosophy among the ancients had been inclined to this form of idealization. Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, and the *Life of Plotinus* are examples. In these works the line between natural phenomena and miracle, between magic and reality is a vanishing one, and this factor of miracle and magic must always be kept in mind when reading the lives of the saints. Belief in magic, of course, was not peculiar to the classical world. The books of the Old and the New Testament mention cases of superstition and magic.

From the fourth century the Church was careful to see that records were kept of the *Acta martyrum*. In the *Liber Pontificalis* Pope Damasus I (366–384) is recorded as affirming that Clement, bishop of Rome in the reign of the Emperor Domitian, when the Christians were first persecuted "for the Name," had established a group of secretaries to provide for this purpose. In several instances the martyrs themselves wrote a narrative of their experiences up to the verge of death. Cyprian of Carthage, who suffered in 258 A.D., issued an injunction to his clergy to "note the days of their death that we may celebrate their commemorations along with the memorials of the (other) martyrs."<sup>25</sup>

It is curious to see how rapidly the saints supplanted the older belief in the angels as ministers of grace in the popular mind. Except Gabriel,

<sup>24</sup> T. R. Glover, *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century* (Cambridge, 1901), 361.

<sup>25</sup> See also *CQR*, XXXII (1891), 71 ff.

the angel of the annunciation, even the archangels were all but forgotten in the Middle Ages until revived by the art of the Renaissance.

It has been said above that the cult of the saints bears a striking analogy to ancient pagan hero-worship. Was it merely a parallel evolution in Christianity? Or was there an organic connection between the pagan and the Christian mode of thinking? Catholic historians deny it, and admit only that polytheism altered the physiognomy of the saint or his history.<sup>26</sup> No unprejudiced historian who has studied comparatively the history of the pagan cults and of Christianity in the early centuries of the Christian era doubts that the Church's compromise with the pagan religions opened the door for the entrance of pagan beliefs and practices into the Church. To theologians Christianity might be a matter of creed, but the popular concept of the Christian religion was something far different. The masses could not understand the metaphysical speculations of theology. They accepted the creed without understanding it, without debating it. But the Christianity which they believed was that represented in the legends of the saints, in apocalypses, in miracles, in sacred images, in crosses and amulets, in relics, in the Mass regarded as magical worship. In the fourth century polytheism had lost its name, but not its influence. "The shades of the old dethroned gods together with their worship, revived once more."<sup>27</sup> In the fourth and fifth centuries the Church feared heresy more than paganism. It fought to destroy heresy, it compromised with paganism. Synesius of Cyrene explicitly denied the resurrection and did not believe in the approaching end of the world, yet he was made a bishop.

The *Ecclesiastical History* was the mother of a progeny of ecclesiastical histories in succeeding centuries. No less than three historians in the fifth century continued it. Eusebius had terminated his work in 309, before the recognition of Christianity by Constantine in the Edict of Milan (313). Perhaps he did not wish to continue, as logically he should have done, through the council of Nicaea in 325, because he was an Arian and was incensed over the triumph of the Athanasian or trinitarian creed. Orthodox historians soon repaired the breach. Socrates, a lawyer of Constantinople (ca. 379-440), when he retired continued Eusebius in seven books down to 439. Sozomen, a younger contemporary, also a former advocate, in the last years of his life retired into a monastery and there wrote an *Ecclesiastical History* in nine books, which was dedicated to the Emperor Theodosius II (408-451). It dealt

<sup>26</sup> Paul Monceaux, "Les origines du culte des saints," *JS*, 1915, pp. 121-30, 203-13, 253-60, esp. 258-59.

<sup>27</sup> Harnack (see n. 11 above), IV, 107 and compare I, 304-05, III, 125-26; also the same author's *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*, tr. by James Moffat (2nd rev. ed., New York and London, 1908, 2 v.), II, 206-08 on Gregory Thaumaturgus.

with the history of the Church from 323 to 429, and borrowed largely from Socrates without giving credit. Later in the fifth century Theodoretus, bishop of Cyrus in the province of Euphratensis, also wrote an *Ecclesiastical History* covering the years 324–439. He was more impartial than the other two, but careless of chronology.<sup>28</sup> In the sixth century church history continued to be carried on by Evagrius, a native of Epiphania on the Orontes River near Antioch. In the preface, after homage to Eusebius and his successors, he writes: "Since events subsequent and scarcely inferior to these have not hitherto been made the subject of a sustained narrative, I have resolved, though but ill-qualified for such a task, to undertake the labor which the subject demands and to embody them in a history." The work extends from the council of Ephesus in 431 to the twelfth year of the reign of the Emperor Maurice (594), and thus is valuable for the reign of Justinian—a turning point in the history of the Eastern Roman Empire. The core of the work is the history of the Nestorian controversy. A notable chapter is that descriptive of the great plague which ravaged the eastern Roman world in the sixth century (Bk. IV, ch. 29). Evagrius was an eminent juriconsult and had been quaestor in the reign of Tiberius II. This perhaps explains his copious insertion of valuable original documents.<sup>29</sup>

It is remarkable that all but one of these historians of the church in the East were laymen, not clerics. This was not so, as we shall shortly see, in the West. The fact shows to what an inordinate degree ecclesiastical matters and theological issues overshadowed secular events. As Eusebius' *Chronographia* was translated into Latin by St. Jerome and so influenced historical writing in the West, so also the works of Sozomen, Socrates, and Evagrius found a translator in Cassiodorus, who late in the sixth century rendered these three histories into Latin under the title: the *Tripartite History*,<sup>30</sup> which has not been preserved.

Church history in the Latin West, it has been said, began with the Latin rendition and continuation of Eusebius' *Chronicle*. But in the hands of these continuators they were arid, factual narrations. A new form, however, was given to church history in the fifth century in Gaul, at this time intellectually the foremost country in the Western Empire, by two Gallic writers, Prosper of Aquitaine and Sulpicius Severus.

<sup>28</sup> English translations of these writers in the *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (see n. 1), 2nd series, as follows: Socrates tr. by A. C. Zenos, II, 1–178, Sozomen tr. by C. D. Hartranft, II, 179–427, and Theodoretus tr. by Blomfield Jackson, III, 1–348. Consult the introductions of the translators; and Bardenhewer (see n. 1), IV, 137–44, 239–44, with recent literature.

<sup>29</sup> Three other writers, Philip of Side, Philostorgus, and Hesychius, are known to have written histories of this period. We can be sure from Socrates and Photius that we have not lost much because Philip's work has perished. Of the history of Hesychius only a fragment survives, but from the Arian historian Philostorgus some useful contemporary testimony may be derived.

<sup>30</sup> TEUFFEL, II, sec. 483, 11.

Prosper of Aquitaine <sup>31</sup> (ca. 400–460) in early life had lived in Rome and perhaps had been secretary to Pope Leo I, but never took orders and remained a layman all his life. His *Chronicon* was compiled between 433 and 455, and is in two parts. The first is a mixture of biblical and classical history, extends from the creation to the death of the Emperor Valens (378 A.D.), and is valueless. The second part covers the period from 378 to 455, including the sack of Rome by the Vandals. "It is difficult to conceive the attitude of the writer's mind, the method on which he conducted his studies, or the principle which guided him in his selection of events." <sup>32</sup> But it is a much better piece of work since Prosper was contemporary with most of the events related. He is an important source for the first half of the fifth century, though his chronology is loose and he is prolix in regard to the doctrinal controversies of the time.

Sulpicius Severus (ca. 365–425), <sup>33</sup> a Gaul like his younger contemporary Prosper, was the best historical writer of the fifth century. He was educated for the law, but after the death of his wife, influenced by St. Martin of Tours, he withdrew from the world and devoted himself to history. His Latin is far superior to the current language of the age. His style is concise and he has been called "the Christian Sallust." <sup>34</sup> Like Prosper's chronicle his *Chronicorum libri II* is a fusion of biblical and classical history and extends to 403. But the difference between the two works, though they cover almost the same field, is great. For Sulpicius Severus was a man of intellect and invested what he wrote with interpretative, constructive thought, and was discriminating in the matter he selected. A remarkable example of this critical ability is found in Bk. II, ch. xxx, in which Sulpicius prefers the testimony of Tacitus to that of Josephus in the matter of the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. Tacitus' source was as contemporary as Josephus, and less prejudiced. <sup>35</sup>

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, sec. 460; L. Valentin, *Saint Prosper d'Aquitaine, étude sur la littérature latine ecclésiastique au cinquième siècle en Gaule* (Paris, 1900); HODGKIN, I, pt. ii, 703–06; Maurice Roger, *L'enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin* (Paris, 1905), 48–88.

<sup>32</sup> Samuel Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire* (2nd rev. ed., London, 1899), 441–42.

<sup>33</sup> André Lavertujon, ed., *La Chronique de Sulpice Sévère: texte critique, traduction et commentaire* (Paris, 1896–99, 2 v.); for literature see POTTHAST, II, 1040; EBERT, I, 327–36; article by A. Harnack, in *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, 3rd ed. edited by Albert Hauck (Leipzig, 1896–1913, 24 v.); Jacob Bernays, *Ueber die Chronik des Sulpicius Severus* (Berlin, 1861), reprinted in his *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. by H. Usener (Berlin, 1885, 2 v.), II, 81–200; W. S. Gilly, *Vigilantius and His Times* (London, 1844), 35–63.

<sup>34</sup> See Henri Goelzer, *Grammaticae in Sulpicium Severum observationes* (Paris, 1883).

<sup>35</sup> The passage was long regarded with suspicion because it did not agree with Josephus' account of the event. But Jacob Bernays (1824–81)—on whom see SANDYS, III, 176–79—in his work on Sulpicius Severus, published in 1861 and dedicated to Max Müller, showed that Sulpicius' authority was a book of Tacitus of which now only fragments remain. See his *Gesammelte Werke* (n. 33 above), II, 167 f.; and Lavertujon (also n. 33), II, 394.

His perception of the continuity of history exceeded that of any other writer before him. Moreover, unlike others of the age, he was no credulous believer in miracles and had no taste for the strained allegorical interpretation of history, which was so current. He could not see that the ten plagues of Egypt related in *Exodus* VII–XI were prophetic of the “ten great persecutions,” more especially since no historian not hypnotized by allegorical interpretation could distinguish ten persecutions.<sup>36</sup> He was tinctured with the pessimistic sentiments of the time (*sed non diu mali boni sunt*) but derived these, not from the Bible and theology, but from classical literature; nor did he believe that pious pessimism was an evidence of sanctity. To him sanctity was not manifested in miracles, but in strength of character. He was not interested in doctrinal controversies as Prosper, but was intolerant of heretics and especially of the Jews. In this last particular Sulpicius Severus is the first anti-Semitist of the Middle Ages. He is the earliest writer who relates the story of the Wandering Jew,<sup>37</sup> which was revived in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, when hatred of the Jews was acute. He seems to have had a feeling that the Roman Empire was really passing away.

Sulpicius Severus also was the author of another work: a *Life of St. Martin of Tours* (d. 397), whom he knew. In this work we touch a literary phenomenon typically medieval in nature—the *vitae sanctorum* or lives of the saints, with which medieval biography is replete. It is valuable for the religious emotionalism of the time and especially for the violence with which triumphant Christianity pursued those who still adhered to paganism. It was the “best seller” of the century; in Lyons and Rome the book stalls could not supply the demand; it was translated into Greek and sold in myriad copies in Egypt, the original home of monasticism.

In the *Dialogue* which follows the *Vita*, Sulpicius Severus engages in a debate with a friend Posthumianus, who relates his experiences on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and Egypt from which he has just returned. He has seen St. Jerome personally in Jerusalem, and many of the famous hermits and anchorites of the Thebaid, and relates numerous astonishing miracles and feats of endurance performed by them. This part of the dialogue is particularly interesting, as it gives the impression of genuine authenticity as a real account of a pilgrimage about 400 A.D. Severus, however, by relating the deeds and miracles of St. Martin, forces his friend to acknowledge that he is at least as great a saint as any of those he has seen.

Another anti-pagan tract of the fifth century, not without historical

<sup>36</sup> *Chron.*, I, i, 3, 7.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 30 (ed. Lavertujon, vol. II, 70, compare 413 note).

value, was Orosius' *Historiarum libri VII adversus paganos*.<sup>38</sup> It terminates in 417. Orosius was a Spaniard by birth and a pupil of St. Augustine, from whom he got the suggestion of his work. In these last agonized years of the Western Empire, years of barbarian invasion from without, and misgovernment, economic distress, and social strain within, a current charge made by the pagans was that Christianity was responsible for the ills of the time. This charge Orosius set himself to refute. The work is a violent anti-pagan tract, but has historical value as a reflection of the conditions and the mental attitudes of the age. For example, Orosius writes: "If the barbarians had been sent into the Roman territory only for this one reason that it should be possible to see on every side, throughout the East and West alike, the churches filled with an innumerable and varied multitude of believers—Huns and Suevi, Vandals and Burgundians—it would be right to praise and magnify the mercy of God in that through the ruin of the provincials He had brought so many nations to a knowledge of the truth to which otherwise they would never have attained." There was a Providence both in the ruin of the provincials and in the barbarian invasions. A notable passage is a description of the empty shelves of the Alexandrian library, which was destroyed by a Christian mob in 389.

Orosius had a great master but he was an inept pupil. In St. Augustine (354–430) we come to the greatest figure in the early Latin Church, greater than Ambrose or St. Jerome or Pope Leo I: theologian, philosopher, preacher, teacher, poet, and profound political thinker. It is in this last capacity that he and his great book, *The City of God* or *De civitate Dei*<sup>39</sup> in twenty-two books, are to be considered here. It was composed between the years 413–426, and so represents Augustine's mature thought. Although it was hammered out on the anvil of his

<sup>38</sup> English translation by Irving W. Raymond, *Seven Books of History Against the Pagans: the Apology of Paulus Orosius* (New York, 1936: Records of civilization series), with introduction and bibliography; TEUFFEL, II, sec. 455; HODGKIN, I, pt. ii, 637 and consult index of vol. II; H. W. Phillott, "Paulus Orosius," *Dictionary of Christian Biography* (see n. 15), IV, 157–59; Gaston Boissier, *La fin du paganisme: étude sur les dernières luites religieuses en Occident au quatrième siècle* (9th ed., Paris, 1928, 2 v.), II, 397–409; GUILDAY, 30–70 with bibliography.

<sup>39</sup> There are many translations; one of the best is that of Marcus Dods in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (see n. 1), first series, II, 1–511; another is by John Healey in the Temple Classics (London, 1903, 3 small v.). J. E. Welldon, *S. Aurelii Augusti de civitate dei contra paganos libri XXII* (London, 1924, 2 v.), with introduction and notes; S. Angus, *The Sources of the First Ten Books of Augustine's De civitate dei* (Princeton, 1906); H. O. Taylor, *The Mediaeval Mind* (New York and London, 1911, 2 v.), I, ch. iv; Joseph McCabe, *Saint Augustine and His Age* (London, 1902); Louis Bertrand, *Saint Augustine* (Paris, 1913), tr. from the French by Vincent O'Sullivan (New York, 1914); E. F. Humphrey, *Politics and Religion in the Days of Augustine* (New York, 1912); Glover (see n. 24 above), ch. ix; HODGKIN, I, pt. ii, 803–06 and see index in vol. II; anon., "St. Augustine's City of God," *CQR*, XXXI (1890), 22–44; Boissier (see n. 38), II, 293–337; A. Robertson, "Augustinus, Aurelius," in *A Dictionary of Christian Biography and Literature to the End of the Sixth Century A.D.*, ed. by Henry Wace and W. C. Piercy (London and Boston, 1911), 70–92.

brain, the *City of God* was no sudden brilliant spark, but was wrought and rewrought until it was fashioned into one of the greatest books in the world.

The grandeur of the occasion on which this book was conceived, and of its general subject, is unsurpassed in literature. In 410 Rome was taken and sacked by the Goths under Alaric. The wail sent up from the Empire included the indignant complaint of many that the public disasters were due to the forsaking of the ancient gods . . . Augustine . . . stepped forward as the champion of Catholicism and produced this monumental work.

He takes for his main theme the contrast between the temporal empire of Rome and "the most glorious City of God," that is, the Church, "here militant, there triumphant" (*Ephesians* II, 19-22). He reviews the secular and sacred history of man. Just the judgment could not be, for to Augustine the Roman gods were demons. Yet he honored Roman virtues. . . . The *City of God* . . . seemed to rally as to a victory-giving standard, the distracted peoples of the fifth century.<sup>40</sup>

The state was man-made—Cain founded the first city—and therefore evil. The City of God was His celestial kingdom, but the Church was of divine foundation and its office was as nearly as it was able to realize that heavenly vision upon earth. The kingdom of the Church was the reflection of the kingdom of heaven.

"In this middle age," he says (*in hoc interim seculo*) "the Two Cities, with their two citizenships, the earthly and the heavenly, are inextricably enwound and intermingled with each other. Not until the Last Judgment will they be wholly separated; but the philosophy of history is to trace the steps by which the one is slowly replaced by, or transformed into, the other. The earthly Empire, all the splendid achievement in thought and arts and deeds of the Roman civilization, already fades away before that of the City of God on which his eyes are fixed."<sup>41</sup>

It is not too much to say that the *City of God* has controlled Catholic historiography ever since it was written. It was the first constructive contribution to a collapsing civilization. It bravely asserted that human affairs were neither to be laughed at nor wept over, but to be understood. It formulated the dominant political theory of the Middle Ages. It declared that God ruled human affairs. It put God in history. It was the first effort to propound the question of the relation between State and Church, created in 392 when the Emperor Theodosius I proscribed paganism and made Christianity the state religion of the Empire and established the Christian Roman Empire. The greatest of the popes, Gregory VII, Alexander III, Innocent III, based their claim of supremacy of Papacy over Empire, of Church over State, on St. Augustine's reasoning. It was Charlemagne's favorite book. In the majestic

<sup>40</sup> Frederic Harrison, ed., *The New Calendar of Great Men* (London, 1892), 217.

<sup>41</sup> J. W. Mackail, *Latin Literature* (New York, 1909), 276.

somnambulism of man which is called history St. Augustine injected a dream into the mind of the sleepwalker which still charms and haunts men's mind—the doctrine of better laws and a higher soul. The *City of God* pertains to that literature of which Plato's *Republic*, Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, Bacon's *Atlantis*, and Campanella's *City of the Sun* are other examples. Historiography must recognize the importance of political theory, even when it is idealistic and impracticable. The social visionary has his place in history. For the dreams of one generation may become the realities of the next.

In the fifth century the Roman Empire was a ruin. Administrative inefficiency and corruption, increasing taxation, social derangement and economic stress, the breakdown of law and order, barbarian invasions had all but completed their work of demolition. The masses accepted the conditions sullenly or stolidly. But there were those who protested. The most notable of such was a simple priest of Massilia (Marseilles) named Salvian, who uttered the cry of outraged conscience against the corruption and abuses, the injustice and inhumanity of the time, in a work vibrant with passion and invective, *De gubernatione Dei*, or *On the Governance of God*.<sup>42</sup> "The purpose of this book was to answer the great problem which at that time was perplexing thoughtful people: Why is civilized society dissolving and breaking up before the barbarians, if there is a divine governance of the world? This question had been dealt with before by Augustine in the *De civitate Dei*, and by Orosius in the *Historia adversus paganos*. . . . Augustine's answer was merely negative: the evils which had come upon Rome were not the effect of the introduction of Christianity. Orosius denied the existence of the evils. But a good deal had happened between 417 and 440; and in 440 even Orosius could hardly have ventured to maintain his thesis. Salvian's answer was this: these evils are the effects of our vices. He draws a vivid and highly exaggerated contrast between Roman vices and Teutonic virtues."<sup>43</sup>

Salvian tried to answer questions which must have arisen in the minds of thinking men of the time. Why should the Empire in the fifth century, now become almost wholly Christian, be visited with such calamities? The Empire when it was pagan had not suffered so much.

<sup>42</sup> English translation by Eva M. Sanford, *On the Government of God* (New York, 1930: Records of civilization series). HODGKIN, I, pt. ii, 918–34; DILL (see n. 32), 137–42, 318–23; Boissier (see n. 38), II, 410–23; J. H. Robinson, *Readings in European History* (Boston, 1904–06, 2 v.), I, 28–30; TEUFFEL, II, sec. 465; A. C. Cooper-Marsdin, *The History of the Islands of the Lerins: the Monastery, Saints and Theologians of S. Honorat* (Cambridge, 1913), ch. xv; R. Thouvenot, "Salvian and the Ruins of the Roman Empire," *Antiquity*, VIII (1934), 315–27, a reprint in English translation from the *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, XXXVIII (1920), 145–63; Danou, in *JS*, 1834, p. 660.

<sup>43</sup> GIBBON, III, 490.



His answer is a bold assertion of the righteousness of God's governance. The miseries of Roman society are due to society's own evil. The barbarian Germans are better people than the Romans. The greater interest of the *Governance of God*, however, is not found in its moralizing but in the graphic and vivid pictures of Roman society and the working of adverse economic and social conditions, under a corrupt and bureaucratic administrative system. Like Augustine, Salvian believed in an overruling Providence and the coming of the Kingdom of God on earth. But he flayed his generation, including the clergy, for obstructing divine purpose and delaying the glorious day of His coming by their evil ways. He is especially troubled over the ever-increasing poverty, the cruel condition of the lower classes, and the means to alleviate their distress. Unlike St. Augustine and Orosius, he does not blame the pagans, but lays the responsibility for things upon the government and the high clergy, especially the latter. He denounces the bishops for their worldliness, their ambition, their avarice, their hardness of heart. He points out that the bishops, in becoming great land owners, have imitated the oppressive practices of the great patrimonial proprietors in exploitation of the slave and servile populations upon the Church's vast estates. The clergy prate about charity and care of the poor, but they fail to practice these virtues. He classifies the laity not according to social degrees, but according to the various kinds of wrong doing which they commit. He flays public officials for dishonesty, injustice, and avarice. He blames the manners and morals of the times, not the laws which are good but are not enforced. The Church, he says, is aware of the evils of the age, but indifferent and corrupt. Yet only the Church and the Christian religion can save the world. Ironically Salvian compares the lot of the lower classes within the Roman Empire with the lot of the German barbarians to the advantage of the latter. "The poor are despoiled, the widows sigh, the orphans are oppressed until many of them, born of families not obscure, and liberally educated, flee to the Germans that they may no longer be compelled to suffer the oppression of abusive government and cruel patrimonial proprietorship. They seek Roman humanity among the barbarians because they cannot endure barbarian inhumanity among the Romans. Although they differ from the people to whom they flee in manner and language, yet they would rather endure the barbarous civilization of the barbarians than the cruelty and injustice of Romans. So they migrate to the Goths and other tribes of the Germans, preferring to live free under an appearance of captivity than live as prisoners under the guise of liberty." The works of Sulpicius Severus, Orosius, and Salvian are evidence of the close of a period.

This chapter may conclude with some observations upon the histor-

ical importance of the *Letters* of the church fathers. We have 244 of Gregory Nazianzen, 243 of St. Basil, 81 of St. Cyprian, 91 of St. Ambrose, an enormous correspondence of St. John Chrysostom and St. Jerome, and 270 letters of St. Augustine. In addition, there are over 2000 letters of the Syro-Greek pagan philosopher Libanius, the friend of the Emperor Julian. Libanius was tolerant of the Christians but it was with a mocking air. But St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom had been his pupils and he was always friendly to them. His letters are valuable historical sources.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>44</sup> HODGKIN, I, pt. ii, 470-71, 474; GIBBON, II, 535; L. Petit, *Essai sur la vie et la correspondance du sophiste Libanius* (Paris, 1866); E. Monnier, *Histoire de Libanius* (Paris, 1866). There is a translation of Libanius' funeral oration upon the Emperor Julian in C. W. King, *Julian the Emperor* (London, 1888), 122-218.

BOOK II

*WESTERN EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE AGES TO THE  
END OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY*



## CHAPTER IX

### THE HISTORIANS OF THE BARBARIAN INVASIONS <sup>1</sup>

THE historiography of the period of the barbarian invasions, which we may estimate roughly as the fifth and sixth centuries, is difficult to present, partly because the historians are few and no one of them had a large view of the times; partly because the invasions were spread over a wide territory and through a long space of time; partly because the history of the fifth and sixth centuries involves also the history of other important movements, viz.: the increasing power of the Church, the spread of monasticism, the rise of the papacy in the West, and in the East the imperial restoration combined with a strong military reaction against German ascendancy. In the West all the writers are clerics, with the narrow view of their class; in the East most of the writers before 600 are still laymen, but even so they are inclined to stress unduly things ecclesiastical and theological. In the East the subject is less complex because political unity was not lost and the Roman—or Early Byzantine—Empire remained a true imperial state. In the West, however, all political unity disappears and we have to deal with the history of separate German kingdoms in Spain, Gaul, and Italy. Of the Anglo-Saxon conquest of Britain we know nothing from contemporary writers.

The pre-conquest period of Germanic history is found in the Latin historians of the third and fourth centuries, whom we have already noticed, especially the *Historia Augusta* and Ammianus Marcellinus, with less important information found in the annalists. With the founding of the German kingdoms of the "conquest" the former fluid condition of things is succeeded by a certain permanence. The map acquires a certain fixity and something like a stable equilibrium ensues after the great *Völkerwanderung*. It may make things clearer to summarize this result. In 375 the West Goths entered the Balkan peninsula, defeated

<sup>1</sup> Carlton J. H. Hayes, *An Introduction to the Sources Relating to the Germanic Invasions* (New York, 1909); HODGKIN, see the "authorities" given at the head of each chapter, and the same author's article "Origins of Barbarian History," *Hermathena*, XII (1902-03), 1-16; MOLINIER, I, pp. 35-55; WATTENBACH, I, 41-140; Eduard v. Wietersheim, *Geschichte der Völkerwanderung*, 2nd rev. ed. by Felix Dahn (Leipzig, 1880-81, 2 v.); Reinhold Pallmann, *Die Geschichte der Völkerwanderung* (Gotha, 1863-64, 2 v. in 1); Felix Dahn, *Die Könige der Germanen* (Leipzig, 1883-1911, 13 v. in 14); Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges, *Histoire des institutions politiques de l'ancienne France* (Paris, 1888-1907, 6 v.), II, 226-46; a good short account in H. Vildhant, *Handbuch der Quellenkunde zur deutschen Geschichte* (2nd ed., Werl, 1906-09, 2 v.), I, 32-80.

the Roman arms at Adrianople in 378, invaded Italy in 408, sacked Rome in 410, and finally established their kingdom in southwestern Gaul and Spain (412-429). The Vandals invaded Gaul in 406, ravaged Spain, and in 429 crossed the straits and founded their kingdom in Africa which lasted until destroyed by Justinian in 533. The Burgundians settled in the Rhone valley (Provence) in 443 and were conquered by the Franks in 511, who had already conquered northern Gaul in 486 and West Gothic Gaul in 509. The East Goths entered Italy via the Eastern Roman Empire in 489 and their kingdom lasted until destroyed by Justinian in 552. Sixteen years later (568) the Lombards—the last German invaders—reconquered a large part of the peninsula. Meanwhile in the fifth century the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons had conquered Roman Britain, the last legions having been withdrawn in 442. The search for unity is lost amid such kaleidoscopic changes, and systematic presentation of the historiography of the epoch is difficult.

No sustained history of the West Goths is found before their settlement in Spain. It must be picked out from observations and snatches of information in Claudian's poems, the two church historians Socrates and Sozomen, Zosimus (a Greek historian of the last half of the fifth century, who will be noticed later in connection with the historiography of the Eastern Roman Empire), Orosius, Prosper, and the *Letters* of Sidonius. Even the history of the Spanish Goths is very meagerly related. The *Chronicon* of bishop Idatius embraces the years 379-469.<sup>2</sup> This is supplemented for the years 567-590 by the Chronicle of John, abbot of Biclara,<sup>3</sup> a Spanish monk who had studied Greek at Constantinople. He was persecuted by the Arian king Leovigild. It is one of the best sources of Visigothic history. The scholarly Isidore of Seville (d. 636) was the author of an unsatisfactory *Historia Gothorum, Vandalorum et Suevorum*.<sup>4</sup> It is a panegyric belied by the facts. He boasts of "the richness and prosperity of Spain," which is "the most beautiful country between India and the Hesperides," "the pearl and ornament of the universe." Theodoric the Great, the king of Ostrogothic Italy, knew otherwise and said caustically: "The bad Goth imitates the bad Roman in Spain, and the bad Roman imitates the bad Goth."<sup>5</sup> The sources are not mentioned, but they were Idatius, John of Biclara, Orosius, Prosper, and the lost "Brief History" (*historiola*) of the Spanish

<sup>2</sup> Text in MIGNE, vol. LI, cols. 873-90; cp. EBERT, I, 422-24.

<sup>3</sup> TEUFFEL, II, secs. 484-85; GIBBON, IV, 524; HODGKIN, V, 255 note.

<sup>4</sup> See Ernest Brehaut, *An Encyclopedist of the Dark Ages: Isidore of Seville* (New York, 1912), 173.

<sup>5</sup> Hugo Hertzberg, *Die Historien und die Chroniken des Isidorus von Seville* (Göttingen, 1874); the same, "Ueber die Chroniken des Isidorus von Seville," *FDG*, XV (1875), 291-360.

Goths by Maximus, bishop of Saragossa (d. 619).<sup>6</sup> Julian, bishop of Toledo (680–690), was the author of a *Historia de Wambae regis Gothorum Toletani expeditione* (anno 673), written “with vehement, prejudiced eloquence,” and a *Life of St. Ildefonso*, his predecessor. The most valuable sources of the history of the Spanish Goths, however, are not these chronicles, but the *Antiqua*, the earliest code of Visigothic law, and its much ampler successor, the *Breviarium* of Alaric II.<sup>7</sup> To these works must be added the decrees of the numerous church councils. For Visigothic Spain was a priest-ridden land. Between 429 and 694 there were nineteen councils which bigotedly legislated about everything and practically wrought the fall of the monarchy even before the Mohammedans came in 711.

Africa at the time of the Vandal conquest (429–439) was torn by doctrinal controversy, and the local authors were more interested in theology than in politics. Some information may be gleaned from Victor Vitensis' *History of the Persecution of the Province of Africa by Gaiseric and Huneric, Kings of the Vandals*. The author was a bishop in the province of Byzacena. It is in three books and deals with events in the years 429–484. Victor's merit is subject to large allowances for his wild invectives, his careless chronology, and his extreme credulity in miracles. Yet after all deductions, the substance of his narrative is of value, if for no other reason than that we have no other contemporary account. Practically the only other contemporary source for Vandal history is the *Life of St. Augustine* by Possidius; but as Augustine died in the second year of the siege of Carthage (430) it is of little use for Vandal history. One is really driven for information to Procopius' *History of the Vandal War*<sup>8</sup> in 533, when the Emperor Justinian destroyed the power of the Vandals.

It is vexing in this particular to find the contemporary African writer Fulgentius (ca. 480–550) wasting his time on a sort of *Universal History* (*de aetatibus mundi*), filled with fantastic legends and strained analogies, instead of writing the important history of his own times. More substantial material is found in a *Chronicle* from the Creation to 566 by Victor of Tunnuna,<sup>9</sup> a bishop in the province Carthage, though of course only the relation of sixth-century events is worth anything.

We are better informed about the history of the Ostrogoths (489–552).<sup>10</sup> First there are two fragments of an Italian (Ravennate) chron-

<sup>6</sup> The work attributed to Maximus in MIGNE, LXXX, cols. 617–32 is a forgery. See TEUFFEL, II, sec. 495, 4.

<sup>7</sup> Hinojosa, “Das germanische Element im spanischen Rechte,” *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, Germanistische Abtheilung, XXXI (1910), 282–359.

<sup>8</sup> Procopius is treated below, chapter XVII.

<sup>9</sup> TEUFFEL, II, sec. 484, 4; GIBBON, IV, 524.

<sup>10</sup> HODGKIN, III, 214–21.

icle known as the *Anonymus Valesii*, one covering the years 293–337, the other the years 474–526. The two fragments, however, do not belong to the same work. The title is a conventional one and is derived from the fact that the manuscript was first published by Henricus Valesius (Henri de Valois, 1603–76) in his edition of Ammianus Marcellinus. The first fragment deals with Constantine the Great; the second with events in Italy from the accession of Nepos to the death of Theodoric, and is much the more valuable. Following this we have a *Life of Epiphanius*, bishop of Pavia, and a *Panegyric* on Theodoric (507) written by Ennodius, another bishop of Pavia (473–521).<sup>11</sup> Ennodius had received a secular education and was grounded in the classics, but his style is intolerably rhetorical. He had no historical sense. He is neither an important nor an attractive writer. Nine books of 297 letters of his are filled with effusive bombast. Yet the historian has need of him. As bishop of Pavia he was in a place of observation and there are facts which may be gleaned only from him. In the absence of other material he is our best authority on the quarrel between Anthemius and Ricimer, on some aspects of the cession of Auvergne to the Visigoths, and on details of Theodoric's conquest of Italy.

Following the *Panegyric* came the document known as the *Annals of Ravenna*. It was not a chronicle, but a calendar of important events relating to Ravenna in particular and northern Italy in general.<sup>12</sup> This work is no longer extant, but it evidently was the source of the *Anonymus Valesii*, the *Continuatio Prosperi*, the *Chronicon Cuspiniani*; and the seventh-century portion of it survives in the ninth-century *Lives of the Bishops of Ravenna* by Agnellus.<sup>13</sup>

Gothic and Roman history found its real historian in Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator (ca. 480–575).<sup>14</sup> Cassiodorus was of noble birth, an administrative official under Odoacer, and, after his fall in 489, under Theodoric, the Ostrogothic king, and his successors, until about 540. Then he retired to Vivarium, the monastery which he founded at Squillace in extreme southern Italy, and died there at the age of ninety-five. As a scholar Cassiodorus created the monastic scriptorium, for the management of which he composed a manual; established a rich library; and gave monasticism that impulse towards learning which con-

<sup>11</sup> TEUFFEL, II, sec. 479; GIBBON, IV, 522.

<sup>12</sup> HODGKIN, III, 178, 214–21; TEUFFEL, II, sec. 413, 3. See the reconstruction for the years 379–572 by O. Holder-Egger, in *NA*, I (1875), 215–368.

<sup>13</sup> Hodgkin, *loc. cit.*, has shown in parallel columns the dependence of all these writers on the lost *Annals*.

<sup>14</sup> *The Letters of Cassiodorus, Being a Condensed Translation of the Variae Epistolae of Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator*, by Thomas Hodgkin (London, 1886), with a valuable introduction, 1–35; TEUFFEL, II, sec. 483; GIBBON, IV, 522–23; SANDYS, I, 258–70; HODGKIN, IV, consult index; POTTHAST, I, 197–98; Giusto Zampieri, "Cassiodoro," *Enciclopedia italiana di scienze, lettere ed arti* (Rome, 1929–39, 36 v.), IX, 337–38.



tributed so much to the preservation of medieval culture. In his long and busy life Cassiodorus found time to write three historical works: (1) a *Chronicle* written about 519, which was an abstract of world history and "mainly an inaccurate copy of Eusebius and Prosper"; (2) *Historia tripartita*, which was a Latin translation of the ecclesiastical histories of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, made with the help of Epiphanius, his Greek secretary; and (3) the *Gothic History* in twelve books, written between 526 and 533. The loss of this work is one of the most grievous in early medieval historiography. It is poor compensation that we have preserved a great volume of his *Letters and State Papers (Variae)*, valuable as these documents are. The reading public of the sixth century—which by that time had shrunk wholly to churchmen—was too indifferent to secular history and more interested in lives of the saints and homilies. Perhaps also the length of this *Gothic History* repelled readers, who preferred an epitome, as they had done with Livy before.

Whatever the reason for its disappearance Cassiodorus' most valuable work is preserved only in the crude and botched *Gothic History* of Jordanes<sup>15</sup> which is a condensation of it. Jordanes was half-Latin and half-German by birth, though some scholars think that he was of Alan and not German descent. He understood Greek and accompanied Pope Vigilius to Constantinople in 551, and is dubiously said to have been bishop of Ravenna. There is a *tendance* in the *De origine et actibus Gothorum*, for Jordanes was a Catholic and wrote to win the East Goths over from their Arian heresy, and at the same time to reconcile the Romans to Gothic rule. He calls the Roman Empire "Romania"—the earliest occurrence of this magnificent word. In spite of his crudeness, ignorance,<sup>16</sup> credulousness, platitudes—chiefly evinced in classical quotations—and abominable Latin, Jordanes' *Getica* is an important work. He is the first writer who attempted to relate the history of the German migration. In this portion he had no written sources and was compelled to rely on the traditions and legends and sagas of the Gothic people, some of which went as far as the second century and had been preserved and cherished and handed down from generation to generation. This *German* point of view is a landmark in medieval historiography.

A notable example of this attitude is the account of how in the first

<sup>15</sup> English translation by C. C. Mierow, *The Gothic History of Jordanes* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1915), with introduction and a commentary. TEUFFEL, II, sec. 485; GIBBON, I, 457; HODGKIN, I, pt. i, 23–29, and consult indices of vols. II and IV; J. Friedrich, "Ueber die kontroversen Fragen im Leben des gotischen Geschichtschreibers Jordanes," *Sitzungsberichte der k. bayerischen Akademie*, Phil.-hist. Klasse (Munich, 1907), 379–442; B. Krusch, in *NA*, XXXIV (1908), 235–36.

<sup>16</sup> In ch. XX (sec. 108), he thinks that Troy and Ilium were two different places, and speaks of them as having in 262 A.D. "scarce recovered a little from the famous war with Agamemnon."

years of the great trek of the Goths from the Baltic to the Black Sea "somewhere in the vast steppes of Lithuania, when they were crossing a river, a bridge broke down and half of the great army-nation perished in the stream and in the morasses on either side. And even unto this day the passers by there often hear afar off the lowing of cattle, and see dim figures of men hovering around that melancholy spot." This disaster must have happened at least as far back as the early second century, yet the tragic tradition was preserved in 550 when Jordanes was writing. What a picture of the perils of the Great Migration it is! He graphically called the barbarian world "a workshop of nations" (ch. iv) (*officina gentium*). He had imagination and a sense for the dramatic. No medieval history, perhaps, is so free from religious coloring. There are wild parts in Jordanes which recall similar barbaric scenes in *Beowulf*.<sup>17</sup> The Germans introduced a new note into historiography.

For the supreme example of vigorous, barbaric, Christo-German historiography one must turn to Frankish Gaul and the *History of the Kings of the Franks* (*Historia regum Francorum*) of Gregory, bishop of Tours (ca. 600), which, with the exception of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* (735), is the greatest historical work of the Latin West between Ammianus Marcellinus and the Carolingian renaissance.<sup>18</sup> In Gregory of Tours medieval historiography reached its stride, established the type, fixed the form, mixed the colors, and expressed the motifs which were more or less to prevail for six hundred years (600-1200).

Gregorius Florentius (539-594) was descended from a rich and noble Roman family in Auvergne. He entered the Church when a youth. One of his ancestors had been an illustrious Gallican martyr; his father was a descendant of Gregory, bishop of Langres; a great-uncle had been bishop of Lyons, and another bishop of Clermont, the former see of Sidonius Apollinaris. Our Gregory was made bishop of Tours in 573. In order

<sup>17</sup> Compare the account of the dirge sung by the wild Hunnic horsemen around the bier of Attila (ch. xlix, sec. 257), and of the "strava" or funeral-feast which followed, with the funeral of Beowulf (lines 3178 ff.). HODGKIN, II, 173-74 has translated the dirge of Attila in metrical form.

<sup>18</sup> The literature on Gregory of Tours is very large. O. M. Dalton, *The History of the Franks by Gregory of Tours* (Oxford, 1927, 2 v.), vol. I. Introduction (an exhaustive study of Gregory and of the civilization of Frankish Gaul), vol. II. English translation. MOLINIER, I, pp. 55-63 with valuable bibliography; Gabriel Monod, *Études critiques sur les sources de l'histoire mérovingienne* (Paris, 1872: Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études, fasc. 8), 21-146; J. W. Loebell, *Gregor von Tours und seine Zeit* (2nd enlarged ed., Leipzig, 1869); Godefroid Kurth, *Histoire politique des Mérovingiens* (Paris, 1893), 4, 59, and *passim*; Max Bonnet, *Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours* (Paris, 1890); Maurice Prou, *La Gaule mérovingienne* (Paris, 1897), ch. viii; Samuel Dill, *Roman Society in Gaul in the Merovingian Age* (London, 1926), use index; PATTISON, I, 1-29; Maurice Roger, *L'enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin* (Paris, 1905), 187 ff.; Fustel de Coulanges (see n. 1 above), III (*La monarchie franque*), 1-32, 99 f. [on laws]; Siegmund Hellmann, "Studien zur mittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreibung: I. Gregor von Tours," *HZ*, CVII (1911), 1-43.

to grasp the great importance of Gregory of Tours it is necessary to understand the milieu in which he lived, and that requires some inquiry into the nature of the elements which formed the culture of Frankish Gaul in the sixth century.

Of all the countries within the former Western Empire, Gaul was the greatest in every particular. Even Italy was inferior to it. Roman Gaul had preserved to a greater degree than elsewhere the classical literary tradition and the Roman school system. To these Latin and Christian elements, which in the fourth century had been fused together to form a Gallo-Roman-Christian culture, there was added in the fifth century a German element. The Franks were as an alloy. The amalgamation of the three essential elements of medieval culture—Roman, Christian, and German—produced a strong, vigorous stock in Merovingian Gaul. We must not be deceived by appearances and mistake surface indications for realities. Violent and gross, brutal and cruel though Merovingian society was, it was the most natural society of the age; less artificial, less brittle than that of the Goths, and immeasurably superior to the mongrel civilization of the Vandals, who had mixed with the native races of Africa. The Franks were destined to be the most enduring and the most constructive nation of all the Germanic peoples, who would erect a new Europe upon the debris of the Roman Empire.

In studying such a writer as Gregory of Tours, the first step is to acquire a thorough liking for him; and it were difficult not to do so, for he is one of the most interesting and one of the most genuine of all medieval historians, with the naiveté of a child, the simplicity and charity of a saint, and the loyalty of a hero to his rights and his ideals. He is the first really medieval man, together with Pope Gregory the Great (d. 604) and Isidore of Seville (d. 636).

Gregory was a model bishop. His activity was prodigious. In the midst of the civil wars which wracked the kingdom, the private warfare, and the epidemics which desolated his diocese, his courage and defense of the rights of the Church were equalled by his charity. He was even able to influence Chilperic, the worst ruffian among the Merovingian kings. Time and again the bishop braved his wrath in the defense of fugitives who had sought asylum in the church of Tours, or in maintenance of the privileges of his see. In spite of the disordered times and the incessant travel required of him to attend councils or to visit the court, Gregory occupied himself zealously in the affairs of his diocese; and still found time besides, during the twenty years of his episcopate, for prodigious literary labor. His Latin is rough, often incorrect, and shows in every line the barbarism of the times; but it has an almost elemental vigor and force. In common with his age, Gregory was credu-

lous of wonders, portents, and miracles, but if his critical sense in this respect was weak, he was otherwise honest and sincere.

The *Historia Francorum* extends from the beginning of Frankish history to 591, and is divided into ten books. The introduction, which is based upon legend and tradition, is very confused and has little value. The first book ends in 397 with the death of St. Martin of Tours; the second extends to the death of Clovis in 511; the third to the death of Theodebert I, king of Austrasia, in 547; the fourth to the death of Sigebert of Austrasia in 575; the fifth includes the first five years of the reign of Childebert II (575-580); the sixth ends with the death of Chilperic in 584; the seventh is filled with the events of the year 585; the eighth is least important, having to do with outside events of which Gregory had no certain knowledge; the ninth includes the years 587-589; and the tenth covers the years 589-591.

This bare analysis does not even faintly convey the variety and richness of this remarkable work. Gregory undertook his task with mingled pride and humility, as he tells us in the preface of his *History*. "In these times," he writes, "when the practice of letters declines, nay rather perishes in the cities of Gaul, there has been found no scholar trained in the art of ordered composition to present in prose or verse a picture of the things that have befallen. Yet there have been done good things many, and evil many. . . . [Hence] I was moved, with however rude an utterance, to hand down the memory of the past to future generations." When his work was finally completed he regarded it with honest satisfaction. "I have written ten books of History, seven of Miracles, and one of the Lives of the Fathers. . . . These works may be written in an unpolished style, but I adjure all of you, bishops of the Lord, . . . never to let these books be destroyed. . . . Leave my work complete." <sup>19</sup>

Not only is Gregory of Tours the only history of the early Franks which we have; it is invaluable for the light which it throws upon the Church, administrative matters, and institutions, although some additional light is shed on the latter by the Salic law, a few capitularies of the kings, and many charters. Gregory of Tours may be mined and quarried for information on the civilization of the age, on social classes, economic conditions, commerce and trade, slavery, manners and morals, education, the lapse of classical culture, and superstition.<sup>20</sup> As Jordanes a half century before had drawn upon the traditions and legends of the Goths which had been handed down from the period of the great migra-

<sup>19</sup> Preface and Bk. X, 31 (Dalton's tr., II, pp. 2 and 477).

<sup>20</sup> See especially Dill (n. 18); and Albert Marignan, *Études sur la civilisation française* (Paris, 1899, 2 v.), I. *La société mérovingienne*.

tions, so Gregory drew upon a store of Frankish saga history far richer than the *Heldensage* of the Goths and truly epic in its nature. The Franks, like other Germanic peoples, had their popular songs and ballads, their gleemen and bards who sang of old, far off, heroic things, and battles long ago.<sup>21</sup> Without this oral tradition the early part of the history of the Franks would be almost a blank. This epic note is an undertone of Frankish and French historiography for centuries, and finally burst into magnificent expression in the *chansons de geste* of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>22</sup> The epic "cry" even penetrated into the law. The invocation to the Salic Law rings with a deep poetic rhythm which is an expression of the heritage of heroic song which the Franks possessed and of which they were immensely proud.

After 600 A.D. historiography—indeed, all medieval literature—fell away. Gregory of Tours died in 594; Gregory the Great in 604; Isidore of Seville in 636. "It was low tide on the continent of Europe."<sup>23</sup> The history of the Franks in the seventh century degenerates into a hodge-podge which goes under the name of "Fredegarius," a name assigned to three nameless compilers.<sup>24</sup> Its value lies in the fact that we have nothing else. From 593 to 614 the chronology is accurate; between 615 and 631 it is vague. The best part of the narration is for the years 631–642, where it is concise and precise and seems to be the relation of an eye-witness. It is fuller for the history of Austrasia and Burgundy than for Neustria. But Fredegar also shows the fantastic notions which the Middle Ages had of ancient history. He is the first to mention the Trojan origin of the Franks, and from his work it passed to Paul the Deacon's *History of the Lombards*, and thence into Freyculf and Dudo and many other chronicles.<sup>25</sup> The Latin of Fredegar is very corrupt and foreshadows the *lingua romana* of the ninth century.

"Fredegarius" was supplemented by the so-called *Gesta Francorum*,

<sup>21</sup> See the fascinating pages of Kurth (n. 18 above); Monod (also n. 18), 90–101; Wilhelm Junghans, *Kritische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Fränkischen Könige Childerich und Chlodovech* (Göttingen, 1856), 6 f., 111–16; Karl Voretzsch, *Introduction to the Study of Old French Literature*, tr. from the 3rd German ed. by Francis M. Du Mont (Halle a. S. and New York, 1931), 65–69.

<sup>22</sup> Voretzsch, *op. cit.*, ch. vi; H. M. Chadwick, *The Heroic Age* (Cambridge, 1912), chs. i–iii; Pio Rajna, "Contributi alla storia dell' epopea," *Romania*, XIV (1885), 400–01, and his *Origini dell' epopea francese* (Florence, 1884).

<sup>23</sup> The words are quoted from Helen Waddell, *The Wandering Scholars* (Boston, 1927), 28.

<sup>24</sup> The first was a Burgundian chronicler who ended his work in 642. The second was an Austrasian partisan and extended his account to the accession of Pepin in 768. For the first eighty-two years his chronicle is almost a transcript of the *Liber Historiae Francorum*. From 724 to 768, on the other hand, it is an original and important authority for the rise of the mayors and the fall of the last Merovingian kings. For the years 736 to 751 the primary source of the author was Pepin's uncle Childebrand; from 751 to 768 the matter was chiefly furnished by Childebrand's son Nibelung.

<sup>25</sup> C. W. Oman, "Some Medieval Conceptions of Ancient History," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, IV (1921), 1–22.

or *Liber historiae*, the Latin of which is better but the information even less. In this work (ch. 36) we find the finest manifestation of Frankish *épopée*—the incident of “the forest which marches,” or the stratagem of capturing a besieged town by concealing the approach of the enemy under a forest of moving boughs carried by the soldiery. When Birnam Wood came to Dunsinane in *Macbeth* is the most famous example of this ruse. But it is a motif widely spread in Germanic literature.<sup>26</sup> In the *Liber historiae*, however, the incident is more dramatic than as related in Shakespeare. In *Macbeth* it is an actual stratagem. In the Frankish chronicle magic makes the populace of the beleaguered town think they see the enemy approaching under a forest of boughs, but it is a phantom army.

Christian invention from the fourth to the seventh century also developed another novel type of historiography: the *Vitae sanctorum* or *Lives of the Saints*.<sup>27</sup> Sulpicius Severus' *Life of St. Martin* has been mentioned as the first great example of this class.<sup>28</sup> He created the new type of historiography—at least in the West. Pope Gregory I confirmed it in his enormously popular *Life of St. Benedict*.

These *Lives of the Saints* were primarily written for purposes of edification and many of them are flat and unprofitable reading. On the

<sup>26</sup> Kurth (n. 18), 396–402 has collected the examples.

<sup>27</sup> The famous great collection of saints' lives is the *Acta sanctorum* begun by Johannes Bollandus (vol. I, Antwerp, 1643), and still in progress, with 68 volumes to date. The lives in this series are arranged according to saints' days, beginning with January 1. Analysis of the contents in POTTHAST, I, pp. xxxiii–xxxiv, with literature; there is an index to the volumes January–October in vol. 62. For editions, see *Cambridge Medieval History*, VI, 850. It is supplemented by the journal *Analecta Bollandiana* (1882 ff.). J. Mabillon and Luc d'Achery, *Acta sanctorum ordinis s. Benedicti* (Paris, 1668–1701, 9 v.; 3rd reprint in progress, vol. I, Matiscron, 1935). English translations of many lives by S. Baring-Gould, *The Lives of the Saints* (Edinburgh, 1914, 16 v.), and *The Lives of the British Saints* (London, 1907–13, 4 v.); *Lives of the English Saints to A.D. 1240*, by Cardinal Newman, J. A. Froude, Mark Pattison, and others (Oxford, 1844–45, 14 pts. in 7 v.); Charles Plummer, ed., *Vitae sanctorum Hiberniae* (Oxford, 1910, 2 v.), I, introduction in English, pts. iii–v; Paul Guerin, *Les petits Bollandists, Vies des saints, des martyrs, . . . histoire des reliques, pèlerinages, dévotions populaires*, etc. (7th ed., Bar-le-Duc, 1874, 17 v.); Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les légendes hagiographiques* (3rd ed., revised, Brussels, 1927), tr. of the 2nd ed. by Mrs. V. M. Crawford as *The Legends of the Saints, An Introduction to Hagiography* (London and New York, 1907); the same, *The Work of the Bollandists Through Three Centuries, 1615–1915*, tr. from the original French (Princeton Univ. Press, 1922); also his article “Loca sanctorum,” *Analecta Bollandiana*, XLVIII (1930), 5–64; Maignan (see n. 20 above), II. *Le culte des saints sous les Mérovingiens*; HARDY, I, pt. i, pp. xvii–xxxvi; F. G. Holweck, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Saints*, with a general introduction on hagiology (London, 1924); Paul Monceaux, in *JS*, 1915, pp. 121–22, 203–04, 253–54; J. Franklin Jameson, “The American Acta Sanctorum,” *AHR*, XIII (1907–08), 286–302; C. A. Bernoulli, *Die Heiligen der Merowinger* (Tübingen, 1900); Henri Quentin, *Les martyrologues historiques du moyen âge. Étude sur la formation du martyrologe romain* (Paris, 1908); MOLINIER, I, pp. 94–165. For alphabetical list of medieval saints' lives, with editions and critical literature, see POTTHAST, II, 1131–1646.

<sup>28</sup> See above, ch. VIII, and compare André Lavertujon, ed., *La Chronique de Sulpice Sévère: texte critique, traduction et commentaire* (Paris, 1896–99, 2 v.), I, pp. xxii–xxxiii, xxxvii–xl, lxxv–lxxviii. French translation by Paul Monceaux, *St. Martin. Récits de Sulpice Sévère*, with an introduction (Paris, 1926); English translation by Mary C. Watts (London, 1928). See EBEKT, I, 576–81.

other hand, many of them possess a unique value. In the divine economy a saint might be born of the poorest and humblest parents. It was the duty of his biographer to relate every trivial incident in his actual or alleged career from the days of his early childhood. Our knowledge of the family and social life of the lower classes in the medieval period would be almost a blank if it were not for the lives of the saints. "High" history then as now ignored the life of the lowly. The lives of the saints picture the every day life of the age as the paintings of the Renaissance illustrate the social life of Florence in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. "In these we find many of our best illustrations of medieval conditions and manners, and especially in the stories of miracles and healing. Such stories are full of instruction respecting medieval diseases and medicine, pestilences, manias, hygiene." <sup>29</sup> But for Eugippius' *Life of St. Severinus* <sup>30</sup> we should know practically nothing of the condition in the lower Danube valley after the dissolution of the Hunnic Empire. The history of trade and commerce is illuminated by the lives of St. Patrick, St. Philibert, St. Anskar, and St. Columba. <sup>31</sup> The early history of the conversion of northern Europe is written almost wholly in the lives of St. Columba, St. Willibald, St. Boniface, <sup>32</sup> and St. Anskar. The lives of the Irish saints are veritable "jungle books" for the stories told of pet animals and contain a wealth of folklore. <sup>33</sup> The sounder biographies contain substantial historical information. For example, an elaborate description of the political divisions in England in the ninth century is found in the *Life of St. Kenelm*, the boy-king and martyr of Mercia. <sup>34</sup>

The lives of the saints are to be treated with sympathetic imagination, with tenderness, and not with contempt or derision. Many of them are a species of pious fiction. <sup>35</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Jameson (see n. 27), 288. See also the fine statement about the value of the Lives of the Saints in Fustel de Coulanges (n. 1), III, 9-12.

<sup>30</sup> English translation by George W. Robinson, *The Life of Saint Severinus by Eugippius* (Cambridge, Harvard Univ. Press, 1914).

<sup>31</sup> English translation of the last-named by Dana C. Munro, in *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History*, II (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1905), no. 7.

<sup>32</sup> Translated by G. W. Robinson (Cambridge, Harvard Univ. Press, 1916).

<sup>33</sup> See Helen Waddell, *Beasts and Saints* (London, 1934) for translations of such stories; and Plummer (n. 27), I, introduction.

<sup>34</sup> G. H. Gerould, *Saints' Legends* (Boston and New York, 1916), 151.

<sup>35</sup> Hartmann Grisar, the Jesuit historian, in 1900 denounced the fables and frauds still currently believed in medieval church history:

"For thirty years my studies have brought me into contact with the manifold historical errors that have crept into the external history and external life of the Church during the course of ages and which are still partially preserved. Many unwarranted traditions, accounts of miracles and fabulous narratives—some graceful and poetic, others crude and extravagant—have settled in layers around the lives and miracles of God's saints, their relics and the venerable shrines of Christendom. . . . These excrescences . . . we must do our best to lop off; for the love of truth, for the sacred honor of the Church."—Address printed in the *Weekly Register*, June 7, 1901.

## CHAPTER X

### ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND <sup>1</sup>

NO CONTEMPORARY British account of the fall of Roman domination in Britain, and of the invasion of the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons in the latter half of the fifth century has come down to us. Two Gallic chronicles, one ending in 451 and the other in 511, relate that Britain was invaded in 441-442. The traditional date is 449; but Bede, the first English historian, who wrote nearly two hundred and fifty years later, never professes to know the exact year and always uses the word *circa* (about) in reference to it, which may mean any time between 442 and 457. Again, the traditional date for the abandonment of Britain by Rome in 410 is doubtful; for there is evidence in a Gallic source that it was not until 442.

The earliest information which comes from Britain itself is a hundred years later than the beginning of the conquest, and comes from Gildas (d. ca. 570), who probably was a Welsh monk. His work, entitled *Liber querulus de excidio Britanniae*, was written in Armorica (Brittany) whither many of the British Christians fled from the flame of the English invasion. Its value lies in the fact that it is the nearest contemporary source for the history of the Anglo-Saxon conquest of Britain. Its historical value, however, is very slight, for it is more "a verbose jeremiad against the wickedness of the British princes and clergy" than serious history.<sup>2</sup>

An even more disputable source is Nennius' *Historia Brittonum*, which contains genealogies of the English kings to 796. Who Nennius was, and whether Nennius was the real author, or whether there was once an older version to which a Pseudo-Nennius merely made additions, are riddles. It is attributed to Nennius on the authority of a prologue contained in a manuscript in the British Museum, which states that it was

<sup>1</sup> The standard bibliography is GROSS: see Part III, "The Anglo-Saxon Period"; see also WARD, I, chs. v-vii, with bibliographies, pp. 483-97; HARDY, I, pt. i, pp. xii f.; GARDINER AND MULLINGER, Part ii, chs. 1-2; Thomas Hodgkin, *The History of England, from the Earliest Times to the Norman Conquest* (London, 1906: The Political History of England, ed. by W. Hunt and R. L. Poole, I), appendix I, "Authorities"; Stopford A. Brooke, *The History of Early English Literature, Being the History of English Poetry from its Beginnings to the Accession of King Aelfred* (London, 1892, 2 v., reprint in one volume, New York, 1925). A convenient collection of extracts from sources is J. E. W. Wallis, *The Welding of the Race* (London, 1919: Bell's English history source books, no. 2).

<sup>2</sup> For literature see GROSS, no. 1370; C. E. Stevens, "Gildas and the Civitates of Britain," *EHR*, LII (1937), 193-203.



composed in the year 858. But there are reasons to believe that the writer lived earlier than this date. Zimmer thinks that a continuation of Gildas' history was written in North Wales in 679, and that upon this basis Nennius, a native of South Wales, about 796 composed a new work which in 810 was revised by an unknown hand in Anglesey, an edition now not extant, which became the base of the Irish version of Nennius, compiled by Gilla Coemgin about 1071. Nennius is of greater value for the legendary history of Britain than for actual history. "The Celts of the British isles had produced no historiography of distinction: Gildas is no historiographer at all, and whatever of the unwieldy materials of Nennius' *Historia Brittonum* may go back to the seventh century is not worthwhile considering; in the Irish and British records of later times short annals of earlier origin are to be recognized."<sup>3</sup>

It is a more substantial work than that of Gildas, dealing with the period of the Roman domination, the raids of the Picts and Scots in the North, the landing of the Jutes and Saxons and their conflict with the native British Christian population. But there is a large ingredient of British mythology in it, notably the legend of Arthur, which makes its earliest appearance in Nennius. If the era of which Nennius wrote had been his own epoch, he would be more valuable than he is. But he also utilized some Anglo-Saxon sources. Some curious Saxon genealogies are inserted, interspersed with short historical notes. His work is a rude and romantic compilation which exhibited the history of Britain as it was believed by the British or Welsh in the ninth century.<sup>4</sup>

The truth is that the history of the English conquest is found in the earliest English literature, and discovered in remains today being unearthed by the spade of the archaeologist. There is no formal history of this period.

No country and no period of early medieval history is so deficient in historical sources as that of Britain from the withdrawal of the Roman legions in 442, to the coming of the mission under Augustine, sent

<sup>3</sup> W. Levison, in *Bede, His Life, Times, and Writings: Essays in Commemoration of the Twelfth Centenary of His Death*, ed. by A. Hamilton Thompson (Oxford, 1935), 111.

<sup>4</sup> "One thing is certain: . . . the Germanic conquest of Britain cannot be told as a narrative. . . . For the legend we have the following sequence—Gildas, Bede, Nennius, the Saxon Chronicle."

Mommsen's theory regarding Nennius is that the nucleus of his work was some seventh-century account which Nennius amplified. For literature see GROSS, no. 1375. Felix Liebermann, "Nennius the Author of the 'Historia Brittonum,'" in *Essays in Medieval History Presented to Thomas Frederick Tout*, ed. by A. G. Little and F. M. Powicke (Manchester, 1925), 25-44; L. Duchesne, "Nennius retractatus," *Revue celtique*, XV (1894), 174-97 and compare 126-29; H. Howorth, "'Nennius' and the 'Historia Brittonum,'" *Archæologia Cambrensis*, series 6, XVII (1917), 87-122, 321-45, XVIII (1918), 199-262; Ferdinand Lot, in *Moyen âge*, VII (1894), 1-5, 26-31, VIII (1895), 177-84, IX (1896), 1-13, 25-32, and the same writer's *Nennius et l'Historia Brittonum, étude critique* (Paris, 1934); R. Thurneysen, "Zu Nennius [sic]," *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, XX, pt. i (1933), 97-137. The Britons clearly forgot, within a century and a half, what had happened after the extinction of Roman rule.

by Pope Gregory the Great in 596 for the conversion of England.<sup>5</sup> Yet few epochs may be said to have been of greater importance. In this interval Britain was transformed from a Roman province, with a Roman civilization imposed upon the British peoples during four hundred years of Roman domination, into a barbarian and heathen land whose rulers and peoples were tribal branches of the powerful Germanic race whose continental kindred, Goths, Burgundians, Franks, and Lombards, had established themselves within the borders of the Roman Empire.

The oldest evidence we have for the lost century and a half included between these two dates is a meager entry in the *Chronica Gallica*, which extends to 511 and was probably written early in the sixth century,<sup>6</sup> and the *Life of St. Germanus of Auxerre* written by Constantius about 480, and quoted by Bede (Bk. I, ch. 20) over two hundred years afterward.<sup>7</sup> But both these sources are of continental origin and of remote value.

Anglo-Saxon historiography before Bede is meager indeed. Two biographies only need be mentioned: Felix of Crowland's *Life of St. Guthlac*, written about 730, and Eddius Stephanus' *Life of Bishop Wilfrid of York* (634-709), composed ca. 700.<sup>8</sup>

The fusion of Latin, English, and Irish culture in the north of England resulted in a remarkably energetic intellectual movement, of which the writing of history was the chief expression.

Bede is the foremost exponent of Northumbrian culture, which was unequalled elsewhere in Europe in the seventh and eighth centuries; and his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, with its connected narrative or groupings of facts, represents a type of historical writing quite distinct from the brief chronological memoranda of events contained in the annals and chronicles. The germinating point of the latter is to be sought in contemporary Latin notes or jottings entered in the margins of Easter tables, a practice which began in Eng-

<sup>5</sup> P. F. Jones, "The Gregorian Mission and English Education," *Speculum*, III (1928), 335-48.

<sup>6</sup> *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Auctores antiquissimi*, IX (1892), ii, 653, 660.

<sup>7</sup> For literature on the *Vita s. Germani* see POTTHAST, II, 1337.

<sup>8</sup> See GROSS, no. 1471. New edition, with an English translation, by Bertram Colgrave, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus* (Cambridge, 1927). Cp. the introduction, where he says (p. ix): "It is almost the earliest considerable piece of literature written in this country. Its importance is obvious for it gives us a contemporary picture of a man who was a great figure in the political and ecclesiastical life of the seventh century. The Church was definitely moulded into shape during Wilfrid's lifetime, and Wilfrid himself played a leading part in deciding what that shape should be. He was largely instrumental in converting the whole of Northumbria to the Roman form of Christianity; he brought the north definitely into contact with the Mother Church by his journeys to Rome and by his appeals to the Apostolic See; he built churches which were the wonder of the western world; he exercised a great influence on the art and architecture of the times, and, more important even than all these, by his defiance of kings and princes he asserted the authority of the Church in so definite a manner that as a result no less than twenty-six of the forty-six years of his episcopacy were spent in exile. He died worn out by the struggle, but he had triumphantly proved that the Church was no mere appendage to the throne."

land probably not long after the coming of Augustine, and was introduced into the kingdom of the Franks by English missionaries.<sup>9</sup>

Bede (673-735) is rightly known as "the father of English history."<sup>10</sup> He spent his whole life as a monk at Jarrow in Northumbria. He was an immensely learned and prolific writer. His sources almost exhaust the available material of the age. Bede knew not only what had happened and was happening in England; he knew the history of Italy, of Frankish Gaul, of Christian Spain. He had some knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, and was a master of the Bible and the patristic literature. Bede was also the author of *Lives of Cuthbert and Benedict Biscop*, a treatise *On the Reckoning of Time* (*de temporum ratione*),<sup>11</sup> a manual of chronology for ecclesiastical dates and church festivals, in which six ages of world-history are distinguished, various scientific tracts, homilies, commentaries on the Scriptures, and many letters.

Only a reading of it can do justice to Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*. There is no other work in all early medieval literature comparable to it for depth and breadth of information combined with literary artistry. It is the greatest history written in the barbarian epoch. "For the secular as well as the ecclesiastical events of the years from 597 to 731 it is our only authentic source, the source from which all later writers derive their information." For documents Bede not only exhausted the archives of England, but sent to Rome, Frankish Gaul, and Germany for other sources. He had at his fingers' ends all the knowledge of western Europe in his time; as much erudition as Isidore of Seville and much more sense of value and proportion. One almost inevitably compares Bede with Gregory of Tours a century before; but the contrast is the real thing. Bede was a scholar who labored in the quiet of a rich library, Gregory was no scholar, and knew it. He had few books

<sup>9</sup> GROSS, pp. 233-34; for examples see nos. 1352, 1359, 1361, 1376. On the intellectual ascendancy of Northumberland see *Venerabilis Baedae opera historica*, ed. by Charles Plummer (Oxford, 1896, 2 v.), I, introduction, secs. v-viii.

<sup>10</sup> For editions other than Plummer's (see preceding note) and literature see GROSS, p. 279 and nos. 1355, 1448-51; William Hunt, "Bede," *DNB*, IV (1885), 98-105; HARDY, I, 431-58; POTTHAST, I, 137-40; CQR, XLIII (1896-97), 112-32; the essays edited by A. Hamilton Thompson (n. 3 above); A. L. Maycock, "Bede and Alcuin (735-1935)," *Hibbert Journal*, XXXIII (1935), 402-12; F. J. Raby, "Bede the Venerable," *Laudate*, XIII (1935), 140-55; M. L. W. Laistner, "Bede as a Classical and a Patristic Scholar," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, XVI (1933), 69-94; GUILDAY, 73-99 with bibliography; and *LTLS*, 1935, pp. 317-18. There is a translation of Bede's historical writings, by J. E. King, in the Loeb Classical Library (London and New York, 1930, 2 v.), and numerous others of the *Ecclesiastical History* (e.g., in Everyman's Library).

<sup>11</sup> Bede's impulse towards historiography sprang from the double root of his interest in chronology and hagiography. The former interest grew out of the Paschal question, the latter from the anonymous *Life of St. Cuthbert*, written by a monk of Lindisfarne. This work was a particular and English manifestation of a general literary genre, however, and had imitators in Aeddi-Stephanus' *Life of St. Wilfrid of Ripon*, and the anonymous *Life of Ceolfrid* by a monk of Wearmouth. The ante-type of all these biographies in the West was Gregory the Great's *Life of St. Benedict*. See Thompson (n. 3), 112 f. and 123.

and he wrote from contemporary knowledge of contemporary things. He lived in the world, and Bede dwelt in a cloister. Gregory's work is racy of the soil. Bede's work is redolent of a burning candle.<sup>12</sup> Sixteen of Bede's letters have been preserved. His mind was eminently systematic. At the end of his great work (Bk. V, chs. 23-24) he summarizes his long labors in a chapter: "Of the Present Stage of the English Nation," and gives a chronological summary of the whole work, concluding with the titles of thirty-seven works which he had written. He truly wrote of himself that he had "ever taken delight in learning, teaching and writing (*semper aut discere aut docere aut scribere dulce habui*)."

Early English monasticism invented one type of medieval historiography of a unique nature. This was the monastic annals. At Easter time every year it was the duty of the abbot of a monastery to make up the calendar for the coming year, with the Sundays, Saints' Days, and great church festivals indicated. Upon the margins of these tables, and sometimes between the lines it became the practice in English monasteries, soon after the coming of Augustine in 596, to enter jottings of events of all sorts. By accretion and expansion this chronological information grew, and the practice came to be imitated by other houses. Thus originated those monastic annals which contributed so much factual information to posterity. The English practice was imitated upon the Continent, for it was introduced by English missionaries in the seventh century. Charlemagne was quick to see the value of the practice and required every monastery to keep its annals. The oldest English examples of monastic annals are those of Lindisfarne (532-993).<sup>13</sup> Sometimes royal genealogies and even snatches of old popular songs and bits of folklore were entered on these tables.<sup>14</sup>

The most valuable record of early Irish history is the *Book of Armagh*. It contains two accounts of the *Life of St. Patrick*, written in Latin with

<sup>12</sup> Compare PATTISON, I, 13: "But for Bede we should know nothing of the early history of the Saxons in England—without Gregory of Tours, we should be equally ignorant of the first settlement of the Franks in Gaul. But in all other points it is a complete contrast to Bede. In the first place, the style of Bede, if not elegant Latin, is yet correct, sufficiently classical. It is a written style, such as was learnt in the cloister schools by the help of Donatus and the *Rhetorica* of Cicero, and matured by reading the Latin fathers, St. Augustine, and St. Ambrose. St. Gregory of Tours has no style, barely grammar; barbarisms and solecisms of all kinds abound, and the brevity and conciseness with which events most important to the understanding of his narrative are related, if they do not make his meaning obscure, at least exact great attention in a reader who wishes not to overlook anything. . . . Bede is writing in a dead language, Gregory in a living. Bede no doubt spoke it and heard it spoken every day in the cloister, but then he had learned to do so from books; Saxon came first and readiest to his lips; while the Latin which Gregory of Tours writes is, with little difference, his native tongue. The difference is not less in the matter of the two histories. Bede viewed the world only from the retirement of his cell. He knew events chiefly as they appeared in books. . . . [Gregory was] an agent in the scenes he describes."

<sup>13</sup> GROSS, pp. 233-34 and no. 1352. For continental extensions of such annals see WATTENBACH, I, 138-40, 148-50.

<sup>14</sup> See GROSS, no. 1368 for an example.

supplementary material in Irish, and the *Life of St. Martin*. The work was copied at Armagh in 807 by a scribe named Ferdomnach.<sup>15</sup>

Even Welsh and Irish houses, in spite of the feud between Irish-British and Anglo-Saxon Christianity, borrowed the annalistic method. The *Annales Cambriae* are the primary source of Welsh history.<sup>16</sup> Irish historiography seems to have begun in the seventh century, perhaps in the great monastery at Bangor, in the *Ards* of Ulster. At first it would seem that a column of Irish events was added to the parallel columns of the old Eusebian Chronicle (in Jerome's Latin translation and the continuation of Prosper of Aquitaine). But at an early date this columnar arrangement was abandoned and the tables were reduced to the form of continuous annals, although not without some chronological confusion. This "Eusebian" chronicle was the basis of the *Annals of Tigernach*,<sup>17</sup> of the *Annals of Inisfallen*,<sup>18</sup> and of the *Annals of Ulster*, commencing with the coming of St. Patrick.<sup>19</sup>

The mediaeval Chronicle [Bishop Stubbs has written] was neither a mere table of dates nor the representation of a time; it was a detailed arrangement of events in the order of time. The mediaeval History was neither a generic term including all classes of materials, nor the simple narration of a spectator. Whether, according to its earliest use, it may have been an exposition of the results of research, or of the process of research itself, it was now understood to mean an exhibition of events in their deeper relations of cause and effect, in their moral and political bearings, and in an approach to a dramatic or pictorial form. The history was a work of art, the chronicle a faithful narration of acts and an orderly arrangement of dates. . . . The difference between chronicles and annals was not, as it has been sometimes stated, that the former belong to universal, the latter to national or particular history, but that the former have a continuity of subject and style, whilst the latter contain the mere jottings down of unconnected events. The annals are the ore, the chronicles are the purified metal out of which the historian elaborated his perfect jewel.

The chronicle thus retains its value forever as a record of facts: the history loses its importance as soon as the principles which it is written to illustrate, or which have guided its composition, become obsolete. . . .

A contemporary chronicle is a record of acts and events which the actors and eye-witnesses thought worthy to be remembered. It contains, therefore, no relations of the manners and customs of common life, things which to those who live amongst them are scarcely matters of consciousness, and which are only curious when they have ceased to be spontaneous; such details belong properly to the department of the foreign traveller, or to the historian of the next age. . . .

For a different reason minute investigations into the bearings of events are not to be found in the chronicle. Its author sees the drama of his times neither behind the scenes, where the parts are allotted and the machinery contrived, nor from the standing point

<sup>15</sup> See an account in *Journal of Theological Studies*, XV, 628.

<sup>16</sup> GROSS, no. 1351.

<sup>17</sup> GROSS, no. 1377. A new edition is sorely needed.

<sup>18</sup> GROSS, no. 1708. *The Annals of Inisfallen, Reproduced in Facsimile From the Original Manuscript (Rawlinson B 503) in the Bodleian Library*, with a descriptive introduction by R. I. Best and Eóin MacNeill (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 1933).

<sup>19</sup> GROSS, no. 1713.

of the mere spectator, in whose eyes actors and events show themselves in their proper grouping and proportion.<sup>20</sup>

In an obscure way, the stages of which cannot be traced, various local monastic annals in Northumbria began to be combined and fused into a larger whole towards the end of the eighth century. The type is the *Northumbrian Chronicle*, which is not itself extant, but of which remains are embedded in the first part of Simeon of Durham's *Historia regum Anglorum*, written in the eleventh century. Stubbs believes that the original title of this lost work was *Gesta veterum Northanhymbrorum* and that Alcuin may have been instrumental in its composition. Be that as it may, this lost chronicle must have been the last literary effusion of North England, for the greatness of Northumbria declined at the end of the eighth century. The scepter of power and the ascendancy of learning passed to Wessex. Henceforth the South of England was the home of English letters until the Norman Conquest, for the conquest of the Danes destroyed the culture of Northern and Eastern England.

The historiographical monument of early English literature is the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.<sup>21</sup> It is the oldest historical work written in any Germanic tongue, and probably originated by the combination of various monastic annals in several parts of England. The original nucleus seems to have been some annals composed at Winchester in the seventh and eighth centuries, which were continued and expanded by the incorporation of materials from other local annals, notably those of Canterbury, Worcester, and Peterborough. The compilation seems to have been made between 855 and 892. After Alfred's time the *Chronicle* apparently was continued in different monasteries until its expiration in the twelfth century, so that the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* may be described as a tree which put forth many branches, and to which a plural rather than a singular designation is applicable.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *The Chronicle of Benedict of Peterborough*, ed. by William Stubbs (London, 1867, 2 v.: Rolls series, no. 49), I, pp. xi-xiii, compare lvi. For additional reading on the general nature of medieval annals and chronicles, see R. L. Poole, *Chronicles and Annals, a Brief Outline of Their Origin and Growth* (Oxford, 1926); T. F. Tout, "The Study of Mediaeval Chronicles," in his *Collected Papers* (Manchester, 1932-34, 3 v.), III, 1-25; *Chronica monasterii de Melsa*, ed. by E. A. Bond (London, 1866-68, 3 v.: Rolls series, no. 43), I, pp. x-xiii.

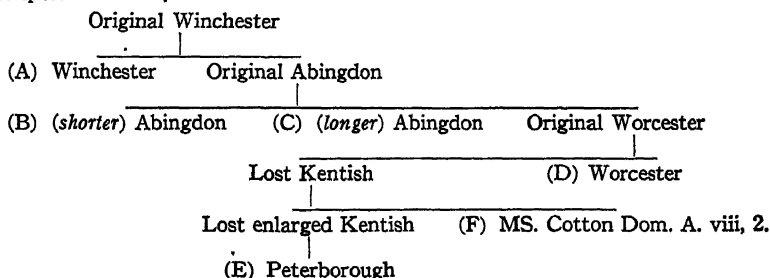
<sup>21</sup> For editions and translations see GROSS, no. 1349, and the bibliography in A. H. Smith, ed., *The Parker Chronicle (832-900)* (London, 1935), 53-55. WARD, I, 97-99, 119-24, 494-95; H. H. Howorth, "Notes on the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," *EHR*, XV (1900), 748-54; the same, "The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Its Origin and History," *Archaeological Journal*, LXV (1908), 141-204, LXVI (1909), 105-44, LXIX (1912), 312-70; G. H. Wheeler, "The Genealogy of the East Saxon Kings," *EHR*, XXXVI (1921), 161-71; F. M. Stenton, "The Foundations of English History," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, IX (1926), 159-73; and the same, "The South-Western Element in the Old English Chronicle," in the *Essays . . . Presented to Tout* (n. 4 above), 15-24.

<sup>22</sup> Stenton, in the essay last cited, writes (p. 15): "It seems clear that the central years of the ninth century mark a turning-point in its development. It is highly probable that soon after king Alfred's accession in 871 the archetype of the Chronicle which we possess was

As with Bede, so in the case of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* nothing but a reading of it can give an adequate idea of the extent, richness, and raciness of the narrative. In spite of the fact that it is a court chronicle, there is a homeliness, a forthrightness, a vigor in the language which smacks of a reality behind the outward form of passing show. As *Beowulf* is the supreme example of Old English poetry, so the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is the supreme example of Old English prose. The plural origin and different recensions of the *Chronicle* naturally make it very uneven both in matter and in composition.<sup>23</sup> The literary and historical merit is unequal. The war-filled years 911-924 contrast sharply with the bare period between 925 and 975. On the other hand, it is just within these years that the poetic element in the *Chronicle* is most abundant. The *Chronicle* sometimes follows southern sources, and again northern sources. In the Peterborough chronicle, which is based upon a lost Kentish chronicle, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* was continued through the Norman Conquest and extended to 1154. Naturally, owing to its composite formation, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* sometimes exhibits chronological confusion. To the philologist it is extremely interesting because of the evidences of dialectic variation, and even more because of evidences of the change in the English language through three centuries. "It needs a skilful philologist to mark the difference between the English of the days of Aelfred and the English of the days of Harold. But any one can mark the difference between the English of the days of Harold and the English of the days of Stephen,"<sup>24</sup> when the Peter-

brought down to the death of king Aethelwulf in 858, that after a brief interval another hand began the series of entries which end with the annal for 891, and that from this point different copies of the *Chronicle* developed an independent life which increases the evidence for the history of the period but also greatly complicates its criticism." Benjamin Thorpe's edition (*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, According to the Several Original Authorities, Edited with a Translation*, London, 1861, 2 v.: Rolls series, no. 23) endeavors to visualize this plurality of nature by printing the texts of six MSS. in parallel columns. Plummer's contention that Alfred the Great was actuated by the idea of creating a national chronicle as opposed to local annals is open to serious doubt.

<sup>23</sup> The following diagram from WARD, I, 124 shows the genesis and relation of the various manuscripts:



<sup>24</sup> E. A. Freeman, *The History of the Norman Conquest of England, Its Causes and Its Results* (Oxford, 1867-79, 6 v.), V, 524.

borough extension terminates (1154). Foreign ideas and foreign institutions retain their foreign names. The Latin infusion grows stronger as the power of the Church increases, although, on the other hand, many ecclesiastical terms were translated into English. The bilingual employment of English and Latin is confusing, and at times even ludicrous, as when the two languages are mixed in the same sentence. Again, another notable linguistic change to be observed is the increasing intrusion of Norman-French words into the text, such as *castellum* for burgh, or *pais* for frith (peace).<sup>25</sup>

Unlike the ancient songs and ballads of the Franks which Gregory of Tours used, which have perished, snatches of early English song and ballad survived. "When the English came over they continued to make songs, to chant the daily chronicle of the conquest. This was their only literature, their only history; and though there is not much to tell of it, yet the imagination loves to dwell upon its fragments."<sup>26</sup> Even in these earliest days when England was in the "making," the English kin were not without a history. Though no example of these songs which chanted the chronicle of the conquest has been preserved, it cannot be doubted that such a literature once existed. For the *Song of the Battle of Brunanburgh* in 937, where King Athelstan gloriously defeated the Danes, and the *Ballad of the Battle of Maldon* in 991, relating the heroic death of Brithnoth the ealdorman, are both preserved in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, in the text of which are embedded many other scraps of song. If Alfred's *Handbook* could be recovered, doubtless we would find many more of these rude chants.

A *Life of Alfred* in Latin is attributed—not without challenge—to bishop Asser of Sherborne.<sup>27</sup> Some scholars regard it as wholly spurious and a fabrication of the eleventh century. Others consider it as genuine but containing later interpolations. Unless the matter in it can be controlled by other sources, it must be used with caution. Asser was a monk of St. David's, a Welshman or half-Welshman, and later bishop of Sherborne. According to his own statement he was working on the life in 893. He died after 904. Pauli considered it favorably,<sup>28</sup> but his

<sup>25</sup> On these changes in the language of England due to the Conquest, see *ibid.*, V, 513-56.

<sup>26</sup> Brooke (see n. 1), I, 144. Chapter vii, "The Conquest and Literature," is worth reading. See also Edwin Guest, *Origines Celticae (a fragment) and Other Contributions to the History of Britain* (London, 1883, 2 v.), II, 242-72, 282-312, 313-30.

<sup>27</sup> For editions, translations, and critical literature, see GROSS, no. 1354. The account of Alfred's own literary labors in Charles Plummer, *The Life and Times of Alfred the Great* (Oxford, 1902) is one of the best that has appeared, but compare also WARD, I, ch. vi. Plummer confidently attributes the English translation of Bede to Alfred in spite of its Mercian dialect and the comparative literalness of the rendering. The best recent account of Alfred's reign is in R. H. Hodgkin, *A History of the Anglo-Saxons* (Oxford, 1935, 2 v.), II, esp. ch. xvii.

<sup>28</sup> Reinhold Pauli, *König Aelfred und seine Stellung in der Geschichte Englands* (Berlin, 1851), tr. by Thomas Wright as *Life of King Alfred* (London, 1852), and again by Benjamin Thorpe as *Life of Alfred the Great* (London, 1853).



first translator, Thomas Wright, took the opposite view.<sup>29</sup> Stubbs, while pointing out the doubts created by the bad condition of the text, on the whole was not disposed to be suspicious of Asser; <sup>30</sup> and W. H. Stevenson and Plummer accept him.

The only Latin chronicle which bridges the gap between Asser and Florence of Worcester, who lived at the time of the Norman Conquest, is that of Ethelwerd (d. 998?). It extends to 975 and is a mere abridgment of Bede and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. But it deserves to be noticed because the author was not a churchman, but an English nobleman. It is one of the very few historical works written by a layman in the Middle Ages. The chief value of it lies in the fact that it represents a version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* which otherwise has not been preserved.<sup>31</sup>

Several biographies of this period of Old English history are of historical importance, notably an anonymous *Life of Dunstan* <sup>32</sup> written between 995 and 1006, all the more valuable because no letters or other literary remains of the great archbishop survive; and a *Life of Oswald* (d. 992),<sup>33</sup> the archbishop of York, by an unidentified monk of Ramsey Abbey, between 995 and 1005, which is important for the reigns of Edgar and Ethelred and contains many notices of northern affairs. Other *Lives* are the *Life of Edmund*, the martyred king of East Anglia (d. 870), by Abbo of Fleury-sur-Loire, who at one time was a resident in Ramsey Abbey; the *Vita S. Elphege*, who died in 1012, which contains some particulars about the Danes for whose conversion he labored; and the *Vita S. Ethelwoldi*, bishop of Winchester (d. 984).<sup>34</sup> The Latin *Life of St. Guthlac* gives a striking description of the fens of eastern England. "There are immense marshes, now a black pool of water, now foul running streams, and also many islands, and reeds and hillocks, and thickets, and with many windings wide and long it continues up to the North Sea."<sup>35</sup>

For the third or Danish period of Old English history, apart from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the principal source is the *Cnutonis regis gesta*,

<sup>29</sup> Wright's *Biographia Britannica Literaria, or Biography of Literary Characters of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1842, 2 v.), I, 405-13.

<sup>30</sup> *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis monachi de gestis regum Anglorum, etc.*, ed. by William Stubbs (London, 1887-89, 2 v.: Rolls series no. 90), II, p. xxxix; compare Gross, p. 239.

<sup>31</sup> For editions and literature see GROSS, no. 1366.

<sup>32</sup> *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, ed. by William Stubbs (London, 1874: Rolls series no. 63), with valuable introduction.

<sup>33</sup> Text in *The Historians of the Church of York and Its Archbishops*, ed. by James Raine (London, 1879-86, 2 v.: Rolls series no. 71), I, 399-475; James Armitage Robinson, *St. Oswald and the Church of Worcester* (Oxford, 1919: The British Academy, Supplemental Papers, V), appendix.

<sup>34</sup> GROSS, p. 284 and nos. 1460-62.

<sup>35</sup> *The Anglo-Saxon Version of the [Latin] Life of St. Guthlac, Originally Written by Felix of Crowland* [ca. 730], ed. with a translation by C. W. Goodwin (London, 1848), 20.

better known as the *Encomium Emmae*.<sup>36</sup> The author was a monk of St. Bertin in Flanders, and not an Englishman. It must be used with caution. Freeman sees something suspicious in the "studied obscurity and the overdone piety" of the *Encomium Emmae*. The *Life of Edward the Confessor*<sup>37</sup> marks the transition from Anglo-Saxon history to the Norman Conquest. Of the many biographies of this weak ruler in an important epoch, this is the only contemporary one and very valuable. In this time, however, the mainspring of English history was found in Normandy, not England. The figure of William the Conqueror was looming large across the channel, and Norman historical sources become of primary importance to an understanding of English affairs.

Compared with France in the same epoch, later Anglo-Saxon historiography was poorer than that of her neighbor across the sea and poorer than it was in previous centuries. On the other hand, no other German nation is so rich as Old England in early legal sources, and these, while of a documentary nature, must nevertheless be taken into account in a historiographical survey. These ancient laws or "dooms" extend from the reign of Ethelbert of Kent to that of Canute (ca. 600–1020), a period of time much longer than the duration of the Carolingian capitularies, though there is a gap in them between the years 695–890.<sup>38</sup> Finally one must also include in this estimation of Anglo-Saxon historical sources a large body of ecclesiastical sources, charters, title deeds, and private instruments of many sorts.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>36</sup> GROSS, no. 1365; HARDY, I, pt. ii, 627–30.

<sup>37</sup> *Vita Aeduardi regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit*, printed in *Lives of Edward the Confessor*, ed. by H. Luard (London, 1858: Rolls series no. 3), 387–435; cp. GROSS, no. 1378.

<sup>38</sup> For an account of this legislation see GROSS, sec. 36, pp. 257 ff.

<sup>39</sup> See GROSS, secs. 37–38.

## CHAPTER XI

### HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE CAROLINGIAN PERIOD <sup>1</sup>

INTELLECTUALLY the seventh century was the darkest age in Western Europe. "Mundus jam senescit," wailed the first writer in the *Chronicle of Fredegar*. "The world is growing old." But there was a budding morrow in the midnight. The superior intellectual culture of England began to exert its influence upon the Continent in the seventh century, with the English missionary activity in Frisia initiated by Willibrord, Willibald, and Boniface,<sup>2</sup> whence it spread into Gaul and Germany, and energized newly founded monasteries there. The roots of the Carolingian renaissance were planted in English soil. The Carolingian revival of history owed its primary inspiration to Anglo-Saxon influence.<sup>3</sup> This is clearly evident in the *Old Annals of Fulda* (*Annales Fuldenses antiqui*), the beginning of which is borrowed from some Anglo-Saxon annals of Lindisfarne,<sup>4</sup> which in two parts cover the years 651-814 and 742-822. The oldest Carolingian annals are the *Annals of St. Amand*. But the number of monastic annals multiplied rapidly in the reign of Charlemagne, who saw their importance and required every monastery to keep an annual record of the doings of the time, especially those which happened in its own vicinity. Thus we have the *Annals of Lobbes*, the *Annals of Nibelung*, the *Annales Mosellani*, the *Annales Alamannici*, the *Annales Guelferbytani* (Wolfenbüttel), the *Annales Petaviani*, the greater and lesser *Annales Juvavenses* (Salzburg), the *Annals of St. Gall* (in five parts which are often repetitious, for several parts cover the same years), the *Annales Sancti Germani minores*, which clearly show their English origin in that the beginning of the year corresponds with the English calendar practice, the *Annals of Xanten*, the *Annals of*

<sup>1</sup> MOLINIER, I, pp. 181-258, cp. V, pp. xxx-lxv; Hans Prutz, *The Age of Charlemagne* (Philadelphia and New York, 1905: *A History of All Nations*, ed. by J. H. Wright, VIII), ch. ii; M. L. W. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe, A.D. 500 to 900* (New York, 1931), pt. iii; EBERT, II, 1-112; WATTENBACH, I, 140-349; Andrew F. West, *Alcuin and the Rise of the Christian Schools* (New York, 1892); C. J. Gaskoin, *Alcuin, His Life and Work* (London, 1904); Henry O. Taylor, *The Mediaeval Mind* (New York and London, 1911, 2 v.), I, ch. x; Gabriel Monod, *Études critiques sur les sources de l'histoire carolingienne* (Paris, 1898), 37-67; H. Vildhaut, *Handbuch der Quellenkunde zur deutschen Geschichte* (2nd ed., Werl, 1906-09, 2 v.), I, 81-140.

<sup>2</sup> WATTENBACH, I, 145-54.

<sup>3</sup> G. Waitz, "Ueber die Entwicklung der deutschen Historiographie im Mittelalter," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, ed. by W. A. Schmidt, II (1844), 47-58; MOLINIER, I, 211-15.

<sup>4</sup> MOLINIER, I, no. 710.

Weingarten, the *Annals of St. Maximin*, the *Annals of Prüm*, the *Annals of Stablo*, the *Annals of Weissemburg*, and many others.<sup>5</sup>

One abbey, however, stands out conspicuously in the time of Charlemagne for the fulness of its annals. This is the monastery of Lorsch,<sup>6</sup> in the diocese of Mainz. So amply informed are the *Annales Laurisenses* (741–829) that they have been called the “Royal Annals.” Analysis of them shows that three important parts are to be distinguished. The first part (741–788) was cast all in one piece after the fall of Duke Tassilo of Bavaria in 788. But the author of it cannot be certainly identified. The second part fills the years from 788 to 801, but evidently was written by two different persons. The relation for the years 789–793 is dry and incomplete and badly written; on the other hand the relation for the years 793–801 is excellent both in matter and in manner, and probably is from the pen of Angilbert, a distinguished and cultivated Frankish noble who married a daughter of Charlemagne. He died as abbot of St. Riquier, at almost the same time as the emperor. In the court circle Angilbert was called Homer. He was a poet and fond of the classics. The third part (801–829), while of sustained quality throughout, was written by four different authors, the divisions being: 801–808, 809–813, 814–818, and 819–829. This fourth part once was attributed to Einhard, Charlemagne’s secretary and biographer. Indeed, the entire *Annals of Lorsch* once were known as the *Annales Einhardi*, but that hypothesis is not tenable, though some scholars have been loath to abandon the idea that Einhard probably had some hand in parts of the compilation. It is admitted, however, that the *Annals of Lorsch* have a semi-official character.

Einhard—the correct form of the name is Einhart—was the most famous historian of the Carolingian renaissance. He was educated in the monastery of Fulda. About 794 he entered the emperor’s service as his secretary, and was a member of the entourage of nobles and clerics which delighted in reading the classics, writing poetry, and discussing scientific questions. Einhard by temperament was an artist. He was greatly interested in architecture, a close student of Vitruvius’ *De architectura*, and was much intrigued with Charlemagne’s numerous

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 684–744; Louis Halphen, *Études critiques sur l’histoire de Charlemagne* (Paris, 1921), 16–59.

<sup>6</sup> For editions see POTTHAST, I, 74. Text with a French translation in A. Teulet, *Oeuvres complètes d’Eginhard* (Paris, 1840–43, 2 v.), I, 118–401; German translation by O. Abel in *Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit*, XVII (2nd ed. by W. Wattenbach, Leipzig, 1888). MOLINIER, I, no. 745; WATTENBACH, I, 221–24; G. Richter and H. Kohl, *Annalen des fränkischen Reichs im Zeitalter der Karolinger* (Halle, 1885–87), 697–714; Halphen (see preceding note), 1–15. The only two accounts in English are in J. I. Mombert, *A History of Charles the Great* (New York and London, 1888), appendix K, and in HODGKIN, VII, 85–92.

building operations, for which reason he was playfully dubbed Bezeleel.<sup>7</sup> He was a constant resident at Aachen in the last year of the emperor's life. After his death he withdrew to the monastery of Seligenstadt which he had founded, and died there in 840, a disillusioned man, for the events of the reign of Louis the Pious pained him deeply.

Einhard's *Vita Caroli*<sup>8</sup> marks the reappearance of the old Graeco-Roman biography in European literature. He rigidly followed Suetonius' method of exposition in the *Lives of the Caesars*. Chapter I describes the passing of the Merovingian house, but the picture of Childeric III, the Merovingian king who was deposed by Pepin the Short, is a caricature, and was written with a propagandistic intention. The youth and early years of the reign of Charlemagne are then related. With chapter VII the history of the Saxon wars begins, and it would baffle a modern historian to summarize the cause of them better. The Spanish campaign (778) follows, in which the solitary mention in history of Roland occurs, out of which the French epic spirit of the feudal age derived the *Chanson de Roland*. The history of the Italian wars, culminating in the imperial coronation in 800, and that of the Avar campaigns is then told. Chapter XXII contains the famous account of the appearance and character of Charlemagne. It is a mosaic of pieces of sentences derived from Suetonius' similar sketches of the Roman emperors and patched together into a descriptive word-picture.<sup>9</sup> Yet in spite of this slavish imitation one gets a portrait of the great emperor. An account of the last years, death, and testament of Charlemagne concludes the *Vita*. It was written soon after 814, for it is mentioned in 820, and at once attained wide currency. It was popular all through the Middle Ages, and is the best known of medieval biographies.

The Carolingian renaissance owed its primary inspiration to Anglo-Saxon influence. But the close contact between the Frankish realm and Italy in the time of the Carolingians brought into Gaul that Christoclassical tradition inherited from Boethius, Cassiodorus, and Gregory the Great. The center of this culture was not Rome, but Monte Cassino. Here in the person of Paul Warnefrid, Charlemagne found the second important historical writer of the time. Paul the Deacon, or Paul the

<sup>7</sup> See *Esra*, X, 30.

<sup>8</sup> For the vast literature on Einhard and the *Vita Caroli*, see MOLINIER, I, no. 648; POTTHAST, I, 395-97; and WATTENBACH, I, 198-209. The most recent edition is by Louis Halphen, *Eginhard, Vie de Charlemagne* (Paris, 1923: Les classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge), with a French translation. A handy school edition with English notes is H. W. Garrod and R. B. Mowat, *Einhard's Life of Charlemagne* (Oxford, 1915), and there is an English translation in A. J. Grant, *Early Lives of Charlemagne* (London, 1907: King's Classics). See Halphen (n. 5), 60-103; S. Hellmann, "Einhard's literarische Stellung," *Historische Vierteljahrsschrift*, XXVII (1932), 40-110.

<sup>9</sup> In sequence: *Tiberius* 68, 1 and *Caligula* 50; *Augustus* 79, 2; *Tiberius* 68, 2 and *Julius Caesar* 45, 1; *Augustus* 79, 2; *Claudius* 30; *Titus* 3; *Nero* 51 and *Titus* 3 again; *Augustus* 79, 2; *Claudius* 31; *Caesar* 45, 1; *Augustus* 80; *Tiberius* 68, 4; *Titus* 3; and *Titus* 8.

Lombard,<sup>10</sup> was of noble Lombard descent. After the Frankish conquest of the Lombard kingdom he entered the monastery of Monte Cassino, where the emperor found him. The Lombards themselves had never had an historian such as Gregory of Tours was for the Franks. Charlemagne was interested in his new conquest and Paul, as a Lombard, was interested as a patriot in his own people. He was a far better educated man, a more cultured man than Gregory. The Lombard court, unlike the half-barbarous court of the last Merovingian kings, was a place of culture. Paul had some knowledge of Greek and was an admirable poet. He was not a novice in history when Charlemagne engaged him. Before the fall of the Lombard kingdom he had written a *Historia Romana* in which he expanded the ten books of Eutropius into sixteen by the use of other sources.

As Jordanes, in his *Gothic History*, was compelled to rely upon Gothic saga for the earliest history of the Goths, so Paul in his *Historia Langobardorum* also utilized Lombard tradition for their earliest history. He relates that the original home of the Lombards was in Scandinavia and that by reason of increase of population the people were divided into three parts and lots were drawn to determine who should migrate and who might stay. Jordanes before him had related that the three branches of the Goths, East Goths, West Goths, and Gepids, had crossed the Baltic from Scandinavia in three ships. This is another variation of the same legend. Paul tells, too, how the Lombards in their great trek once fell into a quivering morass, as the Goths had done in Russia. But as he approaches later times, his narrative becomes more substantial and the saga element in it disappears. There is far less *épopée* in him than in Gregory of Tours, and the language is not so crude and crabbed as that of the Frankish historian. His account of the actual conquest of North Italy by the Lombards, the depression of the native population there, and the land system is masterly. He was less credulous than Gregory of Tours and his pages are not embellished with tales of wonders and miracles. The *Historia Langobardorum* extends to the death of King Liutprand in 744.<sup>11</sup> Paul the Deacon also was author of a *History of*

<sup>10</sup> MOLINIER, I, no. 635; POTTHAST, II, 898-905; HODGKIN, V, 68-80 and *passim*. English translation by W. D. Foulke, *History of the Lombards, by Paul the Deacon* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Translations and Reprints, n.s., III), with a valuable introduction.

<sup>11</sup> "The fall of Ravenna, the last fight of the Lombard nation for dominion in Italy, might each have furnished material for a noble epic poem, but unfortunately not only the 'sacred poet' but even the humbler historian is almost entirely wanting. We hear absolutely nothing from the Byzantines as to the details of the capture of Ravenna. Owing to the silence of Paulus Diaconus—a silence which was no doubt politic, but which his readers must always regret—we hear nothing from Lombard sources as to any of the events after the death of Liutprand (744). The gallant Lombard nation dies and makes no sign. We have to discover the course of events as best we can from the meagre notices of the Frankish chroniclers, from

the *Bishops of Metz* inspired by the career of Bishop Chrodegang (742–766), who had been an energetic reformer of the Church and Pepin the Short's ambassador to Pope Stephen I in 753, a mission which culminated three years later in the establishment of the temporal power of the papacy.

The *Life of Sturmi*, abbot of Fulda (d. 779), who had been Boniface's favorite disciple, by Eigil, himself abbot of Fulda (818–22), is the best biography of a churchman of Charlemagne's reign. Although not formal history, certain letters of this period are valuable sources. Among them are the letters of St. Boniface<sup>12</sup> and the letters of Alcuin,<sup>13</sup> an extremely important collection but only the remnants of a vast correspondence with his English friends, with Charlemagne, and with Arno, bishop of Salzburg, perhaps his most intimate friend (one letter invites the bishop to go fishing with him). Alcuin's letters are the best source for the ideas of the age and the humanistic revival at the court of Charlemagne. Einhard's letters are disappointing. On the other hand, the *Codex Carolinus*<sup>14</sup> is extremely valuable. It is a collection of the letters of Charles Martel, Pepin the Short, and Charlemagne addressed to the popes between the years 739 and 791, and was compiled by Charlemagne's own command. Fifty-two of Charlemagne's own letters have been preserved.<sup>15</sup>

After the death of Charlemagne (814) the great empire which he had founded melted away under the blows of civil war and the impact of the Norsemen. The intellectual movement which he inaugurated was stronger than the political system which he established. It is one of the anomalies of history that in this time of storm and stress which rent the Frankish Empire asunder the Carolingian renaissance not only continued, but gathered force.

The historiography of the ninth century was brilliant. Two *Lives*<sup>16</sup> of Louis the Pious are extant, one by Thegan, the other by an anonymous writer known as the Astronomer. The former was a rural dean

the verbose and never graphic letters sent forth from the papal chancery, from the lives of the popes included in the *Liber Pontificalis*. This last source gives some interesting facts" (HODGKIN, VII, 3).

<sup>12</sup> Edited by E. Dümmler in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Epistolae*, III (1892), 215–433, and again by M. Tangl in the new octavo series of the same collection, *Epistolae selectae*, I (Berlin, 1916). A portion of them has been translated into English by Edward Kyle, *The English Correspondence of Saint Boniface . . . Letters Exchanged Between the Apostle of the Germans and His English Friends* (London, 1911: King's Classics).

<sup>13</sup> Edited by E. Dümmler in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Epistolae*, IV (1895), 1–481. Translations of many of the letters are woven into the text of G. F. Browne, *Alcuin of York* (London, 1908). Consult the book of Gaskoin (n. 1).

<sup>14</sup> For literature see MOLINIER, I, no. 656.

<sup>15</sup> Philipp Jaffé, *Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum*, IV. *Monumenta Carolina* (Berlin, 1867), 335–436.

<sup>16</sup> MOLINIER, I, nos. 748–49; POTTHAST, II, 1049 [Thegan] and II, 1375–76 [Astronomer]; EBERT, II, 358–64.

(*chorepiscopus*) of Metz, a partisan of the emperor and hostile to his rebellious sons. He terminates in 834. The latter was less partial than Thegan, and the better of the two biographers. He is known as the "Astronomer" because of his mention of a comet in 838 about which the emperor questioned him. But much the most important historical work of the reign of Louis the Pious and his sons is the *Four Books of Histories* (*Historiarum libri quatuor*) by Nithard.<sup>17</sup> It is a history of the last years of the emperor and of the civil wars which culminated in the rupture of the Frankish Empire in the partition settlement at Verdun in 843. Nithard was a layman, not a churchman, and the only lay historian found until the time of the Crusades. His mother was Charlemagne's daughter Bertha, his father Angilbert, that statesman and scholar of the Carolingian court. He was a faithful adherent of Louis the Pious and his son Charles the Bald. For many years he was commander of the patrol whose duty it was to guard the channel coast from piratical forays of the Norsemen. When the civil war broke out furiously after the death of Louis the Pious, Nithard fought in the murderous battle at Fontenay (841) against his own brother, and was intimately engaged in the negotiations for peace which followed. The first three books of his *Historia* were written in 842; the fourth in 843. For the value of the information and the forthrightness with which it is written, Nithard's work is the most remarkable history of the ninth century. He had access to official documents and knew how to use them. The unique feature of the work is the famous "Oaths of Strassburg," the double text of which in German and French is inserted. The latter is the earliest known monument of *lingua romana*. The work breaks off abruptly in the spring of 843, before Nithard had time to write an account of the treaty of Verdun. For he was called to the field in 844 to suppress a petty war in the western part of the realm and was killed at Angoulême. Only a single transcript of Nithard's important work has been preserved: it was written in the tenth century. It once pertained to the Abbey of St. Médard. When the Huguenots destroyed the monastery in the sixteenth century, the library was scattered and the precious manuscript floated around from one scholar to another until it finally drifted into the Vatican among the books and manuscripts which the eccentric Queen Christine of Sweden bequeathed to the pope. Fortunately it had already been printed. In 1797 when Napoleon occupied Rome the government of the Directory demanded return of the manuscript as a "national monument" because of the Romance text of

<sup>17</sup> Latest edition by Ph. Lauer, *Histoire des fils de Louis le Pieux* (Paris, 1926: Les classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge), with introduction and a French translation. For earlier literature see MOLINIER, I, no. 750; POTTHAST, II, 856-57; for literature on the Strassburg Oaths, MOLINIER, I, p. 230.



the Strassburg Oaths preserved in it. It is now in Paris (MS. Lat. 9768).

In this ninth century so filled with turmoil the Carolingian tradition of monastic annals still carried on. Indeed the epoch is richer in annals than the reign of Charlemagne. Three series are of utmost importance: a French series, a German series, and midway between them a Lotharingian series. The tripartite division reflects the political division of the Frankish Empire after 843 into three kingdoms.

The first series is a quadruple sequence of annals which extends to 882 and is known as the *Annals of St. Bertin*<sup>18</sup> which are continued to 900 in the *Annals of St. Vaast*, a neighboring abbey. Part I covers the years 741–835, and is of slight value, for in many portions it transcribed textually, with additions, the *Annals of Lorsch*. The original part begins with Part II, which extends from 835 to 861. The author was the celebrated Prudentius, bishop of Troyes, one of the cultivated Spanish scholars who frequented the court of Louis the Pious. He was a daring theologian, and sympathized with the Neo-Platonism of the great Irish scholar John Scotus and with Gottschalk, the most original thinker of the century, whose life-long imprisonment for heresy is one of the tragedies of the period. Prudentius' labors and his life ended together. "He made an end of living and of writing (*vivendi et scribendi finem fecit*)" says his continuator, who was no less a person than the great archbishop Hincmar of Rheims.<sup>19</sup> Part III (862–882) is the best informed portion of the *Annals of St. Bertin*, for Hincmar was the chief minister of Charles the Bald and primate of the Frankish Church. He inserts many documents. It ends as abruptly and as tragically as the previous part. For Hincmar was driven from Rheims by a sudden inroad of the Northmen, and died during his flight. Some attendant priest seems to have added the last sentences. Part IV, the *Annals of St. Vaast*, which continues those of St. Bertin, carries the record down to 900, and is one of the best historical sources of a dark and violent epoch.

The most important ninth-century annals written in Germany are the *Annals of Fulda*,<sup>20</sup> which begin in 680 and terminate in 901. The *Annales Fuldenses* are in five parts. Part I (680–838) is a bad abridgment of the *Annals of Lorsch*. Part II (838–863) was written by a monk

<sup>18</sup> Literature in MOLINIER, I, no. 800; POTTHAST, I, 55–56; EBERT, II, 365–68; WATTENBACH, I, 322–27. Editions by G. Waitz in the *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* (Hanover, 1883), and by C. Dehaines in the series of the Société de l'histoire de France (Paris, 1871). There is a German translation by J. v. Jasmund in *Die Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit*, XXIV (2nd rev. ed. by W. Wattenbach, Leipzig, 1890).

<sup>19</sup> J. H. Schrörs, *Hinkmar, Erzbischof von Reims. Sein Leben und seine Schriften* (Freiburg i. Br., 1884), 444–57 deals with him as an historian.

<sup>20</sup> Edited by Fr. Kurze in the *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* (Hanover, 1891); see EBERT, II, 368–69; WATTENBACH, I, 244–51; POTTHAST, I, 67–68.

named Rudolf, and is the best portion. Rudolf of Fulda is remarkable for having been the sole medieval writer who knew Tacitus. Traces of the *Germania*, the *Histories*, and the *Annals* are discernible in a single passage for the year 852. The author was an intense partisan of Ludwig the German and had a veritable hatred for men and things across the Rhine. Charles the Bald is called the "tyrant of Gaul." In parts III-V the record diminishes in information until it expires in 901. The authors of these parts are not known. The juxtaposition of grave and gay events in an entry for the year 807 provokes a smile: "Grimwald duke of Beneventum died, and there was great mortality in the monastery of St. Boniface, so that many of the young brothers died, and Eggi died and Hutuman and Meginrat. The boys in the school beat their teacher and ran away."

In the Middle Kingdom of Lorraine established in 843 by the treaty of Verdun, Regino of Prüm's *Chronicon* <sup>21</sup> is the most substantial work of the second half of the ninth century. It extends to 906. Down to 853 it is compiled from the *Annals of Lorsch* and the lost *Annals of Prüm*, but from then on it is an independent and valuable work. Regino had unusual intelligence and a wide knowledge of affairs, even knowing something of what happened in Italy. He roved more widely than most monastic historians for information. Under the year 817 he writes: "These things which I have expressed above I found in a certain little book (*libello*) written in plebeian and rustic language, which I have translated into Latin. The rest of the narrative I got from the reminiscences of old men." Alas, that this little history written in the vernacular has disappeared. Writing of the year 892 he has such a terse Tacitean phrase that one wonders if he, too, did not know Tacitus like Rudolf of Fulda. "Concerning many events in the past," he says, "it is often unnecessary to write at length, and concerning modern times one often has to be reticent because if the truth is told one incurs the hatred of those in high place. He who abates truth either sinks into mendacity or degenerates into flattery."

Among the lesser annals of the ninth century are the *Annals of Xanten*, discovered by Pertz in 1827. They are best for the years 831-873. In the year 857 there is a remarkable account of a dangerous malady known as ergotism. In the Middle Ages rye was a staple food and is still the chief cereal in a large zone of territory in central Europe. Any disease which attacked rye was of great social and economic importance. There is a fungus which commonly infects rye after a wet summer, and makes

<sup>21</sup> Edited by Fr. Kurze in the *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, etc. (Hanover, 1890); POTTAST, II, 956-57; EBERT, III, 226-30; René Poupardin, *Le royaume de Provence sous les Carolingiens, 855-933* (Paris, 1901: Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, fasc. 131).

the grain poisonous to eat. This poisoning is known as ergotism. Ergotism was first described in the *Annals of Xanten*.<sup>22</sup>

Of course the old fashioned copious compiler still persisted with his dull and ponderous tomes. Freulf, bishop of Lisieux, wrote such a work for the clever Empress Judith, about 830, in which he perceived that the ninth century was the end of an epoch.<sup>23</sup> Similar to it is the *Breviarium chronicorum de sex aetatibus mundi ab Adamo ad annum 869*. Among the lives of the saints written during the period the most valuable are the *Life of Gregory*, abbot of St. Martin's at Utrecht, one of the last companions of St. Boniface, by his own disciple Liudger; Anskar's *Life of St. Willehad*, an Englishman and friend of Alcuin who first evangelized Frisia and then founded the bishopric of Bremen as a missionary station for the conversion of Scandinavia; the *Life of St. Liudger*, useful for the evangelization of Frisia and Westphalia; and Rimbert's *Life of St. Anskar*, the first missionary to the heathen Swedes.<sup>24</sup>

Historical writing in Italy in the ninth century was limited to five works. For the history of the Lombard duchies of Benevento and Spoleto in the eighth and ninth centuries, we get valuable information from the *Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum* by Erchempert, a Lombard by lineage and monk in Monte Cassino in the second half of the ninth century. His object, he says, was to continue the Lombard history of Paul the Deacon, who terminated his work with the year 744, and discreetly refrained from relating the history of the fall of the Lombard kingdom lest he offend his patron by divulging too much embarrassing truth. No such reticence was necessary in the next century and accordingly Erchempert bluntly says that he is going to narrate "not the rule, but the ruin, not the triumphs but the calamities" of his fellow-countrymen. For events of the ninth century he is a valuable witness. His relation is full of vivid personal history. The monastery was destroyed by the Saracens in 884 and Erchempert fled with the other monks to Teano. Previous to this catastrophe he had been made captive in 881 by some soldiery in the service of Pandulf, count of Capua, who was at feud with the abbot of Monte Cassino, and "stripped of all my goods acquired from boyhood and compelled to walk on foot before the heads of the horses to the city of Capua, where I abode as an exile." Again, in 886, he was despoiled by Greek bandits while travelling.

<sup>22</sup> G. Barger, *Ergot and Ergotism* (London, 1931). The disease was first explained by Dodart in 1676.

<sup>23</sup> For literature see MOLINIER, I, no. 751.

<sup>24</sup> On all these see MOLINIER, I, nos. 666-76, and PORTHAST, II, pp. 1353, 1637, 1429-31, 1170-72.

In Rome John the Deacon was commissioned by Pope John VIII to search the Lateran archives and write a fuller *Life of Gregory the Great* than those already extant.<sup>25</sup> The papal librarian Anastasius was one of the few persons in the West who knew Greek; at the request of John the Deacon he translated the Byzantine histories of Nicephorus, Syncellus, and Theophanes into Latin. This triple work was known in the Middle Ages as the *Historia Tripartita* (not to be confused with Cassiodorus' work of the same name) and was almost the only source of information on Byzantine history in the West. Hugh of Fleury, in the twelfth century, rejoiced in the possession of a copy, which he thought "*autentica, probabilis et robusta*," although he deplored some "frivolous" matter in it. This was an orthodox and Western slap at Greek religion and culture.<sup>26</sup> In Rome also, the *Liber Pontificalis* or *Lives of the Popes* was continued.<sup>27</sup>

A unique historical work is the *Lives of the Bishops of Ravenna* by the archbishop Agnellus, who was an enthusiastic antiquarian and included in the successive biographies also a comprehensive account of the monuments of the historic city. The book might be described as an antiquarian and historical tour.<sup>28</sup>

Some of the poetry of the Carolingian period is historically informative, especially Theodulph of Orleans' *Paraenesis ad iudices*. Theodulph was a Spanish Goth and the best poet of the time, a lover of the classics and of art. As a *missus dominicus*—many bishops were employed as justices in eyre—the bishop of Orleans wrote a poetical account of his mission in the south of France. It is very valuable for the light which

<sup>25</sup> GREGOROVITUS, III, 150: "The work is an independent one, and of a character strikingly different from the barren biographies of other popes."

<sup>26</sup> Prologue to Bk. VI of his *Historia ecclesiastica*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, IX, 357.

<sup>27</sup> Louis Duchesne, "L'historiographie pontificale au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, IV (1884), 232-73; and his *Étude sur le Liber Pontificalis* (Paris, 1877). The first redaction of the *Liber Pontificalis*, which terminates with Felix III (483), was compiled during the Gothic period and published by Hormisdas (514-523). The second part is continued to Leo II (682). Up to this time the biographies were written from early sources, many now disappeared, and even legend. Some of the errors are atrocious. But beginning with Leo II and Canon (between 680-690) the notices are contemporary, or almost so. Some of the biographies seem to have been posted up year by year. Bede, for example, made use of an extract containing information about the then reigning pope, Gregory II (715-731). The first mention of the Coliseum by that name is found in the *Vita Stephani III* (768-772). The prophecy found in Bede—"While stands the Coliseum, Rome shall stand; when falls the Coliseum, Rome shall fall; and when Rome falls, then the world shall fall"—is obviously an interpolation. Duchesne, *Le Liber pontificalis, texte et commentaire* (Paris, 1886-92, 2 v.), I, 482, n. 23; C. H. Turner, *Studies in Early Church History* (Oxford, 1912), 151-53.

<sup>28</sup> EBERT, II, 375-76; Ugo Balzani, *Early Chroniclers of Europe: Italy* (London, 1883), 96-103; M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur im Mittelalter* (Munich, 1911-31, 3 v.), I, 712-14; Edmund Bishop, "An Antiquary of the Ninth Century," *Downside Review*, XIII (1894), 192-206, reprinted in his *Liturgica historica, Papers on the Liturgy and Religious Life of the Western Church* (Oxford, 1918), 370 ff.

it throws upon manners and morals and the administration of justice.<sup>29</sup> Another long historical poem is one *In Honor of Louis the Pious*, in four books by Ermoldus Nigellus.<sup>30</sup> It is a poetical biography of the emperor. Among striking passages is a long description of the scenes depicted in the mural paintings in the palaces of Ingelheim and Nymwegen, which has value for the history of medieval art.

That epic spirit at the heart of so much early Frankish history, which is found in Gregory of Tours and the *Liber Francorum*, persisted into the Carolingian period and before the end of the ninth century invested the history of Charlemagne with the aureole of legend. It is found in the *Deeds of Charlemagne* (*De gestis Caroli Magni libri duo*),<sup>31</sup> written probably by Notker Balbulus, a monk of St. Gall, between 884 and 887 for Charles the Fat, Charlemagne's great-grandson. The work is a string of anecdotes and legendary narratives commingled with actual history. It is very valuable in that it shows how the interesting romantic tradition of Charlemagne originated which culminated in the *Chanson de Roland* and the Carolingian cycle of French epics in the twelfth century.<sup>32</sup>

The ninth century was an important epoch in the history of medieval political theory. Then for the first time a clash developed between the rival authorities of Church and State, which was further complicated by the political claims against the crown of the rising feudality. Out of the turmoil emerged a considerable body of literature of a controversial nature.<sup>33</sup> The earliest example is Paschasius Ratbertus' *Life of Wala* and *Life of Adalhard*, two influential Carolingian princes who led the opposition against the Emperor Louis the Pious.<sup>34</sup> Another such writer was Agobard of Lyons (d. 840), whose *Apologeticus* is a brief in his own defense for his opposition to the emperor. Agobard was one of the intellectual leaders of the age, and also wrote tracts condemning popular superstition, trial by battle, the cult of images, etc. His most

<sup>29</sup> Gabriel Monod, "Les mœurs judiciaires au huitième siècle d'après la *Paraenesis ad Iudices* de Théodulf," *RH*, XXXV (1887), 1-20; F. Guizot, *The History of Civilization from the Fall of the Roman Empire to the French Revolution*, tr. by W. Hazlitt (New York, 1881, 4 v. in 2), III, 60-65 (Lecture 23).

<sup>30</sup> MOLINIER, I, no. 747; EBERT, II, 170-78. The most recent edition is by Edmond Faral, *Ermold le Noir, poème sur Louis le Pieux et épîtres au roi Pépin* (Paris, 1932: Les classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge), with a French translation.

<sup>31</sup> MOLINIER, I, no. 650; EBERT, III, 214-22; POTTHAST, II, 790-91; Halphen (n. 5), 104-42. There is an English translation in Grant (n. 8).

<sup>32</sup> For the literature instrumental in this transition see MOLINIER, I, nos. 676-82; Gaston Paris, *Esquisse historique de la littérature française au moyen âge* (3rd ed., Paris, 1922), 43-76, or his *Medieval French Literature*, tr. by Hannah Lynch (London, 1903), 24-43.

<sup>33</sup> See my book, *The Middle Ages* (New York, 1929, 2 v.), I, 411-20; A. J. Kleinclausz, *L'Empire carolingien, ses origines et ses transformations* (Paris, 1902), 373-79.

<sup>34</sup> Auguste Himly, *Wala et Louis le Débonnaire* (Paris, 1849); EBERT, II, 230-43; MOLINIER, I, no. 761; POTTHAST, II, 894-95, 1137, 1630.

notable tract is an invective against the Jews.<sup>35</sup> The work which most nearly approaches political theory, however, is Jonas of Orleans' *De institutione regia* (*Concerning the Institution of Kingship*),<sup>36</sup> the first of a long series of "manuals of Kingship" which together constitute a most important body of sources for the development of medieval political theory.<sup>37</sup> Kindred to this tract in its nature, but of less importance, is the *Via regia*, or *Royal Road*, written by Smaragdus, Abbot of St. Mihiel (ca. 830). It is more hortatory and less practical.<sup>38</sup>

But the work of this nature above all others in importance written in the ninth century is the *De ordine palatii* (*On the Government of the Palace*), by Archbishop Hincmar, which is at once a manual of administration and a treatise on political theory.<sup>39</sup> It was based upon a lost treatise of Adalhard of Corbie with the same title, but contains much new and independent material. It was written for the instruction of Louis the Stammerer and lays down the principle with much asseveration, sustained by copious biblical quotations, that the king could do nothing without the consent of the bishops. In a word, it is a formulation of the philosophy of theocratic rule. Hincmar was a haughty prelate, and sometimes did not hesitate to fabricate documents to sustain his purposes. The practical enforcement of the theory of the supremacy of Church over State was keyed upon the ecclesiastical right of coronation of kings, from which advocates of ecclesiastical supremacy soon derived the corollary that as coronation made the king, so the Church might depose a king. Hincmar's insolence was only exceeded by his mendacity. He declared that Louis owed his election to the kingship, neither to his royal lineage nor to the nobles, but to the bishops. "Look to your position," he cried. "See where your forefathers are laid. Read their epitaphs—the life of each is shorter and shorter as they recede from their great ancestor Charlemagne. Beware then. . . . You shall soon pass away. But the Church and its bishops shall never pass away."

No estimate of the progress of historiography under the Carolingians would be complete without recognition of the fact that the Carolingian renaissance had a profound effect upon the preservation of the classical

<sup>35</sup> On Agobard see MOLINIER, I, no. 762; EBERT, II, 210–22; POTTHAST, I, 26–27; P. Chevalard, *L'Église et l'état en France au neuvième siècle: Saint Agobard, archevêque de Lyon, sa vie et ses écrits* (Lyon, 1869).

<sup>36</sup> A critical text is offered in Jean Revirion, *Les idées politico-religieuses d'un évêque du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle: Jonas d'Orléans et son 'De institutione regia'* (Paris, 1930), with a complete bibliography on Jonas.

<sup>37</sup> See Lester K. Born, "The Perfect Prince," *Speculum*, III (1928), 470–504.

<sup>38</sup> MOLINIER, I, no. 757; EBERT, II, 108–12; B. Hauréau, *Singularités historiques et littéraires* (Paris, 1861), 100–28.

<sup>39</sup> Edited by Maurice Prou, *Hincmar: De ordine palatii* (Paris, 1884: Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, fasc. 58), with a French translation and a valuable introduction; MOLINIER, I, no. 859; EBERT, II, 247–57; G. Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, III (2nd ed., Kiel, 1883), 495 f.

Latin literature, and that to it we owe our possession of Sallust, Caesar, Suetonius, Livy, Tacitus, Velleius Paterculus, and Eutropius.<sup>40</sup> Almost all the classical Latin texts which we have today (with the exception of Terence, Catullus, Ovid, and Vergil) are based on manuscripts which were written in the ninth century, and which were copied again and again in the succeeding centuries until the Renaissance of the fourteenth century is reached. With very few exceptions the genealogy of no classical manuscript can be traced back of the Carolingian era. The most active classical scholar in the ninth century was Abbot Lupus of Ferrières, whose *Letters*<sup>41</sup> are a precious mine of information. The loss of his own *Historia romana*, in twelve books, which he wrote for Charles the Bald, is unfortunate. It must have been a better work than that of the same title written by Paulus Diaconus, which has been preserved. Did Lupus know Tacitus? His *Letters*, rich as they are in information regarding the cultivation of classical literature in the ninth century, do not inform us. Yet Lupus was educated at Fulda, and Rudolf of Fulda, the annalist, as we have seen, knew Tacitus, and probably the same may be said of Regino of Prüm.

By the end of the ninth century the Carolingian Empire was rent to shreds by the simultaneous operation of feudal insurrection within, and the invasions of the Norsemen from without. The great siege of Paris by the Norsemen (886-887) and the deposition of the Emperor Charles the Fat, the last emperor of the theoretically whole empire, in 887, may be regarded as the terminal events. In Germany the Carolingian line expired in the person of Ludwig the Child in 911. In France it precariously hung on until 987, but the kings were lean and solemn phantoms. The tenth century in Germany and France inaugurated a new epoch.

The destruction of chronicles and historical documents during the invasions of the Norsemen was very great. A single fragment of the *Chronicle of Fontenelle* remains. The *Chronicle of Jumièges* is wholly lost. The chronicles of all the monasteries in the valley of the Seine have perished. Nothing has survived from St. Germain des Prés, or St. Germain l'Auxerrois or Ste. Geneviève, and nothing Carolingian from St. Denis. South of the Loire, historiography becomes almost a blank. Hardly a line survives concerning Orleans, Blois, Tours, Périgord, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Limoges, and the entire provinces of Auvergne, Vivarais, and Gascony. So deficient are the records that the

<sup>40</sup> SANDYS, I, ch. xxv; Louis Havet, "Que doivent à Charlemagne les classiques latins?" *Revue bleue*, 5<sup>me</sup> série, V (1906), 129-33.

<sup>41</sup> Latest edition by Leon Levillain, *Loup de Ferrières: Correspondance* (Paris, 1927-35, 2 v.: Les classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge) with a French translation and bibliography. Cp. MOLINIER, I, no. 857; EBERT, II, 202-09; C. H. Beeson, *Lupus of Ferrières as Scribe and Text Critic* (Cambridge, Mass., 1930); SANDYS, I, 486 f.; and the same in *EHR*, XXI (1906), 346-47.

only knowledge we have about the destruction of the six episcopal sees of Gascony is found in the incidental allusion of a charter.

The primary sources for the history of the invasions of the Norsemen in France are the monastic chronicles already noticed. But a new one now becomes important: the *Gesta abbatum Fontanellensium* or *Deeds of the Abbots of Fontanelle*, a monastery near Rouen popularly called St. Wandrille's. This work covers the years 834–850. The years 841–859 are also more fully noticed in a fragment of a lost *Chronicle of Fontanelle*.<sup>42</sup> This double work is important for the history of the Norse invasions in the valley of the Seine. The history of the basin of the Loire is similarly provided for in the *Chronicon Namnetense*, or *Chronicle of Nantes*,<sup>43</sup> the earliest particular history of Brittany, and remarkable for the dramatic episodes related in it, which have an epic ring.

A unique type of sources for this disturbed epoch are the histories of the peregrinations or "translations" of the relics of saints whose bones were cherished in every monastery. These relics were the most sacred of possessions, and when the Norsemen, who soon discovered that every monastery possessed gold and treasure, appeared, and flight was necessary, the monks saved the relics before the treasure.<sup>44</sup> Finally, the story of the great siege of Paris (885–886) was related by Abbo, a monk of St. Germain des Prés, who was an eye-witness and participant in it. It is a strange work, for it is a poetical narrative in three books.<sup>45</sup> Book I really relates the history of the siege. Book II is a panegyric of Eudes, count of Paris and king-to-be when Charles the Fat was deposed in the Eastern kingdom. Book III is devoted to St. Germain's miracles, though it has some slight historical value. The third book was written some years after the other two. For Abbo's conscience hurt him, so that he added the third book in order that the whole might symbolize the trinity. As poetry the work is terrible; as history it is better than might be supposed. Abbo had a certain power of narrative description, and again we find episodes which savor of epic. The author parades his learning in the use of archaic and unusual words, including a few Greek

<sup>42</sup> Text in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores*, II, 301–04.

<sup>43</sup> *La chronique de Nantes* (570 environ–1049), ed. by René Merlet (Paris, 1896: Collection des textes pour servir, XIX).

<sup>44</sup> For the most important of these "translations" see MOLINIER, I, no. 871; for their value and use the article of Emille Mabille, "Les invasions normandes dans la Loire et les pérégrinations du corps de Saint Martin [de Tours]," *BEC*, XXX (1869), 149–94, 425–60; *Cambridge Medieval History*, III (New York, 1922), 533–34.

<sup>45</sup> MOLINIER, I, no. 864; EBERT, III, 129–39; E. Favre, *Eudes, comte de Paris et roi de France, 882–898* (Paris, 1893: Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, fasc. 99), introduction, pp. v–vii, and 17–68; E. A. Freeman, "The Early Sieges of Paris," in his *Historical Essays*, first series (London, 1871), 207–51. Text and French translation by N. R. Taranne, *Abbon, Le siège de Paris par les Normands en 885 et 886* (Paris, 1834); a new edition, also with a translation, is promised by H. Waquet and R. Brunschwig in *Les classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge*, ed. by L. Halphen.



ones, though there is reason to believe that he knew no Greek but borrowed them from some lexicon.

In Germany the once full and important annals, except those of Prüm, ravel out towards the end of the ninth century like a frayed rope, until the meagerest of them degenerate into scanty minutes like these:

906	DCCCCVI	Ungarii vastaverunt Saxoniam.
907	DCCCCVII	Adelbertus comes decollatus est, iubente Ludovico Rege.
908	DCCCCVIII	Liutboldus dux occisus est ab Ungariis.
909	DCCCCVIII	Burghardus dux Thuringorum occisus est ab Ungariis.
910	DCCCCX	Ludovicus Rex pugnavit cum Ungariis.
911	DCCCCXI	Ungarii vastaverunt Franciam.
912	DCCCCXII	Ludovicus Rex obiit, cui Conradus successit.
913	DCCCCXIII	
914	DCCCCXIII	Otto Saxonicus dux obiit.
915	DCCCCXV	Ungarii vastando venerunt usque Fuldam.
916	DCCCCXVI	
917	DCCCCXVII	
918	DCCCCXVIII	
919	DCCCCXVIII	Conradus Rex obiit, cui Heinricus successit.

## CHAPTER XII

### GERMAN HISTORIANS OF THE SAXON, SALIAN, AND HOHENSTAUFEN PERIOD (919-1197)<sup>1</sup>

THE historiography of an epoch, as has been pointed out in several preceding chapters, reflects the prevailing conditions of that epoch. The decline of the Roman Empire is mirrored in the decline of Latin literature. The historiography of the Carolingian epoch responded to the vigorous regime instituted by Charlemagne, and the decline of the Frankish Empire is reflected in the degeneration of historical writing in the second half of the ninth century.

Germany under the rule of the Saxon dynasty (919-1024) was the first country to rise above the welter of things into which central and western Europe had sunk in the ninth century; it was the first to establish a firm government, the earliest to organize a truly feudal state in form and spirit. Naturally Saxony was the home of an awakened historiography, as the ancestral duchy of the new royal house. Here the *Annals of Corvey* take on a new lease of life and the new *Annals of Quedlinburg* begin. This nunnery was a favorite foundation of the Saxon house, especially of Matilda, the queen of Henry I, whose strong intellect and deep religious feeling inaugurated an interesting pietistic movement here. These *Annals* do not begin until 984, that is to say after the "new" history was well under way, and terminate in 1025, the year after the Saxon dynasty had expired. Short as they are, they are

<sup>1</sup> WATTENBACH, I, pt. iii, and II, entire; Fr. Vigener, *Quellen zur Geschichte der mittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreibung*: II. *Deutsche Geschichtsschreiber der Kaiserzeit, von Widukind bis auf Eike von Repkow* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1914); G. Waitz, "Ueber die Entwicklung der deutschen Historiographie," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, ed. by W. Schmidt, II (1844), 97-114, IV (1845), 97-112; H. Vildhant, *Handbuch der Quellenkunde zur deutschen Geschichte* (2nd ed., Werl, 1906-09, 2 v.), I, 140-397; Max Jansen, "Historiographie und Quellen der deutschen Geschichte bis 1500," in *Grundriss der Geschichtswissenschaft zur Einführung in das Studium der deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, ed. by Aloys Meister, I (Leipzig, 1906), 450-546, also issued as a separate work in 2nd ed. by L. Schmitz-Kallenberg (Leipzig and Berlin, 1914); M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1911-31, 3 v.), II-III; Heinrich Gerdes, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes und seiner Kultur im Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1891-1908, 3 v.), I, 701-09, II, 645-51, III, 662-72; A. Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* (3rd ed., Leipzig, 1911-29, 5 v.), III, 311 ff.; W. Giesebrecht, *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit* (5th ed., Leipzig, 1877-1905, 6 v.), I, 777-98, II, 555-81, III, pt. ii, 1033-82, IV, 387-411, etc.; Hans Prutz, *The Age of Charlemagne*, 209-16, and his *The Age of Feudalism and Theocracy*, 19-24, 137-41 (these two works were translated from the German as vols. VIII-IX of *A History of All Nations*, ed. by J. H. Wright, Philadelphia and New York, 1905). Other critical literature may be found in POTTHAST. There are German translations of the most important writers in the series known as *Die Geschichtsschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit*.

important. At the same time the succession of energetic historical events in Germany revived old monastic annals everywhere, which in the late ninth century had nearly expired. Among these are the *Annals of Reichenau*, the *Annals of Lobbes*, the *Annals of St. Emmeram*, the *Annals of St. Maximin* at Trier, the *Annals of Weingarten*, and the *Annals of St. Gall*.

Lobbes was an abbey in Hainaut which had been established in the seventh century. The energetic rule of the Abbot Folcuin from 965 to 995 made it a house of great importance intellectually and politically in the Low Countries. Amid a busy life Folcuin found time to write the annals of his abbey. The narrative runs to 980. He inserted documents as *pièces justificatives*; his presentation is lively, full, and truthful. The Carolingian portion of the *Annals of St. Gall*, by a monk named Ratpert, had terminated in 883 and contains only the outward facts about the monastery. The *Annals of St. Gall* languished through the Saxon period. Ekkehard IV (980-1060) resumed them where they had stopped in the ninth century and carried the narration as far as his own time. Although the author pertained to the post-Saxon period, he needs notice here for this reason. For fulness of information and vivacity of relation Ekkehard IV's portion of the *Annals of St. Gall* is remarkable. Its only monastic rival for these qualities is the *Continuation of the Chronicle of Regino of Prüm*, the only Carolingian chronicle which survived the downfall of the Frankish Empire with unimpaired vigor.

But of more value than monastic annals are episcopal annals. This is a new departure. In the Carolingian epoch almost all annals were of monastic authorship. The policy of the Saxon kings was to build the fabric of the German Church into the fabric of the government, and this gave enormous power and prestige to the bishops, who thereby became prince-bishops.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly we have among episcopal annals the *Annals of Hildesheim* (to 1040), the (lost) *Annals of Halberstadt*, the *Annals of Salzburg*, the *Annals of Cologne* (to 1028).

No region of Europe in the tenth century was as intellectually brilliant as Lorraine. The school of Liège attracted students from France, Italy, and England. This distinction was chiefly due to the initiative of the great Bishop Notger (972-1008). At Lobbes the Abbot Folcuin wrote a history of the abbey based upon the archives of the house. His successor Heriger, besides lives of saints, mathematical and chronological works, also, at the instance of Notger, composed a *History of the Bishops of Liège*. The continuation of this work by the canon Anselm under

<sup>2</sup> For this policy see my *Feudal Germany* (Chicago, 1929), 26-67; E. N. Johnson, *The Secular Activities of the German Episcopate, 919-1024* (Lincoln, Univ. of Nebraska Studies, XXX-XXXI, 1930-31, and separate reprint, 1932).

Bishop Wazo (1041–48) is even more valuable. A good biography of Bishop Baldric II (1008–18) was written at the monastery of St. James. In all these writings the influence of classical studies is apparent.

The chief rival of Liège in intellectual vigor in this time was Metz, where a learned monk named Alpert was the author of an admirable *History of the Bishops of Metz*. Later this Alpert removed to Utrecht, another intellectual seat whose school rivalled those of Liège and Metz. Here he wrote in two books an historical work entitled *De diversitate temporum*, which is a *tableau vivant* of events in the Low Countries between the years 1002 and 1118. It was dedicated to Burchard of Worms, the great German canonist. The most curious part of this work of Alpert is a polemic upon Judaism, which was precipitated by the case of a priest who publicly renounced the Christian faith and embraced that of the Jews and justified his conduct in a tract which made a sensation in the reign of the Emperor Henry II. The *History of the Bishops of Verdun* was begun after the burning of the cathedral in 917. The *Gesta* were an effort to restore the history of the bishops (and chiefly the destroyed title deeds) before the memory of the past was wholly obliterated.

The limitation of these works is that they all are rigidly factual, with stress upon the local scene. For interpretative or descriptive treatment and freer play of expression one must turn to Widukind of Corvey's three books of *Saxon History* (*Rerum gestarum libri tres*) and Bishop Thietmar of Merseburg's *Chronicon*. Corvey was a monastery on the Weser river, which had been founded in 822 by a colony of monks from the Frankish monastery of Corbie on the Somme, a very active seat of learning in the Carolingian period. New Corvey inherited and sustained that intellectual tradition.<sup>3</sup> Here, in the last years of Otto I, a Saxon monk named Widukind lived and wrote.<sup>4</sup> Widukind was—as his name shows—of pure Saxon blood; he was proud of his people and his work is not a general history of the time but a history of the Saxon kings and especially of what happened in the duchy of Saxony. For the earliest pagan and barbarian history of the Saxons Widukind, like Jordanes and Gregory of Tours before him, drew upon the unwritten saga literature, traditions, and folklore of his people.<sup>5</sup> In one place he tells us that his information is based on a ballad still sung about a famous fight between the Franks and the Saxons.<sup>6</sup> The Saxons are “a hardy people” (*gens*

<sup>3</sup> Ph. Jaffé, *Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum* (Berlin, 1864–73, 6 v.), I. *Monumenta Corbeien-sia*.

<sup>4</sup> POTTHAST, II, 1113–14 for editions and literature, to which add Hermann Bloch, *NA*, XXXVIII (1913), 97–141, and Linzel, *ibid.*, XLIX (1930), 183–88.

<sup>5</sup> For examples see Bk. I, 7, 9, 12, 13, 14. He frequently writes: “ex carminibus” . . . “fertur,” “traditur.”

<sup>6</sup> Bk. I, 23.

*dura*) and proud of the fearful short sword (*sahs*) from which they got their name. Although more primitive in way of living than the Franks and without the advantage of Frankish breast-plates and helmets, but wearing home-made straw hats even in the field, the Saxons were capable of putting up a good fight. Like a true Saxon, Widukind hated the Slavs across the Elbe and relates with glee the victorious winter expedition of Henry I in 929 across the frozen marshes of the Havel and the capture of Brunabor, "by hunger, the sword and cold" (*fame, ferro, frigore*), which he converted into a *burg* (the future Brandenburg), of which he founded so many throughout Saxony and Thuringia to protect the land from the raids of the Hungarians. Henry I's military reforms at last enabled the Saxons to resist the Hungarians. Widukind rises to a climax in his account of the victory on the Unstrut in 933—how the Saxon horse pursued the fleeing foe for eight miles up the valley whose floor was strewn with Hungarian dead; how the victorious Saxon warriors raised the shout to Henry I: "Hail, father of the country, lord and emperor." It is all told in medieval Latin, but the spirit is Saxon German. He did not comprehend the universal significance of Otto I's reign (936-973). His Slavonic and Hungarian campaigns are recounted, but almost nothing is said of his Italian expeditions. Yet there is a precious and quaint summary of the new commercial connections of Germany with the Mediterranean lands.<sup>7</sup> Further he relates the discovery of the famous silver mines at Rammelsberg in the Harz mountains and that Otto I learned to read Latin late in life, and with difficulty, but spoke the Slavonic tongue fluently.

The history of the later Saxon kings is recounted by Bishop Thietmar of Merseburg (d. 1018) in his *Chronicon*,<sup>8</sup> in eight books, of which Books I-II cover much the same ground as Widukind before him. It is a very informing work, but confused in its arrangement, a defect which the author himself recognized but did not live long enough to remedy. The original autograph manuscript is preserved in the Dresden archives. The most valuable portion is that which relates to the border wars against the Slavs, especially Henry II's Polish campaigns. There is a striking description of the German army's difficult march "per solitudines paludesque," and a truly impressive description of the great

<sup>7</sup> "Crebris victoriis imperator gloriosus factus atque famosus, multorum regum ac gentium timorem pariter et favorem promeruit; unde plurimos legatos suscipit, Romanorum scilicet et Graecorum Sarracenorumque, per eosque diversi generis munera, vasa aurea et argentea, aerea quoque et mira varietate operis distincta, vitrea vasa, eburnea etiam et omni genere modificata stramenta, balsamum et totius generis pigmenta, animalia Saxonibus antea invisa, leones et camelos, simias et strutiones, omniumque circumquaque christianorum in illo res atque spes sitae" (Bk. III, ch. 56).

<sup>8</sup> Recent edition by Robert Holtzmann, in *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, new series, IX (1935); cp. his article "Ueber die Chronik Thietmars von Merseburg," *NA*, L (1933-35), 159-209.

temple of the heathen Slavs at Rethra.<sup>9</sup> Thietmar was a high-born Saxon noble with the pride and prejudices of his class. He is straightforward in narration; but his Latin is rude and crude. Unlike Widukind, Thietmar had a broad outlook and is informing also for the history of the German domination in Italy in his time. He remarks upon the difficulties of traversing the Alpine passes, the heat and fever of the plains of Italy, the hatred of the Italians for Germans. Quite suddenly medieval Genoa emerges out of the darkness which invests her history since the seventh century. He knows, too, of the ship-wreck of a Venetian galley in the Adriatic loaded with silks and spices and pigments from the Far East. There are bits of information, also, hardly more than *obiter dicta*, which are interesting, as the mention that Otto I imported Italian marbles for the adornment of the Cathedral at Magdeburg, of Jewish merchants with their Oriental wares sheltered over night in Merseburg cathedral, of how some of the boys in the episcopal school broke bounds one night and went into town and were found by the master "in stuba"—the German word leaps to the eyes out of the Latin text. Thietmar inserts snatches of folk song (cantilena), alludes to a dolorous ballad on the disastrous defeat of a German army under Otto II in 982 by the Saracens in Lower Italy, and is the earliest Western writer to cite the Latin animal fable known as the *Ecbasis captivi*, which relates the flight of a calf from the stable, its adventures and return. The work is a satirical allegory; for the calf is a runaway monk, and the stable is a monastery.

The prominence of the German episcopate in political affairs under the Saxon emperors accounts for an important series of *Vitae*<sup>10</sup> of German bishops or abbots. Archbishop Bruno of Cologne (953–965) was Otto I's younger brother, and an important personage in monastic reform and the revival of education. His *Vita* by Ruotger is a primary source for the reign of Otto I.<sup>11</sup> John, abbot of Gorze in Lorraine, was another closely associated with the intellectual awakening. Within the walls of Gorze foregathered scholarly monks from Metz, Toul, Verdun, Burgundy, with now and then a visitor from England, Scotland, Ireland, and once a comer from Calabria in south-west Italy. John had visited the Greek monasteries in Lower Italy and brought back Greek manuscripts of Aristotle and Porphyry. Later the emperor sent him on a mission to Mohammedan Spain and he lived for nearly four years in Cordova, where he learned Hebrew and Arabic and again returned with manuscripts. The extension of Arabic science north of the Alps is trace-

<sup>9</sup> *Chronicon*, VI, 23 (17). See my *Feudal Germany* (n. 2), 388–91.

<sup>10</sup> For a valuable study of these Lives see the work of E. N. Johnson (n. 2 above).

<sup>11</sup> Paul Geyer, "Literarische Entlehnungen in Ruotgers Lebensbeschreibung des Erzbischofs Bruno von Köln," *NA*, XLVIII (1930), 354–83.

able to this embassy.<sup>12</sup> The *Life of Udalric*, bishop of Augsburg, is the biography of a soldier-bishop, the hero of the victorious battle of the Lechfeld in 955 over the Hungarians. The *Life of Meinwerk of Paderborn* is a long and important biography of a political bishop who, however, did not neglect his diocese for secular affairs. Similar but less informing is the *Life of Burchard of Worms*. But the gem of all these episcopal biographies is the *Life of Bernward of Hildesheim*, the architect-artist bishop who built the exquisite romanesque cathedral at Hildesheim, designed the columns and the bronze doors—they show Italian influence—trained the workmen to smelt and melt the metal and mayhap made the moulds himself. This *Life* is a classic in the history of medieval German art.

To a clerk of the palace in the reign of Henry II we probably owe the *Vita Mathildae reginae*, wife of Henry I, who founded the nunnery of Quedlinburg.

The Saxon dynasty began with Henry I in 919 and ended with Henry II in 1024. It was succeeded by the Salian dynasty which ruled for one hundred and one years (1024-1125). New dynasty, new period. The supreme issues of the period were monastic reform and the conflict between the emperors and the popes. It was the epoch of Hildebrand, Pope Gregory VII. It was an epoch of high importance for Germany, for Italy, and for the Church. The historiography of the time rose to the challenge of opportunity. The annals, chronicles, histories, and biographies form a valuable body of historical literature. For the first time since antiquity history began to be written with strength, clarity, and even literary artistry. As Germany was the first state to rise politically after the dissolution of the Carolingian Empire, so it was the first state to develop a really cogent and interpretative history.

Salian historiography is inaugurated by Wipo's *Life of Conrad II*. He was the emperor's chaplain, a highly cultured Burgundian clerk, who knew classical Latin literature and was not a little influenced by it. Deviating from the customary biography of the age Wipo makes abstract reflections and writes with purpose.<sup>13</sup> He makes—or rather makes Conrad II make—for the first time the distinction between the private property of the sovereign and the fisc or public property of the crown, and uses illustrations borrowed from the classics.<sup>14</sup> His account of Conrad II's Italian expeditions is clear and he shows keen observation

<sup>12</sup> See my article, "The Introduction of Arabic Science into Lorraine in the Tenth Century," *Isis*, XII (1929), 184-93.

<sup>13</sup> Sed quoniam historia publica scribitur, quae animum lectoris ad novitatem rerum quam ad figuras verborum attentiores facit, magis videtur congruere, ipsam rem integram persequi, quam mysticis rationibus aliquid promiscue commentari.—*Wiponis Gesta Chuonradi imperatoris*, ch. 5.

<sup>14</sup> See my *Feudal Germany* (n. 2), 348, n. 1.

of Italian conditions, as when he remarks that Pavia was "a densely populated city" (*valde populosa*) and in his analysis of the social classes in Lombardy (ch. 34). He can tell an anecdote or relate a tale well. An example of the first is the incident which happened at Conrad II's coronation when a serf, an orphan child, and a widow broke through the procession and implored the emperor's justice and the emperor stopped his horse and directed that the petitions should be inquired into before he spurred his horse forward. The second example is the account of Conrad II's wild ride in Italy when he learned that a notorious bandit who had terrorized the countryside for years at last had been captured. In a single day he covered one hundred miles (*centum miliaria latina*) between sunrise and sunset, stopping only to change horses. When he arrived he cried: "Where is that lion who has devoured Italy? By the cross of Christ, he shall no longer eat bread." The criminal was promptly hanged and "*per omnem illam provinciam pax et securitas diu latentes simul emeruerant*" (ch. 18). Conrad II's swift and sure domination in Italy staggered imagination. The popular belief was that he had sold his soul to the devil in order to have success.

The important monastic annals of the Salian epoch are the *Annals of Reichenau*, the *Annals of Altaich*, and the *Annals of Hersfeld*. Reichenau was an old monastery on an island in Lake Constance and in the Carolingian age had been an important cultural place. Later it fell on evil days and declined and was not revived until the middle of the eleventh century. The historian of Reichenau was Hermann Contractus or the Lamé, a cripple from birth, but intellectually the most scholarly man in Germany of the eleventh century. He wrote upon music and mathematics, but his great work is a *Universal Chronicle* which begins with the Christian era and extends to his death in 1054. Of course only the last part is of any value, but that is important. With the year 936 Hermann's annals become more abundant and grow broader and deeper as he advances. From 1021 forward the presentation is detailed and from 1039 to 1054 it is a very full contemporary history. The *Annals of Altaich*, in Bavaria, are a continuation of previously unimportant annals which with the year 1032 became a single sustained narrative running on to the conclusion in 1073. The successive authors were strong partisans of the emperors. The relation is very dependable. The *Chronicle of Bernold of St. Blasien*, again, is an important source. St. Blasien was the chief house of the German Cluniacs and was situated in the Black Forest. It had connections both with France and Italy, and hence Bernold had excellent opportunities to acquire information. He is hostile to the emperors and partial to the Gregorian movement. So far did he carry his resentment of Henry IV that he wrote his name



in Greek letters instead of in Latin to express his abhorrence of him. Lesser annals of this epoch are the *Annals of Ottenbeuern*, the *Annals of Pegau*, the *Annales Rosenfeldenses*. The old *Annals of Paderborn*, the *Annals of Würzburg*, and the *Annals of Liège* run on into the Salian epoch, but are not of much importance.

Far and away the most valuable annals of Germany in the eleventh century are the *Annals of Hersfeld*, written by a monk named Lambert. The style of this work is so graceful, and the language so chaste, that if it were not for the medieval theme and the medieval outlook one might imagine himself reading a classical history. The influence of Livy is reflected all through the book. It opens with a sketchy approach from Creation to 1039; from 1040 to 1073 the account grows fuller, and from 1073 to 1077, when it concludes, the presentation reaches its maximum, both in quantity and quality of narration. It is graphic and detailed to a degree, abounding with ascription of motives, description of events, episodes which are almost like word-etchings, diplomatic intrigue, and furious battles. Emperor and pope, lordly fighting bishops, powerful feudal dukes, nobles great and small, burghers of the Rhine towns, peasants—both freemen and serfs—all file before the reader's eyes in a grandly organized and impressive procession. As a work of literary art Lambert of Hersfeld's *Annals* are among the most famous historical writings of the Middle Ages. But it is far from being trustworthy. Lambert was a violently prejudiced writer and unless controlled by other contemporary sources must always be accepted with caution. His capacity for plausible misrepresentation is only exceeded by his amazingly subtle mendacity. He understood to a hair's breadth how much to say and how much to conceal.

Lambert's account of the Canossa Episode (1077), when Henry IV met Gregory VII after he had been excommunicated and dethroned in Germany, is famous. Until 1873 its veracity was never impeached. But modern criticism has exposed Lambert and proved the charge of plain lying against him. What really happened at Canossa and what Lambert alleges happened there—which the world believed to be true—are two quite different things.<sup>15</sup> It is little to be wondered at that Lambert abandoned his history at this point, giving up in despair any hope of resolving the immense mass of material which he had accumulated, especially since his mendacious practices had involved him in a labyrinth from which he saw no escape. In concluding he uses almost the iden-

<sup>15</sup> For a critical analysis of this account, with reference to literature upon Lambert, see *ibid.*, 138, n. 6. For Lambert's untrustworthiness see G. Meyer von Knonau, *Jahrbücher des deutschen Reiches unter Heinrich IV*, II, 791-853; Holder-Egger, *NA*, XIX (1894), 141-213, 507-74.

tical words of Sulpicius Severus at the end of his *Vita* of Saint Martin of Tours.<sup>16</sup>

Lambert was also the author of a *Life of Lull*, archbishop of Mainz in the eighth century and favorite disciple of St. Boniface, and of a work entitled *De institutione Herveldensis Aecclesiae*, of which only the prologue survives.

The War of Investiture stimulated a great amount and variety of historical writing in Germany. Berthold, a student of Hermann of Reichenau, carried his master's narrative down to 1088. The *Revolt of Saxony* (*De bello saxonico*) by a Saxon priest named Bruno is valuable, if read with caution. Bruno was honest, but a fanatical enemy of Henry IV about whom he believed and preserved all the current silly lying tales. His sympathy was with the Saxon peasantry and their endeavor to secure alleviation of their very real economic and administrative grievances, but for the Saxon nobles, many of whom played a double game, as Otto of Nordheim, he had deep contempt. On the other hand the *Carmen de bello saxonico*, a poetical account of the Saxon rebellion, is distinctly aristocratic in tone and abusive of the burghers of Mainz and Cologne who drove out their bishops and supported the king. The author has not been identified.

The bishopric of Toul received special eminence from the elevation of Bishop Bruno to the papal throne in 1049 as Leo IX. In 1050 he elevated his predecessor Bishop Gerhard (963-994) among the saints and inspired Widerich, abbot of St. Evre, to write his *Vita*. The biography is the first one of a German bishop written in the new spirit promoted by the Cluniac reformers, which emphasizes only piety, and ignores or slurs over actual historical facts.

Among other lives of bishops in the Salian epoch three are distinguished; a *Life of Anno*, archbishop of Cologne, which is a source for the period of the regency; a *Life of Godehard*, bishop of Hildesheim, which is of interest to students of medieval drama, for it contains the earliest reference to a St. Nicholas Play;<sup>17</sup> a *Life of Benno*, bishop of Osnabrück. This throws light on the daily administrative labors of a bishop and is especially valuable for a technical account of the beginning of the building of Speier cathedral, of which Benno was the architect. He was also Henry IV's military engineer in erecting the castles in Saxony to hold that intractable duchy in check.

<sup>16</sup> "Nos more inertis poetae extremo jam in opere languescentes ingentisque materiae mole superati in longum satis, ut videtur, protracto volumini hic tandem finem imponimus" (ed. of Holder-Egger, pp. 304-05).

<sup>17</sup> G. R. Coffmann, *A New Theory Concerning the Origin of the Miracle Play* (University of Chicago dissertation, printed at Menasha, Wis., 1914); and the same, "A Note Concerning the Cult of St. Nicholas at Hildesheim," *The Manly Anniversary Studies in Language and Literature* (Chicago, 1923), 269-75.

The struggle between Henry IV and Gregory VII for the first time in medieval Europe made acute the difficult issue of the relation between State and Church, and at the same time the question of the legal relations of the feudality to the crown was clearly envisaged. The result was the publication and wide circulation of a mass of controversial literature which lies at the base of medieval political theory. This body of pamphlets is collectively known as the *Libelli de lite*.<sup>18</sup> Over one hundred of these tracts have been preserved. Eight are of the years 1073-85; sixty-five between 1085 and 1112; the years 1076, 1080, 1081, 1084-86, 1098, and 1112 were especially prolific. Fifty-five are of German authorship; forty-eight of Italian; seven of French; one was written by a Spanish author.

The popular nature of this controversial literature, and the manner in which it was circulated, is a striking evidence of the value and the power attached to collective opinion. It was intended to be read not only by the clergy, but to be read to and expounded to the laity of the time, to nobles, burghers, even the common peasantry. The pamphlets were produced in multiplied copies in abbey and cathedral schools and disseminated by priests, journeying monks, pilgrims, wandering merchants, at market places, fairs and wherever concourses of people were met together.<sup>19</sup>

Each side possessed able writers, but the greatest of them all was an advocate of the Gregorian party. This was Manegold of Lautenbach. Though his tract is crowded with biblical citations and turgidly written, the argument is original and acute.<sup>20</sup> He adroitly avoided the direct statement, for which he had St. Augustine's authority, that the Church was superior to the State because the Church was a divine institution while the State was man-made, and instead argued that royal authority was not of divine right, but derived from the people whom the king ruled; that the primary office of the king was to do justice, to protect life and property; that the allegiance of a king's subjects was valid only so long as he reigned justly; that the oath of allegiance was a mutual pact which entailed mutual and reciprocal rights and obligations; that the State rested upon compact and was a contractual organism; that sovereignty was vested in the "political" people, i.e., the nobles and the

<sup>18</sup> For reading on this polemical literature see: R. W. and A. J. Carlyle, *A History of Mediæval Political Theory in the West* (Edinburgh, London, etc., 1903-36, 6 v.), III; C. Mirbt, *Die Publizistik im Zeitalter Gregors VII* (Leipzig, 1894); J. de Ghellinck, "La littérature polémique durant la querelle des investitures," *RQH*, XCIII (1913), 71-89; and the same writer's article in *Irish Theological Quarterly*, VII (1912), 329 ff.; A. Fliche, *Études sur la polémique religieuse à l'époque de Grégoire VII* (Paris, 1916), and compare *EHR*, XXXII (1917), 593-95; Fliche, "Les théories germaniques de la souveraineté," *RH*, CXXV (1917), 1-67; M. T. Stead, "Manegold of Lautenbach," *EHR*, XXIX (1914), 1-15; and my *Feudal Germany* (n. 2), 255-57. For other literature consult Dahlmann-Waitz, *Quellenkunde der deutschen Geschichte* (9th ed., Leipzig, 1931), nos. 6245-67.

<sup>19</sup> Quoted from my *Feudal Germany* (n. 2), 256.

<sup>20</sup> For literature see *ibid.*, 259 note.

clergy, and the king was merely the executive whose duty it was to enforce that sovereignty; that the right of rebellion against an unjust king and his deposition was a reserved right inherent in the people.<sup>21</sup> This epoch-making pamphlet, comparable in importance to the greatest political tracts of England in the seventeenth century or to Tom Paine's *Common Sense*, was dedicated to Bishop Gebhard of Salzburg, himself the author of two anti-imperial tracts. Bernold of St. Blasien, the chronicler, was another pro-papal writer. Pope Gregory VII himself must also be regarded as one of these controversialists.<sup>22</sup> His famous decree deposing Henry IV and putting him under the ban, and his two letters to his German supporter, Bishop Hermann of Metz, are basic documents in the political theory of this time.<sup>23</sup>

On the imperial side there were one Italian and two German supporters who deserve special recognition. The former was Petrus Crassus, a jurist of Ravenna, who wrote a *Justification of Henry IV*. Petrus was thoroughly imbued with the Roman law, and had besides a deep knowledge of canon law and theology. He is said to have written the tract in a single day. From a tremendous store of knowledge he argued that State and Church were sovereign, each in its own sphere. Within the sphere of religion the Church was supreme, but where the Church involved polity, the State was supreme. Petrus Crassus was learned but not wise. He could not perceive realities. He venerated the Roman law so much that he believed its universal acceptance would solve all the difficulties, secular and ecclesiastical, in the Empire, and solemnly recommended the eighth book of Justinian's Code to the rebellious Saxons for adoption in place of the *Sachsenrecht*. More important was a tract entitled: *De unitate ecclesiae conservanda* (*On the Preservation of Church Unity*) by Walraum of Naumberg. The moderate tone, the clarity of argument, and the under-current of deep and honest feeling which pervade this tract make it a very impressive document. By its side may be put Wenricus of Trier's open letter in 1081 to Gregory VII beginning: "In all time . . ." (*omni tempore*), which exhibits a moderation and a reasonableness sharply in contrast with the vituperative nature of much of this tractate literature. The imperial advocates evinced greater literary ability and more moderation than their antagonists.

At Liège imperial and papal partisans were almost evenly divided, and here the proclamation of celibacy of the priesthood created a furore and was violently attacked by the chronicler Sigebert of Gem-

<sup>21</sup> For the enormous influence of this political theory, see *ibid.*, 260 note.

<sup>22</sup> E. Emerton, *The Correspondence of Pope Gregory VII, Selected Letters* (New York, 1932: Records of Civilization series).

<sup>23</sup> See Jaffé, *Bibliotheca* (n. 3 above), II. *Monumenta Gregoriana*, 241 and 453.

bloux,<sup>24</sup> who died in 1112. Sigebert was a thorough scholar and besides this important chronicle was the author of a work entitled *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, a sort of "Who's Who" of 171 ecclesiastical authors from St. Jerome forward whose chief works are listed. In the person of Hugh of Flavigny in the diocese of Autun, we find an example of a monastic historian who passed over from the papal party to that of the emperor, and who states that his change of heart was owing to the avarice and cupidity of the papal legates.

The increased and careful use of archive material and official documents is another characteristic of the new historiography. This method appears in Paul of Bernried's *Life of Gregory VII*, and in the *History of Monte Cassino* by Leo, the archivist of the monastery. The progress thus realized in historiography is manifest in two forms: on the one hand large usage of authentic sources, on the other a deepened sense of the living nature of historical change and the endeavor to interpret men and events in terms of idea.

In the eleventh century we discover the profound influence which the events of the age, and the new spirit of the time exerted upon historical writing. The old-fashioned chronicles and annals have become obsolescent. The new history is less factual, and more interpretative and explanatory. The writers endeavor to find a bond between different events, to see the bearing and relation of things, to analyze the action of persons.<sup>25</sup> This transition is clearly manifest in the universal chronicle of Hermann Contractus of Reichenau. His first continuator, his pupil Berthold who resumed the chronicle after 1055, at first writes after the old method. But with the outbreak of the war of investiture he became an outspoken opponent of the Emperor Henry IV. This alteration is also found in the universal chronicle of Ekkehard of Aura, or Urach, on the Saale river in Franconia. The first part of this chronicle was written by the Prior Frutolf of the convent of Michelsberg near Bamberg and was favorable to the imperial cause. In 1101 it was resumed and continued by Ekkehard to 1125 in opposite spirit.<sup>26</sup> There was nothing new in the plan, which begins with the Creation, but the achievement was new. For Ekkehard produced by all odds the best world chronicle of the Middle Ages. It is a remarkable synthesis. Never satisfied with it, he rewrote it five times. Naturally except for the art of composition apparent in it, the part before his own times is of little value. The contemporary portion of this chronicle is of high value and

<sup>24</sup> For writings and literature, see POTTHAST, II, 1016-17.

<sup>25</sup> On these universal chronicles see MOLINIER, II, pp. 304-18, III, pp. 82-86; and WATTENBACH, II, 453-59.

<sup>26</sup> Harry Bresslau, "Bamberger Studien: II. Die Chroniken des Frutolf von Bamberg und des Ekkehard von Aura," *NA*, XXI (1896), 197-234.

of great importance. From 1099 to his death in 1125 it is full and unusually accurate. His attitude towards the investiture strife was conciliatory. Remarkable is his detached, critical attitude towards that mad popular enthusiasm of the time, the Crusades. He was not swept off his feet by the wild tide and regarded the movement with a certain indulgent scorn. Noteworthy also is the breadth of his outlook. For he knew what was happening in France, England, Italy, and Spain with unusual fullness. It is striking illustration of how news travelled in the Middle Ages that this inmate of a small abbey in central Germany was able to ascertain accurate information of events in the wide world beyond the borders of his own country.

In medieval Germany in the eleventh century the characteristic form of new expression was the Universal Chronicle. The explanation is not far to seek. Ever since Otto the Great the imperial dignity had been attached to the German kingship. The German emperors were regarded as the successors of the Caesars and of Charlemagne. Their sway extended from the Baltic to the Adriatic and the Mediterranean, from Aachen to Rome. Naturally, with this wide political horizon, the ablest of German historians took the large view.

The Universal Chronicle, as a type of historiography, stands midway between the previous cruder annals with their restricted vision, their stress on merely local matters, their notices of eclipses and superstitious relation of "signs and wonders," and the analytic historical method based upon documentary evidence which appeared in the high Italian Renaissance. "The chronicle is differentiated from the annal by a less strictly ordered sequence of material, but also by the compensating advantage of an attempt at a certain literary pretention."

The leaven of a new thinking may be detected at work in the eleventh century. In the twelfth century that awakening had gathered such head that it broke out in a floreate manifestation at once intellectual, spiritual, esthetic. Intellectually the Renaissance of the twelfth century was displayed in the educational revolt in the monastic and episcopal schools against hide-bound tradition, which gave rise to Roscellinus and Abelard and culminated in the formation of universities everywhere; in scholastic philosophy, in the introduction of Arabic science into Western Europe; in the emergence of a literature in the vernacular, especially poetry; in the revived study of Roman law. Spiritually the new movement was expressed in passionate preaching like that of St. Bernard; in mysticism, like that of Hugo of St. Victor; in new monastic orders, like the Cistercians and Carthusians. In art it found expression in late Romanesque and early Gothic architecture. All Europe partook of the new spirit. It was impossible for historical

writing not to be influenced by the *Zeitgeist*. Everywhere in Europe historiography responded.

In order to understand German historiography in the twelfth century one must understand the prevailing political issues of the age. Within Germany, after the expiration of the Salian house in 1125, two political parties emerged, which later were called the Guelf and the Ghibelline (or Hohenstaufen) parties. But in 1125 the former was more explicitly a Saxon party. It was represented by Lothar, duke of Saxony, who stood for all that Saxony had fought for in the War of Investiture—the autonomy of the German duchies under the crown, a feudal federalized monarchy with the prerogatives of the king defined and limited. The political philosophy of the party was derived from Manegold of Lautenbach. The power of the party was derived from the Billunger dukes of Saxony who long had opposed the absolutistic policies of the Salian emperors, and whom the Saxon nobles and peasantry had supported. Lothar was the heir of this heritage, for he was the son of Otto of Nordheim's daughter and himself had married the heiress of the Billunger dukes.

The issue as to whether Germany was to remain a feudal state of separate historic duchies, independent in their internal affairs and each preserving its own historical traditions, or whether Germany was to be converted into a compacted state ruled by a king as nearly absolute as circumstances would permit,<sup>27</sup> was joined when Henry V died without an heir in 1125. The Salians at once put forward the late king's nephew, Frederick of Hohenstaufen. Saxony and Bavaria, whose duke was Henry the Proud, of the great Guelf house, advocated Lothar of Saxony. Germany hovered on the verge of civil war. Fortunately wiser heads and stronger wills prevailed and the choice was left to an electoral committee of forty great nobles, twenty from each party. We have a remarkable account of this event in the *Narratio de electione Lotharii* by an unnamed clerk, who expresses wonder that so hardheaded and illiterate a body of men should have displayed so much wisdom. Illiterate these nobles were in the technical sense of being unable to read or write—this was true of almost all the laity until late in the Middle Ages—but men of that sort were by no means deficient in ability. Feudal government made men.

The accession of Lothar of Saxony to the kingship gave a great impulse to the writing of history in Saxony, and the *Annals* of Erfurt, Paderborn, Hildesheim, Magdeburg, Poehlde, and Pegau acquired new

<sup>27</sup> I have developed this subject at length in my *Feudal Germany* (n. 2), 60-91. The loss of the *History of the Reign of Henry V*, by David, a Scottish priest in the service of that emperor, is to be deplored. On him see HARDY, II, 284, 207; and Manitius (n. 1), III, 356-57.

inspiration. Some of these were afterwards lost by incorporation in huge later compilations such as the *Annals of Cologne*. At the same time a new Saxon chronicler appeared, the *Annalista Saxo*, who apparently was a clerk of Halberstadt cathedral. His work covers the history of Saxony from the time of Charles Martel (714-741) to the death of Lothar II in 1139. Of course only the last years have any value. Finally, unique among medieval annals is the emergence in the middle of the twelfth century of the poetical *Kaiserchronik* of Regensburg, the earliest example of vernacular historiography but more poetry than history. It extends from Julius Caesar to the crusade of Conrad III in 1147, and borrowed so many current legends and fables that its influence on German historiography was bad, as the degeneration of annalistic literature shows.<sup>28</sup> Germany like France in these vital centuries throbbed with folksong and popular ballads, some of which crept into the chronicles. An almost Homeric instance is the heroic feat of Margrave William of Meissen and a Bavarian count palatine named Poto, in 1060, who with a handful of men as a rear-guard covered the retreat of the German army before the victorious Hungarians through the Theben Pass, the famous gateway into Hungary where the river March falls into the Danube.

These two [relate the *Annals of Altenheim*] when the others were slain took their stand upon a knoll and laid about them with such slaughter that the deeds of the very bravest men of former times seem small in comparison. From evening until sunrise they fought, standing back to back, nor could they be overcome, even by the thousands [?] against them. They would not surrender until King Bela's word of honor was given to spare them.

Ever afterwards Poto was known as "the Brave." The chronicler Ekkehard of Urach forty years later wrote of him: "Truly he was believed to have sprung from the race of the giants of old." The memory of this famous day lived long in German song. In the *Life of Benno II of Osnabrück* there is a most interesting allusion to the songs (*cantilenae*) that were sung commemorating the deed. It is a pity that Germany was not as sensitive to romance as France, else we might have had a German epic comparable to the *Chanson de Roland* out of this strenuous age.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Cp. WATTENBACH, II, 260.

<sup>29</sup> That Germany of the feudal age felt the lift and lilt of balladry is shown by a collection of German songs edited by Karl Breul under the misleading title *The Cambridge Songs* (Cambridge, 1915), simply because of the fact that the manuscript is now in Cambridge. The collection is one of German origin and German themes. Thus no. 12 is a song in honor of the three Ottos, and especially a laudation of the great defeat of the Hungarians in 955; nos. 13, 14, and 17 are complaints over the death of Henry II; nos. 15 and 16 are in honor of Henry III. With these songs one may associate the interesting statement of Widukind (Bk. I, 23), of how in his day the memory of the great fight at Ehresberg between the pagan Saxons and the Franks, two hundred years before, was still celebrated in song and story. "Mimi, joculatores, histriones" are often mentioned in the chronicles.



The first half of the twelfth century in Germany was prolific in important historical biographies, as the Saxon period had been before. The most valuable of these *Vitae* are three *Lives* of Bishop Otto of Bamberg, the apostle to the Pomeranians, a major source for the relation of the Germans and the Slavs of the Elbe. The oldest, shortest and most exact is by a monk of Priefling; the second by Ebo, a monk of Michelsberg in Bamberg; the third by Herbord, another Michelsberger monk.<sup>30</sup> Another important bishop's biography is the *Life of Albero of Trier* by Balderich. He was a zealous adherent of the high-church party, a Frenchman by birth, a somewhat worldly and cultivated man whom his biographer does not idealize, but represents as a very human sort of person. This kind of ecclesiastical portraiture is very unusual. The *Life of Norbert of Xanten*, founder of the Order of Praemonstratensian Canons, and archbishop of Magdeburg until his death in 1134, is important both as a political record and as a source for the history of the religious emotionalism of the twelfth century. There are really two lives, the first a factual one, the second a working over of the first into a typical saint's legend for purposes of edification. Historical self-revelation is found in the valuable *Letters* of Wibald, abbot of Corvey, a monk-statesman of the reign of Lothar II.

Every medievalist knows that the twelfth century was intellectually a brilliant epoch in many capacities.<sup>31</sup> But only the specialist in medieval historiography is aware how rich it was in historical literature.<sup>32</sup>

The supreme expression of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance in Germany is found in Otto of Freising's *Chronica*.<sup>33</sup> No other country in medieval Europe could boast so profound, so erudite, so philosophical an interpretation of history. Otto, who died in 1158, was the uncle of the Emperor Frederick I (Barbarossa), being the son of Margrave Leopold of Austria and a grandson of the Emperor Henry IV. As he was intended for the Church he was educated in Paris, the schools of which led all Europe. He entered the Cistercian order and in 1137 was

<sup>30</sup> For an analysis of these biographies, with extracts, see my *Feudal Germany* (n. 2), 426-34; English translation, with an historical introduction, by C. H. Robinson (London, 1920). There is an excellent article on Otto of Bamberg in *JS*, 1877, pp. 521-33, 603-13.

<sup>31</sup> See Charles H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927).

<sup>32</sup> Giesebrecht (n. 1), VI, appendix, and Hauck (n. 1), IV, 478-85 contain studies of the sources for the reigns of Frederick I and Henry VI.

<sup>33</sup> New edition by A. Hofmeister in the *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum* (Hanover, 1912), with critical introduction and notes; English translation by C. C. Mierow, *The Two Cities: a Chronicle of Universal History to the Year 1146 by Otto of Freising* (New York, 1928: Records of Civilization series), with introduction. The literature is voluminous. See Dahlmann-Waitz (n. 18 above), no. 6330; POTTHAST, II, 885-87; WATTENBACH, II, 271-79; Ernst Bernheim, "Der Charakter Ottos von Freising und seiner Werke," *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung*, VI (1885), 1-52; A. Hofmeister, "Studien über Otto von Freising," *NA*, XXXVII (1912), 101-61; K. W. Nitzsch, "Staufische Studien," *HZ*, III (1860), 322-409; and H. Simonsfeld, *Jahrbücher des deutschen Reiches unter Friedrich I*, I (Leipzig, 1908, no more published).

made bishop of Freising near Munich. Deeply versed in theology, widely read in history, endowed with a penetrating and contemplative mind, a profound admirer of St. Augustine and of Aristotle, whose works he introduced into Germany, yet imbued with the idealism of St. Bernard, the greatest Cistercian of all time, whom he knew, influenced at the same time by the three greatest French teachers of the age, Abelard, Hugo of St. Victor, and Gilbert de la Porrée, Otto of Freising was a rare mind who had been rarely educated.<sup>34</sup>

As Augustine was stimulated by the prophet Daniel to write of the rise and fall of the empires of antiquity in his *City of God*, so Otto of Freising was stimulated by Augustine to continue the parallelism, the thesis being, of course, that the Medieval Empire was the successor of the Roman Empire. The first half of the work deals with antiquity; Books IV–VI with the Middle Ages. In this vast composition Otto laid practically all the historical sources known to the Middle Ages under contribution. Book I begins with the Creation and extends to the founding of Rome, with traditional emphasis upon the history of the ancient Hebrews. Book II extends to the beginning of the Christian era. In the prologue to Book III he expresses relief at the chance at last to deal with Christianity. It ends with Constantine. Book IV relates the history of the Germanic invasions and the decline of the Western Empire. In Book V he passes to the history of the Franks and Charlemagne. Book VI is the history of Germany under the Saxon and Salian emperors. Conrad II (1024–37) from whom Otto of Freising was descended, is the ninety-third “Roman emperor.” The First Crusade kindles his enthusiasm and it is to be observed that he explicitly says that the Emperor Alexius appealed to the West for assistance. The first indication of real historical criticism is where he declares the Donation of Constantine to be a forgery. He explains at length that ancient Babylon is a heap of ruins, but that the modern counterpart of ancient Babylon is Cairo. Irrate pilgrims called the Saracens “Babylonians.” He pins the foolish fable that the Mohammedans are idolaters. The War of Investiture depresses him, for as a prince of the Salian house his sympathy cannot but be with the emperors, while as a churchman he feels allegiance to the ideals of Gregory VII. He ardently believes in monasticism, and it never seems to have occurred to him that the remedy for the evils of monasticism was not more, but less monasticism. As a son of the margrave of Austria he hates the Hungarians.

The point of departure of Book VII is 1106, where Ekkehard of Urach

<sup>34</sup> Simonsfeld, *op. cit.*, 652–53 has collected the judgments of modern German historians on Otto. “The greatest historian of the Middle Ages” (Bernheim); “the peak of medieval historians” (Gundlach); “the first to have a conception of the world-sequence of history” (Wilms); “the philosophical historian of the Middle Ages” (Schmeidler).

had ended. It is, accordingly, a history of his own times, in relation of which he relies upon his memory and the recollection of others.

Otto had a more critical faculty than most medieval historians. He rarely alludes to miracles. His constructive mind enabled him to sort and to arrange his materials effectively. His side-comments on grammar, etymology, mythology, and folklore are valuable. His view of history was that every single fact, however isolated, fitted into an immense and glorious pattern which God had foreordained. He could write nothing less than universal history. He begins with a prologue which explains his intention:

to compose a history whereby through God's favor I might display the miseries of the citizens of Babylon [the worldly city] and also the glory of the kingdom of Christ to which the citizens of Jerusalem are to look forward with hope, and of which they are to have a foretaste even in this life.

The body of his text is a ponderous composition. Fortunately Otto relieves his heavy philosophic interpretation by inserting admirable paragraphs of quite another character. A Cistercian monk himself, he writes a long and vivid account of daily life in a Cistercian monastery:

They think it sinful to let any interval of time pass unoccupied by heavenly matters save only the brief period during which they consign their weary limbs to rest on a mean bed made of osiers or a rough blanket; and they carry this so far that, at the very time of bodily refreshment, they are ever intent upon the reading of the Holy Scriptures, preferring to feed the spirit rather than the body. They all alike abstain from meat, and abstaining from wine, use for food sometimes pulse, sometimes only bread and water. . . . All the workshops of the various artisans—the bakers, the smiths, the weavers and others—are located within so that no one of them may have occasion to wander outside. These workmen are very carefully secluded. The entrance door is situated in the outer court. There a devout and holy brother is ever present, welcoming all who come as guests—pilgrims, the poor—with ready goodwill, and as though he were receiving Christ himself. Having washed their feet and then zealously bestowed upon them all the other services that human kindness suggests, he conducts them to the oratory and then assigns them to a guest room. . . . Although they are worn with toil, wearied by watching and weakened by fasting, yet, like the locusts that chirp the more shrilly when they are famished, the brothers spend almost the whole night in wakefulness, singing psalms and hymns and spiritual songs.

In 1147 Otto completed his great "Tale of Two Cities," and then set to work to chronicle the deeds of his nephew the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. No man was better qualified for the task. The facts which he cites are vouched for by a letter from Frederick himself in which the emperor set down a brief record of the events and dates of his reign. This letter Otto prefixed to his chronicle. The *Gesta Friderici I imperatoris* is an historical document of immense importance. The multitude of accurate details, and the number of historical personalities of whom he writes and many of whom he knew, is amazing. St. Bernard, Abelard,

Arnold of Brescia, Gilbert de la Porrée move across the pages as living men. He alone informs us that Abelard was once a protesting pupil of Roscellinus; he is the fundamental authority for the dramatic history of Arnold of Brescia and the Roman commune. He had a gift for literary portraiture, as one may perceive in his remarkable description of the emperor's two ambassadors to the pope, Rainald of Dassel, archbishop of Cologne, and Otto of Wittelsbach, count palatine. The *Gesta Friderici* is only a fragment. For Otto died before completing it and the last two books were written by his notary Rahewin. Nevertheless the *Gesta* is a work of major importance. Though it is objective history and filled with action, Otto's quality of mind was such that he could not but write with insight and interpretation. This was the time when the Lombard cities, beginning to grow rich upon the heavy transalpine trade in oriental importations which the Crusades had stimulated, cast off the domination of feudal lordship whether of bishop or baron, and sought to acquire independence. Otto's account of this complex revolution,<sup>35</sup> at once political, economic and social, is so clear and analytic that it would tax a modern historian to do better.<sup>36</sup> The conflict with the Lombard cities was soon followed by the renewal of the old quarrel—but under new conditions—between emperor and pope. Here again Otto's account is valuable, especially because he has inserted many original documents and Frederick I's own speeches. The faithful Rahewin carried the *Gesta* to 1158 along the same lines as his master. But it is a pity Otto of Freising was not spared. His death in the prime of life in 1158 was an irreparable loss to twelfth-century, and indeed to all medieval historiography.

Otto's *Chronica* was continued fifty years later by a monk of St. Blasien of the same name. He began with Conrad III and the Third Crusade and carried the work to 1209. If it were not for a singular dearth of historical sources for German history in the second half of the twelfth century<sup>37</sup> it would have less value than it does. Two other historical works which bridge the century mark of the year 1200, which originated in the seat of Hohenstaufen power, Swabia and Alsace, are the *Annals of Marbach*, a monastery near Colmar, and the *Chronicle* of Burchard of Ursperg (1126–1225), which in reality is a continuation of Ekkehard of Urach. They are primary sources for the last years of Frederick I, the reign of Henry VI, and the relations of Philip of Swabia, Otto of Brunswick, and Pope Innocent III, although the documentary material of this epoch is far more important than the historical.

<sup>35</sup> Bk. II, ch. 13–15 (see Mierow's tr., n. 33).

<sup>36</sup> Cp. my *Feudal Germany* (n. 2), 282–84, and Haskins (n. 31), 243–44.

<sup>37</sup> See Reginald Lane Poole's comment on this paucity of historical sources in his edition of John of Salisbury's *Historia pontificalis* (Oxford, 1927), p. vii.

This is the time, too, when the *Great Annals of Cologne* (*Annales colonienses maximi*) become of importance to the scholar. The first part is a general world-chronicle to 1144. From then on the matter becomes fuller and independent. It terminates in 1238. The new spirit brought into the work in the middle of the twelfth century undoubtedly was due to the influence of the great Archbishops Rainald of Dassel and Philip von Heinsberg. It is a product of various hands over a century of time, and prevailing pro-imperial in sympathy. The *Annals of Cologne* was a widely popular history in its time, as the catalogues of medieval libraries show.

As the Rhenish and Saxon bishops were deeply concerned in the ruin of Henry the Lion in 1181, the *Annals of Magdeburg* (to 1188), the *Annals of* (the monastery of) *Poehlde*, the *Annales Palidenses* in the Harz, reflect Hohenstaufen sympathy and represent an extension of Ghibelline historiography beyond Swabia and Alsace, the two leading regions of Hohenstaufen historical writing. Other annals of the same type are the *Annals of Pegau*, in the diocese of Merseburg, the oldest part of which goes back to 1190, although the annals are more valuable for the history of Frederick II's policy in Germany, and the *Chronica S. Petri Erfordensis* (St. Peter in Erfurt), which has important information regarding Frederick I's political dealings with the Saxon bishops. The original goes as far as 1209, but a later continuation extended it to 1276.

Over against the Ghibelline-Hohenstaufen group of historical works in this time may be set the Guelf group. Two of these may be noted. The *Historia Welforum Weingartensis* was composed in the monastery of Weingarten. It opens with a genealogy of the Guelf family, and extends to 1208. The other is a *History of Henry the Lion* (*Historia de Henrico duce*) by Gerhard of Stederburg, a monastery near Wolfenbüttel. He died in 1209. It ends with the death of the noble old lion in 1195. The account of his last years after his return to his beloved Brunswick from the exile into which he was driven by his cousin Frederick I is a sympathetic one. The great duke's fondness for having the old chronicles of German history read to him is worth noting. Henry the Lion took great pains in supervising the composition of the chronicles of his own country.<sup>38</sup>

Of great importance also are the *Annals of Stade*, written in the monastery of St. Mary there by the prior, later abbot, Albert. In the general sense of the word his work is a world chronicle; but he introduced a

<sup>38</sup> "Antiqua scripta chronicorum colligi praecepit et conscribi et coram recitari, et in hac occupatione saepe noctem duxit insomnem" (*Chronicon Stederburgense*, in Leibniz, *Scriptores rerum Brunsvicensium* [Hanover, 1707-11, 3 v.], I, 867).

great deal of important information of his own time which is not to be found in the source material of other writers, especially for the later reign of Emperor Frederick II. The work is also significant in the history of culture since it often informs one on economic and domestic affairs.

In the complex of feudal principalities and episcopal territories once comprising eastern Belgium and Holland, several historical works were written in the twelfth century which deserve notice. In Hennegau (or Hainaut) Gilbert of Mons, the chancellor of Count Baldwin V, was the author of the *Chronicon Hanoniense* or Chronicle of Hainaut, which is almost local in its scope. Nevertheless, it is a singularly valuable chronicle for the copious details it contains with regard to the nature and working of a feudal government, though it would require a long dissertation to verify this assertion line by line. It gives a picture on a small scale of feudal administration at the height of that régime.<sup>39</sup> In the diocese of Liège we find the *Annals of St. Jacob's*, a local abbey. The first part is thin in content, but the latter part from the pen of a monk named Reiner up to the year 1230 is a rich source both for German politics in general and especially for the cultural conditions of the Low Countries. In Frisia and Holland the *Chronicle of the Abbey of Egmond* near Utrecht extends to 1205. More important is the monastery history of Wittewierum in the vicinity of Groningen, which was written by the abbots Emo and Menko. It goes as far as the year 1272, but has a continuation until 1296.

In spite of the magnitude of the issues in Germany and the Empire in the twelfth century political theory was not nearly so vigorous and original as it had been in the previous century. The only outstanding German political theorist was Gerhoh, provost of Reichersberg (1132-69), in the diocese of Salzburg. He was highly educated, an austere churchman deeply concerned over the increasing feudalization of the German bishops, one of whom in 1137 had haughtily called his diocese "our territory" (*terra nostra*) as if it were in law—as it was in fact—a fief. The *Prinz-Bischof* was not far away. Gerhoh believed that the worldliness of the clergy betokened the approach of the Anti-Christ.

This survey of German historiography in the feudal age would be incomplete without some account of those historians who particularly related the history of German eastward expansion and the conquest of the Slavonic tribes beyond the Elbe.<sup>40</sup> They are three in number: Adam

<sup>39</sup> On the value of this chronicle see Van Huygens, *Revue de l'instruction publique en Belgique*, XXII (1889), 310 f. Very valuable edition by L. Vanderkindere, *La chronique de Gislebert de Mons* (Brussels, 1904). French translation opposite the Latin text in the edition of Godefroy Ménilgaize (Tournai, 1874, 2 v.).

<sup>40</sup> For this history, with copious citation from the sources which are described, see my *Feudal Germany* (n. 2), part ii.

of Bremen, Helmold of Holstein, and Arnold of Lübeck. The first lived in the eleventh century, the second in the twelfth, the third early in the thirteenth.

The *Deeds of the Bishops of Hamburg-Bremen* (*Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*)<sup>41</sup> is the most important North German history of the eleventh century. It extends from the conquest of Saxony by Charlemagne to his own times, in three books. Book I is largely a recapitulation of old material. But from 936 forward, when the second book begins, it is a valuable, independent narration, for it is based heavily upon the cathedral archives in Bremen. The third book is most valuable because Adam is writing as a contemporary. The heart of it is the history of the great archbishop Adalbero, Henry IV's staunch minister and redoubtable foe of the dukes of Saxony and the bishops who fomented the rebellion of the Saxons and were partisans of the papacy. Much other history is also embodied, Danish and Slavonic especially. Adam is a major source for the history of the three great risings of the conquered Elbe Slavs against the German domination in 938, 1018, and 1066.

Besides being the best historian of North Germany in his time, Adam occupies an important place in medieval geography.<sup>42</sup> The fourth book of his work is really a separate treatise "On the position of Denmark and other regions beyond Denmark." Adam got direct information about Denmark and Norway from King Sven Estridsson of Denmark, a son of Canute's sister, who talked reminiscently with him of the great fighting days of old.<sup>43</sup> By "beyond Denmark" Adam meant the whole vast north, lands and seas which had been lifted above the horizon of history by the conquest and colonization of the Norse peoples—Denmark, Scandinavia, the Orkney, Faroe and Shetland Islands, Iceland and Greenland. Bremen was the chief port of Europe whither came ships from these distant and comparatively unknown countries, laden with walrus ivory, furs, whale oil, and dried fish, and Adam could have talked, as indeed he tells us he did, with hardy folk from far and unfamiliar ports, fishermen, traders, and missionaries. He is the earliest historian to mention Vinland or Norse America. He relates the Arctic adventures of Hadrada and the Frisians, describes Iceland, tells of

<sup>41</sup> New edition by B. Schmeidler, Leipzig, 1917. For estimates of Adam of Bremen, and especially of the third book, see WATTENBACH, II, 78-82; Manitius (n. 1), II, 398-409; Schmeidler, *Hamburg-Bremen und Nordost Europa vom 9. bis 11. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1918), 118-21; E. N. Johnson, "Adalbert of Hamburg-Bremen," *Speculum*, IX (1934), 147-79.

<sup>42</sup> C. R. Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography* (London and Oxford, 1897-1906, 3 v.), II, 514-48; P. W. Kohlmann, *Adam von Bremen, ein Beitrag zur mittelalterlichen Kosmographie* (Leipzig, 1908). The earliest mention of Greenland is in the papal archives in 1053 by Leo IX.

<sup>43</sup> For Adam of Bremen's relations with Sven Estridsson, see V. Lacour in *Hist. Tidsskrift*, series 10, XI.

Jumna, Birca and other almost unknown Baltic places, of the Swedes in Prussia and Russia, of the Jomsburg vikings, of the Finns and other sub-arctic peoples. In one place he cites a map which probably was a rude chart made by some bold sea captain.

Helmold had labored in Holstein as a missionary among the border Slavs and later was parish priest at Bosau near Eutin where he died in 1177. His *Chronicon Slavorum*<sup>44</sup> in two books is the most important source for an understanding of German East colonization and the institutions, religion, and culture of the Slavs, whose language he spoke and for whom he had a real sympathy. His condemnation of the merciless, exploitive policy of the Saxon nobles and Saxon bishops, who exhausted the weaker people by the imposition of tribute and tithe, is as bold as Las Casas' denunciation of the Spanish policy towards the Indians in Spanish America in the sixteenth century. In this time the "New East" beyond the Elbe beckoned German settlers as the "New West" beckoned the American pioneer after 1800, and the conditions on the frontier were very similar. The Saxon pioneer regarded the Slav much as the American pioneer regarded the Indian and treated him accordingly. The colonists expelled the Slavs, seized their lands, burned their villages, and destroyed their temples so effectively that only the place-names tell the tale of ancient Slavonic occupancy. Helmold is a major source for the history of German colonization in the time of Adolph of Holstein, Henry the Lion, and Albrecht the Bear of Brandenburg. In fact, he is the most important authority for the particular beginnings of Brandenburg history.

Arnold of Lübeck (d. 1212) recognized the continuity of German-Slav history as recorded by Adam of Bremen and Helmold, and aspired to be their continuator. His *Chronica Slavorum*,<sup>45</sup> in seven books extending from 1171 to 1209, is the sequel to Helmold. By his time the Slavs had been conquered as far as the Vistula, but beyond lay a wild world peopled by Boro-Russians (Prussians) and Lithuanians who were still barbarian and heathen. "The great deed of the German people"—the conquest of the Slavs and the settlement of all the Baltic littoral clear to Riga, and the mastery of the mouths of all the rivers flowing into the Baltic—was yet unfinished. In 1186 Riga in Livland was established by German settlers and the land colonized as Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, and Pomerania had formerly been colonized. This is the history which Arnold relates along with many other things of less importance

<sup>44</sup> New edition by B. Schmeidler, Leipzig, 1909; English translation of this, with introduction by F. J. Tschan, *The Chronicle of the Slavs by Helmold, Priest of Bosau* (New York, 1935: Records of Civilization series); see also Tschan's article in the *Catholic Historical Review*, XVI (1930-31), 379-412.

<sup>45</sup> WATTENBACH, II, 343-45.



in Lower German history. There is much less material for the history of culture in Arnold than in his two predecessors. He had not their wide vision and depth of feeling. Politically he sympathized with the fallen Guelfs and shows antipathy towards the Hohenstaufen. A century later—we may anticipate in order fittingly to conclude this historiography of German eastward expansion—Petrus of Duisburg, a priest of the Order of Teutonic Knights, about 1326, recorded the history of the conquest of Prussia, the only independent territory left between Pomerania and Livonia. Still we breathe the pioneer spirit of the German people, still adventure beckons.

For they [the settlers] had left the sweet soil of their native country and entered into an alien land, in which their future was to be, where for many years they were destined to endure hardships without hope of return to their homes, even unto the fourth or sixth generation of them. They came from a fertile homeland, peaceful and quiet, and penetrated a country of horror and vast solitude and filled with baneful war. In a word, putting behind their backs an abundance of everything in this world—liberty, home, honor—they accepted hunger and thirst, faced the forest and the wolf and the barbarian, endured infinite poverty and privation, endless discomfort, failure and peril.

Neither Hungary nor Poland found a native historian in this epoch. Bohemia, however, did. For Bohemia was more civilized, more Christian, more German than either of the others. This writer was Cosmas of Prague (d. 1125), whose *Chronicae Bohemorum* (*Chronicles of the Bohemians*) in three books was continued to 1167 by Vincent, a prebendary of Prague, and to 1198 by abbot Gerlach of the monastery at Mühlhausen. Since Bohemia was intimately connected with Germany, though nominally independent, this work forms an important supplement to German historiography. The Czechs still refer to Cosmas as "the Bohemian Herodotus."

This chapter may be concluded with brief observation of two singular characteristics which color medieval German historiography. One was a fondness for writing history in poetic form, the other was a tendency to imitate classical models. It is true that both of these inclinations are found in historiography elsewhere, but both were practiced to a greater degree in Germany than in any other country. Already the *Poeta Saxo* in the tenth century, and the *Carmen de bello saxonico* in the eleventh have been noticed. But these were labored poetical narrations. In the twelfth century, however, the spirit of poetry was more natural, more spontaneous. Otto of Freising's account of the second crusade opens with a lyrical description of Spring, when the expedition began. He says that he will not relate the history of the crusade in detail be-

cause of its humiliating result, and wishes rather to write a "merry" history.<sup>46</sup>

Another poetical historian was Godfrey of Viterbo, a Saxon by birth, educated at Bamberg, who had been long in service as notary and chaplain in Italy under the Emperors Lothar II, Frederick I, and Henry VI, and had been given a grant of land in Viterbo by Frederick. Between 1186 and 1191 he wrote the *Carmen de gestis Friderici*, which is little more than a poetized form of the prose *Gesta* of Otto of Freising. Later in life he wrote a universal history in Latin verse entitled *Pantheon*. He was not a poet but a mere verse-maker.<sup>47</sup> The heroic career of Frederick Barbarossa was also celebrated in 6576 Latin verses by a Cistercian monk of Alsace, named Gunther, who had been the tutor of the emperor's younger son Philip of Swabia. The poem was called *Ligurinus*—a curious title—and was composed between 1186 and 1189. In 1203 Gunther quit the secular clergy and became a monk in the abbey of Pairis in Alsace, where he died in 1210. He was a much better poet than Godfrey of Viterbo.<sup>48</sup>

Similar usage of poetry as a form of historical narrative is found in other chronicles in other lands besides Germany, instances of which will be cited in due course. But it is not out of place here to observe that Guibert de Nogent in his *Gesta Dei per Francos* or *History of the First Crusade* intersperses his work with poems in various rhythms or meters. Ralph of Caen, in his relation of Tancred of Sicily's participation in the first crusade (1099–1108), tells the story with real poetic feeling, interjects lines of poetry, and compares the leaders of the expedition with heroes of antiquity.<sup>49</sup>

The influence of classical Latin historians upon their successors is but one example of the profound influence of classical literature upon medieval writing. We have seen that Einhard slavishly imitated Suetonius in his *Vita Caroli*. Angilbert, a poet at the Carolingian court, in one of his poems took his description of the alleged harbor constructions of the emperor at Aachen from the first book of the *Aeneid*.<sup>50</sup> Widukind of Corvey in his *History of the Saxons* imitated Sallust. The author of the older of the two biographies of Queen Matilda, the wife of Henry I, describes a love scene in imitation of that between Turnus and Lavinia in Vergil. Lambert of Hersfeld knew his Livy too well for historical accuracy, as a careful check of him will show. Otto of Freising "used

<sup>46</sup> "Verum quia, peccatis nostris exigentibus quem finem predicta expeditio sortita fuerit omnibus notum est nos, qui non hac vice tragediam, sed jocundam scribere proposuimus hystoriam" (*Gesta Friderici I*, Bk. I, c. 47).

<sup>47</sup> WATTENBACH, II, 290–98.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 286–90.

<sup>49</sup> H. Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge* (1883), 458; H. v. Sybel, *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs* (2nd ed., Leipzig, 1881), 54–57.

<sup>50</sup> WATTENBACH, I, 197; Prutz, *op. cit.*, 487.

in his work the exact technique of ancient historians, without, however, imitating them slavishly.”<sup>51</sup> Most astonishing is the case of Otto’s continuator Rahewin, who freely paraphrased and sometimes copied Sallust.<sup>52</sup> In describing the siege of Crema in 1158-59 he borrowed Josephus’ account of Titus’ siege of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. The address of the bishop of Aquileia to the messengers from Crema is literally the harangue of Agrippa to the Jews as found in Josephus. The picture drawn of Barbarossa is a mixture of the description of Theodoric the Great by Sidonius Apollinaris, and that of Charlemagne by Einhard. Sallust’s character-portraits of Caesar and the younger Cato were used by Rahewin for the description of Henry the Lion and Duke Welf IV of Bavaria.

<sup>51</sup> “Er arbeitet mit der Technik der antiken Historiographie, ohne sich ihr jedoch slavisch anzuschliessen” (Wilhelm Scherer, *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur*, 3rd ed., Berlin, 1885, p. 73).

<sup>52</sup> G. Jordan, *Ragewins* [sic] *Gesta Friderici imperatoris* (Strassburg, 1881); cp. Prutz (n. 49), 488.

## CHAPTER XIII

### ITALIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY (900-1200) <sup>1</sup>

IT IS a commonplace of history that Italy in the Middle Ages was a geographical expression. Neither the Holy Roman Empire nor the Holy Roman Church controlled the political development of Italy as France was controlled by the French monarchy and Germany by the federalism implicit in German feudalism. The North, the Center, and the South of Italy differed one from another, and even within these areas other wide variations obtained. When the communes emerged even the cities assumed shapes of marked distinctness and exhibited a bewildering diversity. Venice, Milan, Florence, Genoa, Bologna, Pisa, Siena, Amalfi, Bari, to name only a few, differed in their internal texture no less than in their external conditions. Every city had its own biography. Democracy, oligarchy, aristocracy, and tyranny might obtain simultaneously within the limits of a single province. Each of these city republics had its peculiar nomenclature for defining its magistracies, and a different method of distributing administrative functions. Every town was a seat of commercial and industrial activity which eagerly competed with its neighbors and was proud of its own particular history and its local characteristics.

Nevertheless, amid all this bewildering diversity one perceives the persistence of a common type owing to the hold retained by the past upon the Italian peoples. As Latin civilization was their creation, in a sense they rose above its fall. Accordingly Italy experienced a less drastic transformation than other countries in Western Europe. Feudalism was alien to the temper of the Italians, and feudalism was the essence of the Middle Ages. "Local ties and local institutions," as Symonds has written, "kept a lasting hold upon the ancient no less than the medieval Italian; and long after Rome became the *colluvies omnium gentium* so bitterly described by Juvenal, the country towns, especially in the valley of the Po, retained a vigorous personality." <sup>2</sup>

As a whole, medieval Italy before the twelfth century is singularly devoid of annals, and the main reliance of the historian must be upon

<sup>1</sup> Ugo Balzani, *Early Chroniclers of Europe: Italy* (London and New York, 1883); WATTENBACH, I, 474-89, II, 219-44; Bernhard Schmeidler, *Italienische Geschichtschreiber des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1909); GIBBON, VI, 522-28; GREGOROVIVS, III, 513-15, IV, pt. i, 300, pt. ii, 649-51.

<sup>2</sup> SYMONDS, V, 438.

the documents. There are no episcopal histories, a branch of medieval historiography in which Germany was so rich, except for Ravenna, where in the first half of the ninth century Agnellus compiled a work on the *Lives of the Bishops of Ravenna*, remarkable for its antiquarianism and real feeling for antiquity. Its interest, of course, is wholly local.

In Rome in the middle of the ninth century, Anastasius, surnamed Bibliothecarius, after having been cardinal and anti-pope and thrice excommunicated, became papal librarian under Hadrian II and John VIII, the two ablest popes of the ninth century. His literary energy was great, especially in translations from the Greek. His particular merit lies in that he made known to the West a hitherto unknown form of history. This was the *Chronographia Tripartita*, a Latin version of the works of Nicephorus, Syncellus, and Theophanes, made at the request of John the Deacon, who wished to have the material made available for him in contemplation of a great ecclesiastical history which was never written. The *Chronographia* was in continuation of the previous church historians, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoretus, whom Cassiodorus had combined and paraphrased in his *Historia Tripartita* in the sixth century. The work is important because it first made available to western readers some account of the history of the Eastern Roman Empire after Justinian. Unfortunately the excerpts from Nicephorus and Syncellus are a mere repetition of ancient and Roman history down to the accession of Diocletian in 284 A.D. Accordingly the only important part is that derived from Theophanes, which extends to 813. The best portion is that from Justinian forward. This section is much the fullest treatment of the period known to western writers in the Middle Ages. In the twelfth century when Hugh of Fleury composed his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, he expressed his gratitude to Anastasius for having provided future writers with such an excellent work.<sup>3</sup>

The establishment of German domination over Italy—except the South—by Otto the Great in 962 and the erection of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation in Central Europe so interwove the history of Germany and Italy that Lombard history before the twelfth century has little independence, but is rather an extension of German history beyond the Alps. Before the Ottonian intervention Italy was torn with civil strife, arising from the ambition of numerous pretenders to the Lombard crown, no one of whom was strong enough to accomplish the feat of uniting the country and establishing his dynasty. The *Gesta Berengarii* which runs from 887—a date which marks the extreme point

<sup>3</sup> "Liber tamen ille per multos latuit annos, sed nuper meis Deo volente venit in manibus," *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores*, IX, 357. On these three writers see GIBBON, V, 499-501.

of dissolution of the Carolingian Empire—to 916, inaugurates Italian historiography in the new period. Though the Italians were incapable of governing themselves, and the German domination abolished the prevailing anarchy, Italian writers regarded the Germans with sullen resentment and bitterly inveighed against the German rule. Benedict, a monk living in the abbey of St. Andrew, on Mount Soracte near Rome, wrote a *Chronicon* extending from 360 to his own time (973) in which he exclaims:

Woe unto thee, O Rome, who art oppressed and trodden under foot by so many nations; who hast even been taken prisoner by a Saxon king, and thy people put to the sword and thy strength reduced to naught. Thy gold and thy silver they carry away in their purses. Thou wast mother, now thou hast become daughter. Thou hast lost that which thou once possessest. Long hast thou fought against foreign foes. . . . Alas, thou art all too fair.

Benedict of Soracte represents the degradation into which Italian historiography had sunk in the tenth century. His work is a universal history compiled from Anastasius, Bede, Paul the Deacon, Einhard, and the *Liber Pontificalis* together with pieces of German annals and chronicles—"a barbarous patch-work" written in Latin so uncouth that it hovers on the edge of the *lingua volgare* or early Italian.

Except for the quotation just made Benedict of Soracte is valueless as an historian. But that is not saying that he is without interest. The historian who sees only events has an incomplete idea of the time which he is studying. The legend of Charlemagne, which first appeared in the *Gesta Karoli* of the Monk of St. Gall late in the ninth century, in the tenth found further extension in Italy. For Benedict of Soracte is the first to relate the tale of Charlemagne's expedition to Byzantium and the Holy Land, which later was made the subject of an old French poem, and acquired universal acceptance when the Crusades began.

The German rule in Italy found an apologist in Liutprand, bishop of Cremona (d. 972), whose *Historia Ottonis* and *Antapodosis*, or *Rerum per Europam gestarum libri VI* (887-950),<sup>4</sup> are the major historical productions of Italy in the tenth century. Liutprand was a very intelligent and highly educated man—he knew Greek—witty, cynical, worldly-wise, a courtier who carried his religious duties lightly. From a former partisan of Berengar II he became a bitter enemy when he accepted the German domination of Italy as a *fait accompli*, and, all things considered, the best thing that could happen to the country. The *Antapodosis*, or *Tit-for-Tat*, despite its fantastic title, and the supplementary *Historia Ottonis* are the two most important narrative

<sup>4</sup> English translation by F. A. Wright, *The Works of Liudprand of Cremona* (London, 1930) with introduction.

sources for the history of Italy in the tenth century. In the former Liutprand explains the title and reason for his work at the opening of Book III:

Since it will show the deeds of famous men, why call it *Antapodosis*? I reply: Its object is to set forth and cry aloud the acts of this Berengar who at this moment does not reign but tyrannizes in Italy, and of his wife Willa, who for the boundlessness of her tyranny should be called a second Jezebel, and Lamia for her insatiate rapines. . . . May these pages be to them an *antapodosis*, that is retribution.

In addition to their political value these two works also have great cultural value. As a teller of stories Liutprand is almost unexcelled and some of his tales lie at the root of the Italian *novellino* of later centuries. He was an ardent lover of the ancient classics, a student of character, so much so that his character-sketches have the incisiveness of dry-point etchings, a relisher of anecdotes—some of them are Rabelaisian—and one who appreciated the coarse fun and ribaldry of the travelling companies of mountebanks and acrobats (*mimi*) whom the Church forever and in vain endeavored to suppress. In 968 he was sent on a mission to Constantinople by Otto the Great and his *Relatio de legatione*,<sup>5</sup> the official account of this mission, is a document of primary value for the political, religious, and cultural antagonism between the Latin-German West and the Byzantine Empire and its Greek culture. In this report Liutprand's wit and satire excel. It is a racy document.

The poverty of Rome in historiography in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries is a matter of astonishment. The explanation is found in the fact that the papacy after the establishment of the temporal power of the popes sank to a local power. The popes were more interested in protecting and extending their patrimony than in the Church. In the ninth century, too, central and southern Italy was beset by Arab corsairs and Rome itself barely escaped capture.

Had the Anonymous of Salerno visited Rome in the time of Nicholas I (858-867), he would have failed to discover the band of thirty-two philosophers such as he had enumerated in the year 870 in the prosperous town of Benevento. Had Erchempert, who continued the *History of the Lombards* begun by Paulus Diaconus, arrived from his learned monastery, Monte Cassino, . . . the ignorance of the monks and cardinals in Rome would have struck him with dismay.<sup>6</sup>

The sole sustained history written in Rome in this time was the *Liber Pontificalis*. Biographies of the popes in the form of calendars and catalogues of papal acts were as old as the third century. This accretion of papal lives, reflecting the history of the popes from before even Sylvester I, Constantine's pope, down to the ninth century, and couched in a

<sup>5</sup> Translated in Wright, *op. cit.*, and also in E. F. Henderson, *Historical Documents of the Middle Ages* (London, 1892), appendix.

<sup>6</sup> GREGOROVIVS, III, 145.

Latin which illustrates the transformation of the post-classical language into the uncouth language of the post-Carolingian era, was combined into a single work in the middle of the ninth century, perhaps by the only man of learning of the time at Rome, Anastasius Bibliothecarius. Such is the origin of the *Liber Pontificalis*.<sup>7</sup>

After the pontificate of John VIII (872–882) the *Liber Pontificalis* falls away, and did not recover until the papacy began to rise in the great epoch inaugurated by Leo IX and Gregory VII. In the twelfth century the popes had universal sway and over-topped Latin Christendom, and with the Crusades their authority had been extended to Syria and the Holy Land. The pontifical office was far higher and broader than it had formerly been. Popes like Urban II, Gelasius II, Calixtus II, Eugene III, Hadrian IV, and above all, Alexander III were personalities. The long conflict of the last with Frederick Barbarossa and with Henry II of England over Becket's murder, made him the greatest personage in Western Europe. The result was that the *Liber Pontificalis* now broadened out and abandoned the traditional style of a mere catalogue of *gesta*. The lives of the popes from Victor II to Honorius II were written by Peter and Pandulf of Pisa, their contemporaries, "men who rise above all previous contributors to the *Liber Pontificalis*." The lives of Paschal II and Gelasius II are characterized by an abundance of well arranged facts. The two best biographies are those of Hadrian IV, the only English pope, and his chancellor Roland Bandinelli, who succeeded him as the great pope Alexander III. These two biographies were written by a nephew of Hadrian IV.

While both Northern and Southern Italy, as we shall see, broke new ground in historiography and developed a new type of historical writing, Central Italy clung to old tradition. The utterly corrupt monasteries of Farfa and Subiaco, even after having been redeemed by the Cluny reform, were still indifferent to historical writing, although they kept their records admirably. The *Chronicle of Farfa*, the original of which may still be seen, is so formless as to be almost monstrous. The history of Central Italy, including Rome, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries must be reconstituted from archive and documentary material; it cannot be constructed from annals and chronicles. Rome even at the height of the papacy lagged behind the rest of Italy in historiography.

The one bright spot of higher learning and intellectual culture in central Italy was the abbey of Monte Cassino. Destroyed by the Saracens

<sup>7</sup> For a short account see *ibid.*, I, 83, II, 647–50, III, 148–49. For the edition by Louis Duchesne, with valuable introduction, see above, ch. XI, n. 27. Reviews of Duchesne in *RQH*, XXVI (1879), 493–530, XXIX (1881), 246–63; see also *JS*, 1887, pp. 41–54; R. Lane Poole, *Lectures on the History of the Papal Chancery down to the Time of Innocent III* (Cambridge, 1915), appendix I.



in 884 it was long in ruins. Restored after 904 it was again sacked by the Normans in 1030. The *Chronicle of Salerno*, written by a monk of Monte Cassino about 978, deals with the history of the Lombard duchies of southern Italy. The best portion is the last part which deals with the relations of the Greeks and Arabs in Lower Italy. The spirit of the "new" monasticism inspired by Cluny entered into Monte Cassino with Desiderius (1058-87), monk, abbot and finally Pope Victor III, who was ably seconded by his friend and fellow monk Alphanus, of princely Lombard stock from Beneventum, and later archbishop of Salerno, where he gave refuge to the fallen Gregory VII in 1083.

The rebuilding and adorning of Monte Cassino by Desiderius with the aid of Greek artists is a notable episode in the history of art. Under the long rule of this great abbot (1058-87) the monastery reached the summit of its repute and influence. It was the home of theology and ecclesiastical policy. There law and medicine were studied. Likewise grammar and classic literature, the latter not too broadly, as would appear from the list of manuscripts copied under Desiderius—Vergil, Ovid, Terence, Seneca, Cicero's *De natura deorum*. But then there was the whole host of early Christian poets, historians, and theologians.<sup>8</sup>

The great abbot Desiderius died in 1087. His successor Oderisius continued his good work and tried to persuade Alphanus to write a history of the monastery. But Alphanus was too busy to do so, and the work finally was undertaken by Leo Marsicanus,<sup>9</sup> a monk who had been reared in the abbey since his fourteenth year and died in 1115. The result was the greatest original work produced at Monte Cassino, and one of the best historical chronicles of the Middle Ages. It terminates in 1075. The gem of this Chronicle is the long account of the restoration of the abbey, which is a *locus classicus* for the history of medieval Italian art. Leo Marsicanus of Ostia belonged to a noble family of feudal counts; about 1061 he took the cowl and entered Monte Cassino where he became archivist and librarian. Pope Pascal II created him cardinal bishop of Ostia. He died after 1114 and before 1118. As a friend and counsellor of Abbot Desiderius, as archivist and librarian, his contacts and training admirably fitted him to write history, and he wrote his *Chronica monasterii Casinensis* at the request of Desiderius, to whom it is dedicated. The original manuscript, covered with additions and corrections, is one of the cherished possessions of Monte Cassino. It is in two parts. The first part, in which Leo utilized old annals, some of which have not been preserved, extends to 1057. The second part comes down to 1075, and is much more valuable because Leo was writing as a contemporary.

<sup>8</sup> H. O. Taylor, *The Mediaeval Mind* (New York and London, 1911, 2 v.), I, 253.

<sup>9</sup> On Leo see WATTENBACH, II, 234-36; POTTHAST, I, 718; and Erich Caspar in *NA*, XXXIV (1908), 195-207.

Leo of Ostia's work was continued by Peter the Deacon down to 1139. The writer belonged to the powerful family of the counts of Tusculum and entered Monte Cassino about 1115, where he became archivist and librarian like Leo of Ostia before him. He enjoyed an important role in the negotiations between Pope Innocent II and Emperor Lothar II. But Peter was so much a partisan that he did not hesitate to forge documents and insert them into his narration.<sup>10</sup> Yet if it were not for the writings of Leo of Ostia and Peter the Deacon one of the most important epochs in medieval papal history would be less known to us than it is. For except for the *Register* of Gregory VII there are no other later papal registers preserved before Innocent III.

The burgher revolution which began in Lombardy in the eleventh century and reached its consummation in the twelfth in the recognition of the cities of all North Italy as independent self-governing communities, gave a tremendous impulse to town annals, and made a new contribution to medieval historiography. The injection of the Hildebrandine reform into the Lombard cities began the new era. The emperors had maintained their domination in Lombardy largely through the imposition of German bishops upon Italian sees. Conflict between the bishops and the rising bourgeois was frequent. The Lombards supported the pope's course of seeking to deprive the emperor of the right of lay investiture as a means of breaking the imperial grasp upon them, and the papal policy was popularized and given fanatical support through the Pataria,<sup>11</sup> a radical economic and social movement among the lower working classes.

Under these conditions town historiography emerged in Lombardy in Archbishop Arnulf of Milan's *History of His Own Time* (*Rerum sui temporis*) in five books (925-1077). The archbishop was an imperial partisan and gives a dreadful picture of the commotion in the city in these years. At one time the mob burst into the cathedral while mass was being celebrated, dragged him from the altar, and left him for dead on the floor; it plundered the archiepiscopal palace, paraded through the city, and ransacked and robbed the houses of the married clergy. Murder and violence stalked through the streets. The history of Milan was carried on to 1085 by Landulphus Senior, a local priest, and by his son Landulphus de S. Paulo to 1137, in the *Mediolanensis Historia*. Both were sympathizers with the strong aspirations and energetic policy of the burghers. In this same epoch in Tuscany we have Donizo's *Life*

<sup>10</sup> Erich Caspar, "Petrus Diaconus und die Monte Cassiner Fälschungen," *NA*, XXX, 55 ff., XXXV, 596-600; Klewitz, "Petrus Diaconus und die Monte Cassiner Klosterchronik des Leo von Ostia," *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, XIV (1936), 414-53; Zatschek, "Zu Petrus Diaconus," *NA*, XLVII (1927-28), 179-224.

<sup>11</sup> See my *Feudal Germany* (Chicago, 1928), 90-106, and on the Pataria, 115-16.

of the Countess Matilda,<sup>12</sup> Gregory VII's staunch advocate, written in two books of leonine hexameters, which, for all that it is abominable and untrustworthy poetry, may not be ignored. Nor must the *Letters* of Peter Damiani, that stern ascetic supporter of the great pope, be omitted. For quite apart from the theological and controversial element in them, these epistles are a mine of information with regard to the culture of the age.

The Gregorian struggle had coincided with and in some degree entered into the early stages of the rise of the Lombard communes. From 1137, when Landulphus II ends, until the outbreak of the gigantic conflict of Milan with Frederick Barbarossa in 1154, there was an interruption in Milanese historiography. This is not to say that history itself languished in Lombardy. As a matter of fact "Lombardy was a battle-ground of communes, a network of city leagues." The competition between the cities for the lucrative transalpine trade was furious. Milan and Pavia were in continual war. In 1111 Milan destroyed Lodi; in 1118 Como. The heroic resistance of the latter against half of Lombardy was celebrated in an historical poem (the *Anonymous of Como*) which is replete with interesting information.

With the beginning of Frederick I's wars in Lombardy and his struggle with the papacy, Italian communal historiography revived.<sup>13</sup> From the middle of the twelfth century onward until the Renaissance the sustained quality, the continuity of Italian historiography, especially in the North, is an impressive literary fact. Milan, Genoa, Pisa, Venice, Florence naturally are the leaders. But even lesser cities like Bergamo, Piacenza, and Lodi begin to have town chronicles. The aspiration for liberty was stimulated by the commerce of the Crusades and the intellectual contact with Constantinople. Moses of Bergamo had lived in Constantinople before he wrote his historical panegyric on his native city. The *Annals of Cremona* begin in 1096; the *Annals of Piacenza* begin in 1130 and run to 1235; the *Annals of Florence* in 1110; the *Chronicon Pisanum* by Bernard Marangonis extends from 1136 to 1175. The first part of the *Annals of Genoa* (*Annales Januenses*) by Cafarus were concluded in 1163. The *Annales Mediolanenses Majores* is a work of various writers, apparently all of them burghers and not clerics, who were inspired to record the heroic history of Milan in the conflict with Frederick Barbarossa between 1154 and 1177. These annals are valuable for the great commercial feud for control of the Levantine trade during the Crusades.

<sup>12</sup> M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1911-31, 3 v.), III, 662-66.

<sup>13</sup> W. Giesebrecht, "Zur mailandischen Geschichtsschreibung im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert," *FDG*, XXI (1881), 299-339, here 302 f.

A new political self-consciousness of the Lombard cities, it is curious to observe, awakened ancient classical traditions which had slumbered for centuries. The revival of these in part was stimulated by the remains of ancient classical structures in almost every city which, in spite of their ruinous condition, recalled antiquity to mind, and most certainly was stimulated by new interest in the Roman law. Mantua was the birth-place of Vergil; Verona of Catullus, Cornelius Nepos, and Vitruvius; Padua of Livy; Como of the two Plinys. The heroic resistance of Modena to the Hungarians in 923 inspired a contemporary poet to compare the heroes of that siege with Hector and Agamemnon. The *Anonymous of Como* compares the siege of Como by the Milanese in 1118 with the siege of Troy. The glossator of Placentinus' *Summa institutionum* (1192) actually calls Vergil a Lombard! The Pisans claimed descent from Pelops—on grounds of identical etymology of the two words. The *Annals of Brescia* declare that the city was founded by Trojan exiles. The Italian stock, notwithstanding the enormous admixture of Goth and Lombard blood, preserved its racial continuity and the continuity of Latin culture persisted. In addition to pagan history and legend, pagan mythology survived. Florence honored, if it did not worship, Mars; Cremona had Hercules. Although no historical continuity had been preserved between the ancient Roman municipia and the Lombard commune, local pride and vague reminiscence were triumphant over history. In every Lombard city the governing officials were known as consuls.

Of all these town annals—and many lesser works might be enumerated—the outstanding authors of the time were Otto Morena who wrote the *Annals of Lodi* up to 1160, and his son Acerbus who continued them to 1164. Otto of Morena is the first Italian historian who may be said to have possessed a constructive mind. It is exceedingly interesting to compare and contrast him with Otto of Freising, for each relates the same events.

In Italy in the twelfth century the education of the laity was steadily diffused. This is reflected in the historiography of the period. Whereas in the north of Europe history still was written exclusively by clerics, in Italy some of the best historical writing was done by laymen to whom an understanding of Latin was indispensable.<sup>14</sup> The most notable example is that of the two Morenas, father and son. The elder, Otto Morena, who began the *Historia Friderici I*,<sup>15</sup> was born at Lodi about 1100 and saw the destruction of his native city by the Milanese

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 301; WATTENBACH, II, 323; Schmeidler (n. 1), 12-13, 35, 38 f.

<sup>15</sup> Edition by F. Güterbock in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores*, new octavo series, VII; see his article in *NA*, XLVIII (1930), 116-47, and XLIX (1931), 126-49.

in 1111. In charters written by himself he is styled "judex ac missus." He became consul or podestà in 1147. After a few years as a citizen of Milan he returned to Lodi, and henceforth was an imperial partisan. His son Acerbus was also a Ghibelline, a podestà of Lodi and an imperial magistrate in Lombardy. He was with Frederick I in 1167 when he died of fever. Amid all the political and military turmoil Acerbus found time to continue his father's history. It is apparent that he was more learned than his father; for he was acquainted with Lucan's *Pharsalia*, Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars*, and especially Sallust.

The German historian Schneidler has pointed out that literary portraiture, which is so striking a characteristic of Italian historiography in the Renaissance, was rare in the Middle Ages. It is interesting, therefore, to find an anticipation of this literary vogue of the fourteenth century manifest in Acerbus Morena two hundred years earlier. He terminates his account of Frederick I's expedition in 1163 with striking pen-pictures of the emperor and the empress and other great personages, with an apology for the literary novelty he has introduced.

It is significant that there are signs at this period of a tendency towards popularization of history. In many instances the authors directly express a desire to make their works intelligible to a lay reading public.<sup>16</sup> An example is Godfrey of Viterbo, who was mentioned in the previous chapter. In his *Memoria saeculorum* he hopes that those who have heretofore been wasting their time on reading fables and legends will now turn their attention to his own comprehensive and useful work. Godfrey's *Speculum regum* was addressed to the Emperor Henry VI and his court.<sup>17</sup>

The Lombard cities were not the only ones to profit by the revival of trade. The maritime cities of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa must not be omitted. Indeed, Venice had traded with Constantinople and Alexandria centuries before Milan and the two Ligurian port cities became competitors with her in the Levant.

The remote origins of Venice are found in the middle of the fifth century when the inhabitants of Aquileia and Padua fled to the lagoons of the Adriatic before the invasion of Attila. Late in the next century this population was increased by refugees fleeing from the Lombard occupation (568). But for many, many years the history of Venice is a blank. The Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna, writing in the seventh century, can only say of Venice: "In the country of Venetia there are certain islands which are inhabited by men" (Bk. I, ch. 25). Not until two hundred years after Agnellus of Ravenna does Venice dimly emerge out of the mists of time.

<sup>16</sup> Schneidler (n. 1), 24.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

The oldest Venetian historical records are the *Chronicon Venetum* and the *Chronicle of Grado*, but it is not possible to say with certainty which should have priority,<sup>18</sup> and they were soon fused together. The first part ended in the year 630. A continuation extended to 1012, and a third continuation became the *Chronicle of Altino* which terminates in 1229.<sup>19</sup> The information in all these chronicles is bare and factual, little besides lists of the early doges, of the patriarchs of Grado, and, in the third part, a list of the great families of Venice. There is no Venetian historian worthy of the name before John Sagorninus, or John the Deacon, who was chaplain to the first important doge in the history of Venice, Pietro Orseolo II (991–1008),<sup>20</sup> and author of the best part of the *Chronicon Venetum*. The two most interesting items in this work have to do not with political but with cultural history. The language shows that by the year 1000 the old Lombard *p*'s had become softened to *b*'s. The other item is an account of the visit of the Emperor Otto I to Venice. The chronicler relates that the emperor "regarded carefully all the beauty of the palace" (*omni decoritate illius perlustrata*) and the historian proudly expresses satisfaction that the emperor was so pleased. This was soon after the palace had been injured by fire in the revolt against Candiano IV and again repaired by Orseolo, who also "adorned the chapel of the Ducal Palace," by which is meant St. Mark's (*qui Palatii hucusque manentis fuerit fabricator*).

Various continuations of John the Deacon, all of them mere compilations, are found in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, the authors of which are not known except two, Fortunatus, archdeacon of Grado, and Zeno, abbot of St. Nicholas on the Lido. Besides these there were the *Venetici Breves* running from 1062 to 1195, the most sustained annals of all.<sup>21</sup>

It must be admitted that Venetian historiography is not large in volume or of very much value until we reach the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The writers of these early chronicles were all clerks, and narrow-minded ones at that. They had nothing like the breadth of view exhibited by monastic historians in France, England, and Germany in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Venetian historical writing did not reach the dignity of the subject until the middle of the fourteenth century, when it leaped to a noble stature in the *Chronicon* of Venice written by Andreas Dandolo (ca.

<sup>18</sup> POTTHAST, I, 296–97. Pertz in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores*, VII printed the *Chronicon Venetum* first; but H. Simonsfeld, *Venetianische Studien* (Munich, 1878) gives priority to the *Chronicle of Grado*. Walter Lenel, "Die Epochen der älteren venezianischen Geschichte," *HZ*, CIV (1909–10), 237–77.

<sup>19</sup> Printed by P. Ant. Rossi in *ASI*, ser. 1, VIII (1845), 11–228.

<sup>20</sup> POTTHAST, I, 666.

<sup>21</sup> H. Simonsfeld, *NA*, I (1876), 395–410, esp. 400–06.

1350).<sup>22</sup> This is the "received text" of Venetian history in the Middle Ages.<sup>23</sup>

Venetian historiography did not emerge into clear light before the Third Crusade. It was otherwise with Genoa and Pisa, the annals of which begin quite suddenly with the inception of the Crusades. Caffaro de Caschifellone pertained to a patrician family of Genoa. Two years after the capture of Jerusalem in 1099 he took part in a Genoese expedition in the Levant. He was many times chief magistrate of his city and its ambassador to the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa and to the pope. He died in 1166. He wrote the first part of the *Annales Genuenses* from 1099 to 1163, which was continued by the chancellor Obert to 1173.<sup>24</sup> These annals contain much useful information for the history of the Holy Land and for that of southern France. Caffaro was also the author of a work entitled *De liberatione civitatum Orientis*, important for the operations of the Genoese fleet during the First Crusade. It was written late in his life, between 1152 and 1155, and presented by the author to Pope Hadrian IV.

Pisa's achievements in the First Crusade were celebrated in the *Gesta triumphalia per Pisanos facta*, a proud title. It covers the years 1099-1120. The *Annales Pisani* were the creation of Bernardus Marago who in 1163 was "provisor et legatus" of Pisa. They are brief down to 1126, but full of information to 1175, when they terminate.<sup>25</sup>

From the "new" historiography of Northern Italy we pass to Southern Italy where another sort of "new" history was written in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Here Latin, Greek, Saracenic, and finally Norman-French culture met and blended. The period may be said to extend from the accession of Basil I in 867 to the death of the Great Count Roger II of Italy and Sicily in 1154.<sup>26</sup> The history of this epoch is recorded in Greek, Latin, and Arabic sources. Among historians of

<sup>22</sup> H. Simonsfeld, *Andreas Dandolo und seine Geschichtswerke* (Munich, 1876); Giovanni Monticolo, *Cronache veneziane antichissime* (Rome, 1890: *Fonti per la storia d'Italia*, IX).

<sup>23</sup> For a good account of Venetian historical writing in the Middle Ages see August Prost, *RQH*, XXXI (1882), 512-55.

<sup>24</sup> For editions and translations see POTTHAST, I, 181. The original manuscript is now in Paris.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 763.

<sup>26</sup> The most complete study of the sources for the history of Lower Italy during the Byzantine domination is by Bartolomeo Capasso, *Le fonti della storia delle provincie napoletane dal 568 al 1500* (ed. by O. Mastrojanni after the author's death, Naples, 1902. It comprises articles published in the *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane*, 1876, an. I, II and an. V, fasc. 3). F. Hirsch, *De Italiae inferioris annalibus saeculi decimi et undecimi* (Berlin, 1864) has made a special study of the *Annals* of Bari, Beneventum, and Monte Cassino. The best historical survey is Jules Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'Empire byzantin depuis l'avènement de Basile Ier jusqu'à la prise de Bari par les Normands, 867-1071* (Paris, 1904); and for the Normans in Italy and Sicily, F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile, 1009-1194* (Paris, 1907, 2 v.); L. von Heinemann, *Geschichte der Normannen in Unteritalien und Sicilien [to 1085]* (Leipzig, 1894); Edmund Curtis, *Roger of Sicily and the Normans in Lower Italy, 1016-1154* (New York, 1912), 311-13.

the first kind were George the Monk, Leo the Deacon, Leo Grammaticus, Leo the Wise, Cedrenus, and Psellos.<sup>27</sup> Among Arabic historians were Al-Balādhuri, Al-Bayan, Ibn al Atir, Ibn Khaldun, Nuwayri, and the geographer Edrisi.<sup>28</sup> Only Italian and Latin historians will be noticed in this chapter. The restoration of Byzantine power in Italy after the fall of the Exarchate of Ravenna in 756 was the achievement of the Macedonian dynasty (867–1025), of which Basil I and Basil II were the greatest representatives. By 1025 the Byzantine Empire was master of nearly one-half of Italy and threatened Rome itself. The information of Western writers on these important events is slender. Three places in Southern Italy were intellectual centers of importance: Bari, Beneventum, and Salerno.

Among the most important Latin sources for the history of Lower Italy are a group of annals of which all were written in the vicinity of Bari in Apulia and are closely related. This group includes: (1) the *Annals of Bari* (*Annales Barenses*), which extend from 605 to 1043; (2) a chronicle<sup>29</sup> whose author has not been identified, which is known only from a seventeenth-century transcript in which the authorship is attributed to one Lupus Protospatarius—the latest date in it is 1102; (3) the *Anonymous of Bari* (*Anonymi barensis Chronicon*), which runs from 855 to 1115.<sup>30</sup> Under the name of *Beneventan Annals* (*Annales Beneventani*) there is a double series of annals (I and II) which relate events from 788 to 1182. Down to 1112 the compilers used old annals now disappeared. The first series is connected with the *Annals of Bari*. Other monastic annals of South Italy are the *Annals of Cava* (*Annales Cavenses*), a monastery near Naples, which extend from 569 to 1034. How meager they are is evident when it is said that these annals are written along the margin of a manuscript of Bede! Of more value are the *Annals of Ceccano* (*Annales Ceccanenses*). They begin with the year 1 A.D. and terminate in 1217. From 1156 on they are of some importance for the region of Ceccano. Under the year 1192 there is a violent invective against Henry VI. Finally, around the bay of Naples, at Salerno, we find another intellectual center equal in importance to Bari and Beneventum. The *Chronicon ducum Beneventi, Salerni, Capuae et Neapolis*, the last date in which is 943, and which was written at Naples

<sup>27</sup> These are noticed in chapter XVII.

<sup>28</sup> These are noticed in chapter XX. In addition there are some Lives of Saints, in Greek and Latin, which are of some importance as sources of this epoch, particularly those of St. Nilus, St. Elias, St. Vitalis, St. Sabas in Greek; and of St. Antoninus of Sorrento, St. Athanasius, bishop of Naples, and St. Barbatius, bishop of Beneventum, in Latin.

<sup>29</sup> *Rerum in regno neapolitano gestarum breve chronicon* (855–1102).

<sup>30</sup> The relations between these chronicles have been studied by Pertz, Hirsch, Wilmans, Wüstenfeld, Kopke, and Cantu. For this literature see POTHAST, I, 54, 101, 173–74. The results are recapitulated in Chalandon (see n. 26), I, p. xxviii, and Gay (*ibid.*), p. xiii.



not later than 965, is especially good for the Greek domination in the peninsula down to the time of Constantine IX (Porphyrogenitus). In fact, it is the sole Latin chronicle of the peninsula before the eleventh century which gives any connected account of Byzantine sway there. The *Chronicon Salernitanum*, whose last date is 974, used both oral and written sources. The former led the author to introduce much anecdotal material in relating which he displays remarkable talent, a faculty which anticipates by centuries the Italian *novellino*.<sup>31</sup>

The Normans in the eleventh century finally separated the South from the domination of the Greek Empire and in the next century entered the Italian community. The Norman conquest of Lower Italy and Sicily by the Norman French between 1016 and 1090 and the extension of their dominion to Sicily soon afterward gave an impulse to historical writing similar to the impulse given to Anglo-Norman historiography by William the Conqueror's subjugation of England in 1066. Historical writing rose to meet the challenge of the times presented by these two momentous events. Both Leo of Ostia and Peter the Deacon of Monte Cassino recorded some events in the early stages of the Norman invasion of Italy. But Norman Italy soon developed its own historians just as Norman England did.

First in importance among these is Amatus' *Historia Normannorum*, or Aimé's *Ystoire de li Normant*.<sup>32</sup> This work has not come down to us in the original Latin, but in a French translation probably made in Italy at the end of the thirteenth century, after the Angevin conquest of Naples and Sicily in 1268. The author was a monk of Monte Cassino and probably of Norman-French extraction. The numerous allusions which he makes in the beginning of his work to events in Constantinople after the fall of the Emperor Romanus in 1071 would seem to indicate that he began to write about 1075 and died in 1101. The work is divided into eight books. It begins with a very brief narration of the expansion of the Norse peoples in the ninth century and the conquest of Normandy in 912. Then follows an account of the wanderings and adventures of some of the great Norman captains in Spain and the Orient like Roger de Toeny, Robert Crispin, and Oursel of Bailleul. This introduces the real subject—the Norman conquest of Lower Italy after 1016 by the sons of Tancred de Hauteville and Robert Guiscard. Amatus dedicated his work to Desiderius, the abbot of Monte Cassino (1058-87). The name of the translator is not known, but he lived in the fourteenth century, that is to say, a matter of 200 years later. He used Malaterra

<sup>31</sup> The "motif de l'amour" of the later troubadours especially appears in ch. 65.

<sup>32</sup> See JS, 1836, pp. 22-37. The best edition is by O. Delarc, *Ystoire de li Normant par Aimé* (Paris, 1892). For a brief account in English of the Norman historians, see Curtis (n. 26), 323-32, 381-82.

and William of Apulia, Petrus Diaconus and Leo of Ostia as sources. But he did not slavishly copy them, but rather rewrote them, a process of adaptation so well done that it marks him as a real historian. The only original part, however, is the information he added about the deeds of the two great benefactors of Monte Cassino, Richard, prince of Capua, and Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia. The value of the anonymous translator lies in the fact that as he translated, he obviously departed here and there from the original text of Amatus before him, and interpolated additional information which represents the Norman tradition which had grown up after the century of conquest.

A work which covers much the same ground as Amatus, but extends further, is Gaufredus (or Geoffroi) Malaterra's *Historia Sicula* in five books. It is a panegyric relation of the deeds of Robert Guiscard and his brother Roger. The principal part of it deals with the beginnings of the Norman conquest of Sicily. The sources of information were oral, and derived from the reminiscences of Roger and some of the redoubtable captains in his service. Part of the history is written in poetic form. It terminates in 1099, but later was continued to 1265 in a brief and dry annalistic manner.

The expeditions of the Normans in Spain, England, and Italy in the eleventh century were so redoubtable, their achievements so remarkable, the heroic element in them so pronounced, that an epic quality invests their history. As the *Chanson de Roland* was inspired by the Spanish crusades, as the *Carmen de bello Hastingensi* was inspired by the Norman conquest of England, so William of Apulia's *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi* is a history in epic form of the achievements of Robert Guiscard. Its very sub-title confesses it: *Historicum poema epicum de rebus Normannorum in Sicilia, Apulia et Calabria gestis*. It is in five books, and reads as if snatches of old ballads were incorporated in it. It was composed at the request of Pope Urban II. Nothing is known of the author; but apparently he was not a Norman, for otherwise he would hardly have inveighed so severely against the avarice and plundering propensities of these Norman conquerors of Southern Italy. For Books I and II of his poem William utilized as sources the *Annals* of Bari, but does not seem to have used Aimé of Monte Cassino. For the account of the famous battle of Civitate in 1053 he used sources now lost, and perhaps a ballad in celebration of that victory. William is especially informed regarding events in Apulia, but less familiar with events elsewhere, though he gives important details of the siege of Palermo. All in all, this poem is the most valuable source for the career of Robert Guiscard and his remarkable achievement in welding the loose princi-

palities of Lower Italy into a compact state. The Latin is singularly good—much superior to that of Geoffroi Malaterra.

Six monastic chronicles of this epoch are important for the reason that they afford local information of the extension of the Norman power of which otherwise we would not be informed. They are: (1) the *Chronicon Casauriense*, by a monk of the abbey of St. Clement in Casauria, which extends to 1182 and is one of the rare sources for the conquest of the Abruzzi; (2) the *Chronicon Sancti Bartholomei de Carpignano* (962-1159), from another monastery in the Abruzzi; and (3) the *Chronicon Amalfitanum*, which begins with the year 747 and terminates in 1294. Only the second part has much value, and that is solely of a local nature. The same observation applies to (4) the *Chronica Ferrariensis*, a ponderous and ill-arranged compilation extending from 681 to 1228, which is of importance only for the years 1140-49 when Roger II had such acute relations with the papacy. Most of the work is a clumsy redaction of other chronicles. Then there are (5) the *Chronicon Sancti Stefani*; and (6) the *Chronicon Vulturense*, by John the Monk of St. Vincent in Volturmo, which irritatingly mingles fact and fable together.

It was inevitable, as the Norman domination in Southern Italy became more settled, that the early epic spirit should fade and more sober and substantial historiography obtain, and prose succeed poetry and fable. We have now to consider four authors: Falco of Beneventum, Alexander of Telesse, Romuald of Salerno, and Ugone Falcando.<sup>33</sup>

Falco of Beneventum, author of the *Chronicon de rebus aetate sua gestis*, was not a monk, but a layman, a notary or scribe of the palace in Beneventum. In 1133 he was made a local judge by Innocent II. His work was completed—if not even begun—after the death of Roger II in 1154. He is very hostile to the Normans, as might be expected considering that the papal territory of Beneventum was continually imperilled by them. The form is annalistic. The interest of the work lies in the fact that it is the sole history of the Normans in Italy which is hostile towards them. Roger II is a tyrant. The most original part is that dealing with the years 1112-39. Up to the former date Falco relied upon previous chronicles, which he supplemented from material in the archives. Many such documents he reproduced in whole or in abstracts. In matters which concerned Rome, Capua, or Salerno he was well informed. As a writer Falco had unusual descriptive power, as his account of the entrance of Calixtus II into Beneventum shows.

<sup>33</sup> These four important historians, together with lesser works, are collected in Giuseppe de Re, *Cronisti e scrittori sincroni della dominazione normanna nel regno di Puglia e Sicilia* (Naples, 1845), with an Italian translation in parallel columns.

Alexander was a monk of the Abbey of San Salvatore near Telesse. His *De rebus gestis Rogerii Siciliae regis* ends so abruptly in 1136 that it seems certain he did not live to complete it. It is dedicated to Roger II, which shows that he was favorably inclined to the Normans. He says nothing of the sources he used but seems to have been well informed. For the years 1127-37 he is especially valuable.

For the history of the Norman monarchy in Italy and Sicily the *Annales* or *Chronicon* written by Romuald, archbishop of Salerno, is valuable. Romuald came from a noble Salernitan family long identified with the Church and the ducal administration, and was archbishop from 1153 to 1181. He had studied medicine, of which Salerno was an important seat, and was a friend of Peter of Blois, the minister of Henry II of England. Under William I and William II he played an important political part, being one of the negotiators of the treaty of Beneventum and of the peace of Venice which terminated the long war of Frederick Barbarossa with the Lombard cities. He was a favorite of Pope Alexander III and enjoyed great influence at the Lateran Council of 1179. The *Chronicon* is a huge universal chronicle which begins with the Creation; up to the eleventh century it is a compound of St. Jerome, Bede, Isidore, Orosius, Paul the Deacon, Einhard, etc. For the early Norman period he relied upon the Annals of Monte Cassino, Leo of Ostia, Lupus Protospatarius, the Beneventan Annals, etc. Of course all this portion is of little value. But for the period with which he was contemporary, Romuald is full of information, though his strong prejudices require that he be read with caution. His account of the negotiations which preceded the treaty of Venice is particularly valuable.

Hugo Falcandus was the author of the *Liber de regno Siciliae*, or *Book of the Kingdom of Sicily*, which relates the history of the island realm from 1154 to 1169. He was not a Sicilian; that he was not French or Spanish is indicated by his mention of these two peoples as "transalpini" or "transmontani."<sup>84</sup> It is certain that he lived a long time in Palermo. His work was written after 1181, since he mentions the death of Alexander III. It is less a general history of the kingdom of Sicily, as implied in the title, than a detailed relation of events in Palermo in the years covered. He describes the commerce and manufactures of Palermo, notably the manufacture of silk. Evidently he had access to the royal archives for he cites many documents. He is brief with reference to events which happened upon the mainland in this period, though south Italy was a part of the Norman kingdom. In the parti-colored

<sup>84</sup> "Arguments can be produced to show that he was not a Sicilian nor a Frenchman nor an Apulian. Equally good arguments might be produced, I think, to prove that he was an Englishman. Certainly the English at the Sicilian court alone escaped his censure." J. C. Hildt, in *Smith College Studies*, III (1918), no. 3. For other literature, see PORTHAIST, I, 444.

court at Palermo where Greek, Arabic, and French culture met and mingled, Falcando resented the Oriental influence. He rejoiced over the fall of one of the powerful and treacherous Arab officials who conspired against the king, and cordially detested the party of the eunuchs at court. He was also violently anti-clerical. Yet making all allowances, Falcando's history is one of the most remarkable works of the Middle Ages. Various modern writers have compared him to Thucydides, Polybius, Tacitus, Livy, or Procopius, which, however strained the parallels may be, shows that Falcando was a very able historian.

## CHAPTER XIV

### HISTORIANS OF FEUDAL FRANCE (900-1200) <sup>1</sup>

THE break-up of the Carolingian Empire in the ninth century was not confined to the emergence of the five component kingdoms which are found in 887. The same forces which rent the empire asunder continued within the kingdoms. In Germany the tenacity of ancient traditions and the fact that the Germans, though divided into Franks, Saxons, Swabians, Bavarians, and Thuringians, were yet all of one blood and language, gave the kingdom a certain homogeneity. But in France the condition was very different. The French are a mixture of races, Gallo-Roman, German, especially Frankish, Gascon, and Celtic (Breton) blood, to which the Norse or Norman blood was added in the ninth century. This variety of race, language, and local institutions accentuated the weakness of the monarchy, so that France in the tenth century represented the extreme expression of feudal particularism. Accordingly most of the chroniclers limited their attention, as their knowledge also was limited, to the region where they lived.

The cultivation of historical writing was intense, but it was very unevenly diffused. In north and north-east France we find annals and chronicles but few documents. In the south we find documents but few annals, except in the south-west, where the barbarism was so great that there were neither documents nor chronicles. In some provinces no history at all was written for a century and more, as in Gascony from 900 to 1050. The concepts and practices of feudalism had so permeated government in the tenth century that the last Carolingian and the first Capetian kings were less kings than titular overlords who differed only in degree of dignity from their vassals. The kings were without the reality either of power or authority. Little or no history could be re-

<sup>1</sup> MOLINIER, I, 279-86, II, 1-64; Gabriel Monod, in *RH*, XXVIII (1885), 241-72; Ch. Pfister, *Le Règne de Robert le Pieux* (Paris, 1885), see index under Helgaud, Raoul Glaber, Bouchard le Vénérable, and Ademar de Chabannes; Gustave Masson, *Early Chroniclers of Europe: France* (London, 1879) is superficial. French translations without original texts in F. Guizot, ed., *Collection des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France* (Paris, 1824-35, 31 v.), analyzed in POTTHAST, I, p. lxxx, and in A. Franklin, *Les sources de l'histoire de France* (Paris, 1877), 279-87. The translations are often loose and unreliable. A new series of the fundamental sources of medieval French history, edited by Louis Halphen and accompanied by translations, is in course of publication (*Les classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge*, Paris: Champion, 1923 ff.). Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la littérature française* (Paris, 1896-99, 8 v.), I, ch. vi by Ch. V. Langlois; Achille Luchaire, "Les sources de l'histoire de France," *JS*, 1906, pp. 23-35.

corded of rulers of such shrunken dimension whose life was exactly like that of the nobles around them. Moreover, most of the chroniclers, who were monks, had little interest in secular affairs and their vision rarely extended beyond the region in which they dwelt. In northern France the archiepiscopal sees of Rheims and Sens and the Abbey of Fleury near Orleans were the only intellectual centers. South of the Loire the sole place where there was light was the abbey of St. Martial in Limoges.

The most important region of France was the middle Seine, or Ile-de-France, with Paris as its center. In the tenth century this region was the feudal principality of the count of Paris, who in the person of Hugh Capet in 987 became king of France. Until then the Carolingian dynasty precariously preserved its tenure of the throne, with Laon as the capital. The two outstanding historical writers of the tenth century in northern France were Flodoard and Richer, both of them canons of Rheims, whose combined works cover the years 922-999.

Flodoard<sup>2</sup> was educated in the cathedral school of Rheims, which even before Gerbert gave it European fame was the best school in the West in the tenth century. He was a man of deep and wide culture for the age. His *Annals* are an excellent example of their kind, informative and chronologically exact. They were begun in 922 and continued to his death in 966, and are a major source for the history of the later Carolingians. Considering the high party feeling which then prevailed, he is remarkably impartial. Sometimes he mentions events which happened in Germany and Italy, but to the history of southern France he is indifferent. Flodoard was the keeper of the valuable archives of Rheims, whose rich collection induced him also to write a *History of the Church of Rheims*<sup>3</sup> from early times down to his own period. It is valuable for the large number of documents inserted in it.

Part of the ground covered by Flodoard was gone over later in the same century by another canon of Rheims named Richer, who is, however, an original source from 966 to 999. And thereby hangs a tale. The learned German abbot Trithemius of Sponheim near Würzburg late in the fifteenth century had read a work of Richer, entitled *Four Books of History* (*Historiarum libri quatuor*).<sup>4</sup> For over three hundred years nothing was known of it until the German historian Pertz in 1833 discovered in the cathedral library at Bamberg—the original autograph manuscript of Richer himself! It is a very different work

<sup>2</sup> *Les annales de Flodoard*, ed. by Ph. Lauer (Paris, 1905), see introduction; M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1911-31, 3 v.), II, 155-66.

<sup>3</sup> *Flodoardi Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*, Latin text with French translation by Lejeune (Rheims, 1854, 2 v.); cp. JS, 1866, pp. 5-19, 183-96, 205-19; MOLINIER, I, no. 947.

<sup>4</sup> For editions and literature see PORTHAIST, II, 971. French translation in Babelon, *Les derniers Carolingiens d'après le moine Richer* (Paris, 1877). Cp. JS, 1840, pp. 470-89, 535-56, and 1866, pp. 183-96, 205-19.

from that of Flodoard; for it is strongly partial to the last Carolingian kings and hostile to Hugh Capet. It abounds in vivid narrative and is written in a good Latin which shows Sallustian influence. Richer's archaism goes so far that he perpetually uses ancient Roman military terminology, as when he calls a company of vassals doing military service under their suzerain a "legion" and refers to knights as the "equester ordo." Besides written sources and his own knowledge of contemporary events Richer derived information from his father who was a faithful vassal of King Louis IV (936-954). The *Historia* is dedicated to the great scholar Gerbert, later Pope Sylvester II, under whom Richer had studied at Rheims and of whose instruction he gives a long and illuminating account.<sup>5</sup> In Book IV, chapter 50 he has a graphic relation of his long journey on horseback to Chartres whither he went to study the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates. Another curious historical source from Rheims is the *Correspondence* of Gerbert before he became pope, which is important for French and German politics between 980 and 997, and very valuable for the intellectual culture of the time, for Gerbert was the greatest scholar in Europe.<sup>6</sup>

Aside from these two works the historiography of France about 1000 A.D. resolves into fragmentary monastic annals. Among these are the *Annals of Ste. Colombe* in Sens, and the *Historia Francorum Senonensis* (to 1015), both written at Sens. Orleans, and not Paris, was at this time the most important city of the domains of the Capetian kings—Radulphus Glaber, a contemporary, calls it the "royal city" (*urbs regia*). The most scholarly French monastery in the eleventh century was the abbey of Fleury near Orleans. After the death of Abbo (1004), the most distinguished scholar of France, Hugh Capet's natural son Gauzlin became abbot of Fleury. The career of Abbo and the eminence of Gauzlin gave Fleury contacts beyond the radius of most monasteries. Association with royalty inspired Aimoin of Fleury at this time to begin a great *History of the Franks*, which had only reached the year 654 when he died. Short and uncritical as it is, it was destined to be continued until 1164, and itself was a continuation of the *Miracles of St. Benedict*, whose remains were preserved at Fleury and not at Monte Cassino. In contrast with the historical writing done at Sens, Fleury, and Rheims, Paris presents a sorry spectacle. The annals of St. Denis, of St. Germain des Prés, and of St. Magloire hardly deserve mention.

There is one aspect of some of these chronicles which possesses vivid interest, and that is the epic element found in them. We have seen in previous chapters how *épopée* colored Gregory of Tours and Widukind

<sup>5</sup> Translated in my book *The Middle Ages* (New York, 1931, 2 v.), II, 780-81.

<sup>6</sup> *Lettres de Gerbert, 983-997*, ed. by Julien Havet (Paris, 1889), see introduction.



of Corvey, and is spread over the pages of the Monk of St. Gall. In the tenth century medieval France was mid-way between the real historical Roland and the *Chanson de Roland*; it was hovering on the edge of the first great epic poetry. The flashes of ballad and *chanson* which we discern in tenth-century historiography give it a fascinating interest. Chance has preserved both the words and the music of a song in honor of Eudes, the hero of the siege of Paris in 885-886.<sup>7</sup> The battle of Soissons in 923 passed into legend and ballad.<sup>8</sup> Richer in particular abounds with this sort of evidence, which may be distracting to the historian but is of immense interest to the student of medieval literature. A legendary tint may be detected in the *Gesta* of the Counts of Anjou, and the *Chronicle of Nantes*. The very errors in the account of the expedition of Archbishop Bruno of Cologne against Sens and that of Otto II against Paris in 978, as related in the *Historia Francorum Senonensis*, betray the existence of epic poems on the subject. Just as the earliest *chansons de geste*, as *Raoul de Cambrai*, *Gerard de Roussillon*, and *Gormont et Isembart* have actual historical matter imbedded in them, so some of these chronicles of France in the tenth century have epic elements in them.

The *Chanson de Roland* twice refers to the "Geste Francor" as a source, but what historical work is intended by the allusion has not been determined. It would seem to be some work now disappeared. The reign of Hugh Capet (987-996) suffered from an extreme poverty of historical records. The one single narrative of the reign is the *Life of Bouchard the Venerable*,<sup>9</sup> by Eudes de St. Maur. Bouchard was a grand vassal, high court official, counsellor, and friend of Hugh Capet. The sphere of application of the work is a narrow one. Nothing is recorded outside the small counties of Vendôme, Corbeil, Melun, and Paris. Yet restricted as the radius is, the *Vita Burchardi* is important for the picture it presents of the excessive particularism of the time, the intensity of local life, and the working of feudal institutions.

The *Life of Robert the Pious* (996-1031) by his chaplain Helgaud has been preserved in only a single manuscript, and the loss would not have been great if it had not come down to us; for it is a work of pious edification, a sort of panegyric funeral oration written soon after the king's death. It is obvious, however, that this *vita* is the supplement to a larger history, which preceded it and is lost. This work probably was a History of the Abbeys of St. Aignan and of Fleury based upon

<sup>7</sup> E. Favre, *Eudes, comte de Paris et roi de France, 882-898* (Paris, 1893), 235-36.

<sup>8</sup> Richer, *Historia*, I, chs. 42-46; Continuator of Regino, a. 922; Ademar de Chabannes: *Chronique*, ed. by Jules Chavanon (Paris, 1897), 142. Cp. C. v. Kalkstein, *Geschichte des fränkischen Königtum unter den ersten Capetingern* (Leipzig, 1877), Exkurs III, iv.

<sup>9</sup> *Vie de Bouchard le Vénérable*, ed. by Ch. Bourel de la Roncière (Paris, 1892).

old and vanished annals of these two abbeys, and its disappearance is truly regrettable.

Outside of the Seine basin Burgundy was the most prolific historical region in the first half of the eleventh century. The *Acts of the Bishops of Auxerre* and the *Chronicle of St. Bénigne* at Dijon, written by the monk John, form the ecclesiastical history of the province from the middle of the fifth century to the middle of the twelfth. Dijon was the home of the strangest and the most interesting French historian of the eleventh century. This was Radulphus Glaber or Ralph the Bald, a Cluniac monk of sensitive, artistic temperament, whose mind was filled with curious learning and fantastic superstition. Intractable to discipline and impatient of staying long in any place, Ralph wandered from monastery to monastery, earning his keep by his talent as an artist in decorating altars and painting murals, until the exasperated abbot lost patience and thrust him out to wander once more. At last in the Abbot William of St. Bénigne at Dijon he found a friend who understood and sympathized with him, and there he spent his last days in writing a *Vita* of his patron and a *History* of his own times. The former is extraordinarily valuable for an account of how Abbot William, who was an Italian, imported colored marbles from Italy and Italian stone-cutters, mosaic workers, and other artists for the erection of the church of St. Bénigne. The long and detailed account of the structure has been confirmed in every particular by modern archaeological research. The *Historia* in five books (though any rational division of the work is impossible) is a fantastic and credulous mixture of anecdotes, theological discourses, miraculous incidents, and legends, combined with more objective information on important events of the time, such as would drift into a monastery as important as St. Bénigne, situated on the great highway from Italy to central France and the channel ports. Absurd as this work seems to be on its surface, nevertheless it has a unique value. It is unsurpassed for the light it casts upon some of the great cultural manifestations of the age.<sup>10</sup>

The eleventh century was remarkable for the first general manifestations of what psychologists have called the "group mind." It was an age of economic and social transition, of religious revivalism, of intense emotional expression. Alliances for the enforcement of peace between the clergy and the noblesse were formed, called the Truce of God. The veneration of relics became a craze, pilgrimages became a mania. The Crusades began. Group heresies which included thousands among their followers appeared all over Europe. Amid this riot of extravagant

<sup>10</sup> E. Gebhardt, in *RDM*, October 1, 1891, pp. 600-28; Ernest Petit, "Raoul Glaber," *RH*, XLVIII (1892), 283-99.

emotion, the popularity of the cult of the Virgin and the passionate zeal in the hearts of all classes of society to tear down the old dark, timbered churches and to build larger and nobler edifices of stone, are beautiful manifestations of the new spirit that was leavening the feudal world. The advance wave of the new Romanesque architecture out of Italy was now breaking over France and the Rhinelands. The new movement thrilled the sensitive Ralph Glaber, and as he looked at the fresh white stone walls of St. Bénigne rising daily higher, and heard of other similar churches being built elsewhere, he exclaimed: "It almost seemed as if God had snowed down churches in the night."<sup>11</sup> In sharp contrast with this rhapsody is a realistic description of the terrible famine of 1031-33.

The historiographical tradition was early and eagerly promoted by the counts of Anjou.<sup>12</sup> The oldest source is the short *Autobiography* of Count Fulk Rechin, a unique work. The information in it was derived from Geoffrey Martel and contains all that is known of the history of the Angevin dynasty before the eleventh century. This was followed by the *Gesta consulum* [i.e., counts] *Andegavensium* in the eleventh, and the *Historia comitum Andegavensium* in the twelfth century.

Of France south of the Loire River in this century we know almost nothing except in the Limousin, where the abbey of St. Martial in Limoges was a torch in the darkness. Here lived and labored Ademar of Chabannes (988-ca. 1035). His short life was filled with prodigious zeal. An enthusiastic collector of books, an indefatigable copyist, he wrote a brief history of the abbots of St. Martial, transcribed the *Gesta regum Francorum*, the continuators of Fredegar, and the Frankish *Annals of Lorsch*, compiled the *Annales Lemovicenses* (687-1030), a far from dry enumeration of the abbots, from local monastic annals, composed the *Chronicon Aquitanicum* (830-1028), and still found time to write his most important work, the *Chronicon*,<sup>13</sup> after the completion of which he went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and died there. Book I is a survey of Merovingian history (59 chapters); Book II is a history of the Frankish mayors and of Charlemagne (25 chapters); Book III relates the history of France from 814 to 1028 (70 chapters, of which the last half possesses remarkable value). Ademar's interest was wider than his country, and he had substantial sources of information, since Limoges was on the great pilgrimage road to Compostella through which

<sup>11</sup> See Henry Adams, *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* (Boston, 1913), for an extended account of this movement; and my *Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages, 300-1300* (New York, 1928), 671-73.

<sup>12</sup> See Kate Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings* (London, 1887, 2 v.), I, 126-32, and the valuable preface of Stubbs to his edition of Ralph Diceto (*Opera historica*, London, 1876, 2 v.: Rolls series, no. 68).

<sup>13</sup> For Chavanon's edition, see n. 8 above.

passed French, Flemish, German, English, Irish, and Italian pilgrims. This relation of St. Martial with Christian Spain also enabled Ademar to learn much about Mohammedan Spain and Africa just before the tumultuous and spectacular Spanish crusades began, which were the prelude to the first crusade.<sup>14</sup> Ademar's interests were distinctly cultural. Thus he tells us of the tapestries and pictures which William II of Aquitaine brought back from Italy, relates how he had "many" books in his library, which he would read in bed when he could not sleep—a very remarkable fact in an age when not even kings were able to read—states that the Irish have their own language (*proprium linguam*) but use Latin letters, and says that the Arabic language sounds like the growling of dogs. This last bit of information he got from hearing the speech of captive Mohammedans who were sold by hundreds into slavery in the south of France after every successful campaign against them on land or sea. These were the years when the Peace of God emerged in Aquitaine and was beginning to spread, when in his own words, "all France was warlike (*Omnis Frantia bellatrix confligit*)."<sup>15</sup> The sureness and fulness of Ademar's knowledge of contemporary events, both at home and abroad, is great.

Norman historiography<sup>16</sup> emerged early in the eleventh century with Dudo, in the reign of Richard II, fourth duke of Normandy (996–1026). It had required a century for the Norsemen to assimilate the civilization, the culture, and the religion of feudal France sufficiently to become self-conscious with regard to their history. Dudo was not a Norman, but a Picard, a canon of St. Quentin whom the count of Vermandois sent to Rouen to petition Norman aid against Hugh Capet in 994. Thenceforward he dwelt much at the Norman court, and Duke Richard I requested him to write the history of the early dukes of Normandy. The work was completed after 1015, and is entitled: *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*.<sup>17</sup> The appearance of this work marks the point when Normandy emerged from barbarism; when monasteries and schools again began to be founded like those of Fécamp and Bec, and literature and ecclesiastical art began to be cultivated again. It is

<sup>14</sup> On these expeditions see P. Boissonnade, *Du nouveau sur la Chanson de Roland*, etc. (Paris, 1923), 3–68; and his article "Les premières croisades en Espagne," *Bulletin hispanique*, XXXVI (1934), 5–28; E. Petit, "Croisades bourguignonnes contre les Sarrasins d'Espagne au onzième siècle," *RH*, XXX (1886), 259–72; E. Sackur, *Die Cluniacenser* (Halle, 1892–94, 2 v.), II, 101–14.

<sup>15</sup> MOLINIER, II, 213–18; Gross, nos. 1805, 1832, 1678; G. Waitz, "Ueber die Quellen zur Geschichte der Begründung der normannischen Herrschaft in Frankreich," *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1866, Nachrichten no. 6, 69–96. Gustav Koerting, *Ueber die Quellen des Roman de Rou* (Leipzig, 1867); E. A. Freeman, *The History of the Norman Conquest of England* (Oxford, 1867–79, 6 v., vols. I–II in 2nd rev. ed.), consult indices.

<sup>16</sup> Edited by Jules Lair in *Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de Normandie*, XXIII (series 3, III), also separate (Caen, 1865). For other literature see POTTHAST, I, 385.

a curious work, partly in prose, partly in poetry. The former is turgid and diffuse, the latter execrable and written in twenty different meters. The language is a fearful example of the worst sort of medieval Latin. Yet Dudo has value if for no other reason than that he was the first Norman historian. For the early history of Normandy he had to depend on legend and tradition, for there was no other history. This is apparent in his relation of the deeds of Hastings and Rolf. With that pseudo-classicism which characterized the time, he endeavors to trace the latter's lineage back to Trojan exiles.

At the head of historians of the Norman Conquest stands William of Poitiers, archdeacon of Lisieux. His work, unluckily imperfect, is our primary authority for all that concerns his hero; but "allowance must be made throughout for his constant flattery of his master, and his frantic hatred towards Godwine and Harold. He must therefore always be followed with great caution and in all purely English matters he is utterly untrustworthy."<sup>17</sup> The beginning of his work is lost so that there is no account of William's youth. He had formerly been a knight who went into orders, though it cannot be said that he forsook the world, and became chaplain to William the Conqueror. His *Gesta Guillelmi ducis*, or *Deeds of Duke William*, was written for the Conqueror, and, as Freeman says, "is more studious of his patron's glory than of truth and accuracy."

William Calculus, a monk of Jumièges (fl. ca. 1070), abridged Dudo and continued the history of Normandy through the rule of Richard the Good, Richard III, Robert, and William himself down to the battle of Hastings; and presented his work to the Conqueror. This portion terminates with Book III, chapter 42. Later he added two more chapters on William's death and burial.<sup>18</sup> A continuation, down to 1137, with many interpolations in the previous books was afterwards added, apparently by Robert of Torigny, abbot of Mont Saint Michel, sometimes called Robert de Monte. William of Jumièges is of great value because less violently prejudiced than William of Poitiers. His narrative formed the groundwork of the poetical history of the *Roman de Rou* by Wace, a canon of Bayeux, which was written early in the reign of Henry III. The later poetical history of Benoit de Sainte More is of value as reflecting Norman tradition.

In Guy of Amiens' *De bello Hastingsensi carmen*, written in 1068, the epic spirit which had for so long enlivened French historiography was manifested, almost for the last time. It is perhaps the best example of

<sup>17</sup> Freeman (n. 15), II, 4 note.

<sup>18</sup> On William of Jumièges see GROSS, no. 1805; POTTHAST, I, 556-57; English translation in Joseph Stevenson, *Church Historians of England*, V, pt. i.

the medieval Latin epic poetry which preceded the outburst of those *chansons de geste*, early in the twelfth century, of which the *Chanson de Roland* is the most glorious representative. The affinity between the two types, Latin and vernacular, is illustrated by the incident related of Taillefer, the Conqueror's court minstrel (*jongleur*), who rode into the battle of Hastings singing some strophes from some earlier version of the *Chanson de Roland* than we now possess.<sup>19</sup> Such historical poetry as this and earlier epic examples which have been noted, the ballad note discernible in Richer, the *Geste Francor*, the *Chronique de Nantes*, etc., enable us to understand how imaginative, how sensitive the feudal age was to the stirring events of the eleventh century in France, England, Spain, Italy, and the Holy Land.

The Twelfth-Century Renaissance is no empty term, no fancied period. For variety and magnitude of interests the twelfth century is one of those almost matchless centuries in the unfolding of the human spirit like Fifth-Century Greece, Augustan Rome, or Fourteenth-Century Florence. The same phenomenon is to be observed in Anglo-Norman and French historiography. The force of new thought broke the traditions of the old education and inspired an intellectual movement which culminated with the founding of the first universities. The study of Roman law began radically to modify the feudal law. The papal monarchy rose to portentous heights and became the great law-giver of Europe. Town life and trade increased. Gothic art and the emergent vernacular literature gave new beauties, esthetic and intellectual, to the world.

The French historian who was most sensitive to this new spirit, to this new condition, was Guibert de Nogent, whose life bridged the century mark; for he was born in 1053 and died in 1124.<sup>20</sup> Guibert was of noble birth. His father was taken prisoner in one of the wars between William, duke of Normandy, and King Philip I, and died in captivity. He was educated by his mother, a woman of clear intelligence, and private tutors until he became a monk at Nogent-sous-Coucy, where he was made abbot in 1104. Guibert's genius is shown by the fact that he was the author of three different works, each one of which is remarkable, and each in a different way. The tremendous pulsations of the

<sup>19</sup> This incident is not related by any contemporary historian, but is told by William of Malmesbury, who lived in the reign of Henry II, and knew a *Cantilena Rollandi* in the abbey library. A catalogue of Peterborough library, apparently not before 1362, contains two entries: "De bello valle Runciae, cum aliis, gallice." One or both of these versions may have been anterior to the *Chanson de Roland* which we know. Cp. T. A. Jenkins, *La Chanson de Roland* (Boston, etc., 1924), p. ix.

<sup>20</sup> Literature in POTTHAST, I, 549; and MOLINIER, II, no. 1856; see also Bernard Monod, "De la méthode historique chez Guibert de Nogent," *RH*, LXXXIV (1904), 51-70, and his book *Le moine Guibert et son temps* (Paris, 1905). For Guibert's autobiography, see next note.

First Crusade deeply impressed him. In a remarkable paragraph he has pictured the scene:

The French at this time suffered from famine; bad harvests, coming blow after blow, had raised the price of grain to an excessive rate. Avaricious merchants speculated according to their custom upon the misery of all. There was little bread, and it was dear. The poor supplied the place of it by eating roots and wild herbs. All of a sudden the cry of the Crusade, resounding everywhere at the same time, broke the locks and chains which kept the granaries. Then provisions which formerly had been beyond price, which no one could buy, were sold for nothing when every one was aroused and wanted to go. Then one might have seen seven sheep sold for five pence. The famine disappeared and was followed by abundance. As every one was eager to take the road of the cross, each hastened to convert into money everything which he did not need on the journey; the price of sale was fixed, not by the seller, but by the buyer. Things which cost most were objects necessary for the road, but the residue was sold for nothing.

What is remarkable about this account is that it penetratingly analyzes the economic and social conditions of unrest which prevailed in 1095, and which the preaching of the Crusade stimulated and converted into action. Guibert was too clear-minded to believe that religious enthusiasm alone could account for the movement, and tartly observed: "Many deserted their possessions in a greedy struggle for those of others." He had some understanding of mob psychology, although he would not have understood that term. Nevertheless, in spite of the violence, superstition, base ambition, and brutality which stained the First Crusade, Guibert perceived that there was a higher spirit in it, an ideal of religious devotion. He was proud that France had taken the leadership in that movement, and condemned the Germans both as a Christian and a Frenchman for their indifference to the first crusade. In Book II, chapter 1, he relates how, meeting an archdeacon of Mainz, who scoffed at the French, he replied:

If you think the French so weak and such cowards and believe yourself able to wound with ridicule a name whose celebrity extends to the Indian Ocean, tell me to whom was it that Pope Urban II appealed for aid against the Turks. If the French had not by their strength and courage opposed a barrier to the Turks, not all you Germans, whose name is not even known in the East, would have been of use.

National sentiment was still an unapprehended inspiration when these words were written, but the sentiment was there and was not latent. Guibert gave his history of the First Crusade a ringing title—*Gesta Dei per Francos*—"an unpretending title," he modestly adds, "but one which will serve to honor our nation."

Even more remarkable than the *Gesta Dei* is Guibert's autobiography *De vita sua*, one of the few examples of such literature in the Middle Ages.<sup>21</sup> This memoir is very interesting for the history of his childhood

<sup>21</sup> *Guibert de Nogent: Histoire de sa vie, 1053-1124*, ed. by G. Bourgin (Paris, 1907: Collection de textes pour servir), with an admirable introduction. English translation by C. C. Swinton

and youth, his education, his family, his religious development, and the history of his neighborhood. There are parts of it which have the throbbing earnestness of St. Augustine's *Confessions*. To some scholars the most pertinent passages in the book are those which relate the revolt of the people of Laon against their bishop in 1111, a *locus classicus* for the history of the communal movement in France, which Guibert eyed with intense disdain. "*Communio novum ac pessimum nomen*," he exclaims, "that new and vicious word commune." To other scholars the most precious portion of this unique work is Guibert's account of his childhood education.<sup>22</sup> There is deep understanding of child psychology in these chapters of which few historians of education are aware.

Guibert's rationalism was far ahead of his age. He had a contempt for the popular veneration of relics, and treated the whole subject of popular religious superstitions with profound irony in a work entitled *De pignoribus sanctorum* which is a landmark in medieval historical criticism and anticipates the skepticism of the Italian Renaissance.<sup>23</sup> He was a true precursor of the Renaissance in this particular, for he owed the quality and caliber of his mind in large degree to his unusual knowledge of classical literature. Internal evidence shows that he had read Vergil, Ovid, Horace, Lucan, Sallust, Justin, Hirtius, Josephus, and Boethius, to say nothing of ecclesiastical lore and the works of the church fathers. He also had some knowledge of imaginative literature. He had read the *Histories of Pegasus and Hercules*, whatever that work was, the fable of Venus and Vulcan, the myths of Ceres and Bacchus, and had a vague idea of Plato. The beauty and pathos of paganism appealed to his sympathetic imagination. His criticism of polytheism is neither absurd nor prejudiced. Finally it may be said that Guibert was much of a poet at heart.

The communal revolution which Guibert de Nogent condemned, as he saw its manifestation at Laon, was a general European movement of wide dimension and intense force. Lombardy, Flanders, Northeastern France, and the Rhinelands were the chief areas so affected. The record of this movement is very fragmentary. A geographical and chronological survey of it would reveal very extensive areas and huge gaps of years without a line of information. Even in Lombardy and Flanders the sustained history of the communal revolutions cannot be ascertained. Of the incipient stages of such a movement we have only

Bland, *The Autobiography of Guibert, Monk of Nogent-Sous-Coucy* (London, 1925). F. v. Bezold, "Ueber die Anfänge der Selbstbiographie und ihre Entwicklung im Mittelalter," *Zeitschrift für Kulturgeschichte*, I (1894), 145-71.

<sup>22</sup> Translated in my book *The Middle Ages* (n. 5 above), II, 748.

<sup>23</sup> For an account of this treatise see Abel Lefranc, "Le traité de reliques de Guibert de Nogent," in *Études d'histoire du moyen âge dédiées à Gabriel Monod* (Paris, 1896), 286-306.



record of one place—Bruges in 1127-28. Otherwise the few narratives which we have for the early history of the rise of the medieval bourgeoisie are episodic in their nature, as the account of the rebellion of Cambrai in 997 in the *Gesta* of the bishops of Cambrai, and Guibert de Nogent's account of the rebellion of Laon in 1111.

The *De multro, traditione et occisione gloriosi Karoli comitis Flandriarum* by Galbert, a notary and official of Count Charles the Good of Flanders, is a unique history. Few events in Western Europe in the early part of the eleventh century made such a stir as the murder of Charles the Good, count of Flanders, on March 2, 1127, in the church of St. Donatien at Bruges. The assassins were the count's provost Bertholf and his brothers, whose servile origin, long forgotten, had been discovered during a process at law, and whom the count resolved to reduce again to serfdom. As the count died childless, the kings of France and England and the German emperor each put forward a claimant to the title. The question of succession became an international issue. Meanwhile the populace of Bruges, Ghent, Ypres, and other places in Flanders took advantage of the situation to demand chartered burgher rights for their communities and to cast off the shackles of serfdom. For over a year Flanders was in turmoil and when finally the new succession was established Bruges, Ghent, Arras, Lille, Alost had succeeded in establishing communal self-government. In this thrilling recital—for it is so thrilling that a modern French translation of Galbert of Bruges is sold for popular reading on the bookstalls in Belgium—one may see the making of a medieval commune, as it were, under one's eyes. We see the agglomerated population of serfs settled around the count's castle, in conjunction with the small group of tradesmen and artisans peopling the "burg" or walled enclosure adjoining the castle, hastily improvising a palisade of stakes around the community for security and then demanding certain franchises and "liberties" as reward for their support, and skilfully playing the pretensions and concessions of one claimant against the others. Richer merchants also appear on the scene—Italian and Provençal merchants from the Mediterranean shores dealing in imported luxuries like silk and spices at the fairs of Flanders. Manorial economy, a commerce beginning to be stimulated by the Crusades, social classes and social conflicts, feudal administrative institutions, religion and superstition, are all revealed in this remarkable history which has not its like in medieval historiography. In no other medieval account is the history of a twelve-month recorded with so much detail.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>24</sup> *Histoire du meurtre de Charles le Bon, comte de Flandre (1127-1128), par Galbert de Bruges*, ed. by Henri Pirenne (Paris, 1891: Collection de textes pour servir), with copious notes; for an exhaustive interpretation, see Hubert Van Houtte, *Essai sur la civilisation flamande au commencement du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Louvain, 1898).

Louis VI of France (1108-37) was the French king who sought unsuccessfully to intervene in Flanders in 1127 in order to put in a protégé of his own lest Henry I of England and Normandy acquire the ascendancy there. He was the first Capetian king of real force. For a century and a half, since 987, the Capetian dynasty had been content to establish the hereditability of the crown by primogeniture and to rule their hereditary duchy of Francia, and had made few attempts to extend their prerogative over the powerful French baronage who ruled their duchies and counties as sovereigns and not as vassals of the crown.

From the middle of the twelfth century the monks of St. Denis were the recognized official historians of the French monarchy. At first they collected important anterior works like Gregory of Tours, Einhard, Helgaud's *Life of Robert the Pious*, and the like, but in the twelfth century they became recorders of contemporary events and thus the *Chroniques de St. Denis* came into being, at first written in Latin, but by the fourteenth century written in French. Louis VI deserved a biographer and found one in the abbot Suger of St. Denis, who was his chief minister of state, although actually he held no official title. The *Gesta Ludovici regis grossi (Life of Louis the Fat)*<sup>25</sup> in spite of its panegyric nature is an important source because it reveals clearly the difficult conditions under which the early French monarchy labored—its weakness, lack of resources, baronial intimidation, and Norman preponderance in northern and western France. Louis VI was the first king who dared to assert the royal prerogative beyond the confines of the royal domain, and the account which Suger gives of some of his expeditions to enforce the king's justice are vivid pictures of feudalism. For the working of a feudal government, the *Vita* is a precious document. For Suger, being a high official, had a way of using technical legal and administrative words and terms. Sometimes his version reads like an abstract of a court process. Suger was a sturdy royalist, and a no less sturdy churchman devoted to the cause of the papacy and the Church in France, hostile to the communes, a hater of the English and the German kings, in which sentiment one may at least discern a negative species of nationalism. When Louis VI died Suger continued in the capacity as minister to Louis VII and was regent during the king's absence in the East on the Second Crusade. In his old age he wrote a short fragment of the life of Louis VII.

The period between 1000 and 1150 may be said to have been the period of Romanesque architecture; that between 1150 and 1300 the

<sup>25</sup> Edition of A. Molinier, *Vie de Louis le Gros par Suger* (Paris, 1887: Collection de textes pour servir), introduction; a new edition with a French translation has been prepared by Henri Waquet (Paris, 1929: Les classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge).

period of Gothic architecture. Suger's abbacy of the great Abbey of St. Denis coincided with the decline of the former and the growing eminence of the latter. He demolished the ancient and venerable edifice and built a new and grander abbey in its stead, importing marbles from Italy—he cherished the dream of transporting the immense columns and marble panels of the ruins of Diocletian's Baths in Rome to St. Denis—introduced the first stained glass and erected the first truly Gothic structure in France. The history of this epoch-making construction is related in detail in his *Liber de rebus in sua administratione*, a work of well-nigh incalculable value for the history of medieval architecture.

The monarchy of Louis VII (1137-80) and even of his greater son Philip II Augustus (1180-1223) cannot be said to have been blest with historians. The Anglo-Norman and Angevin writers of the time (as we shall see in the next chapter) were far superior to them. In compensation for this deficiency, however, we have, if not a wealth of, at least many documentary sources pertaining to these two kings.<sup>26</sup>

The long, strong reign of Philip Augustus is related by two contemporary authors, Rigord and William the Breton.<sup>27</sup> Rigord's work, *De gestis Philippi Augusti Francorum regis*, consists of two parts, of which the first appears to have been composed between 1187 and 1196, and the second added before 1207, at which date it terminates. Rigord had first studied medicine and later became a monk at St. Denis. The narration is generally accurate. Rigord was not in intimate connection with the king, but the importance of his monastery gave him unexampled opportunity to acquire information. It is very laudatory of Philip, yet ranks among the best sources. Rigord is very fond of parading his learning, which sometimes amuses, and sometimes irritates the reader. His history is strewn with quotations from Scripture and tag ends of Vergil and Horace; he indulges in ingenious etymology as when he says that Philip II's surname Augustus was given him because he had so *augmented* the realm—Augustus being derived from the Latin verb *augere*, to increase; and that Lutetia, the Roman name for Paris, was derived from *lutum*, mud; the word Paris is derived from Priam of Troy, for after the fall of Troy twenty-three thousand Trojans emigrated to Gaul. Although he had had a medical training before becoming a monk, Rigord had implicit belief in miracles and the resuscitative power of the bones of the saints.

William the Breton had studied at Nantes and Paris and became the chaplain and confidential agent of Philip whom he accompanied on

<sup>26</sup> Achille Luchaire, *Études sur les actes de Louis VII* (Paris, 1885); Léopold Delisle, *Catalogue des actes de Philippe-Auguste* (Paris, 1856).

<sup>27</sup> H. F. Delaborde, *Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton, historiens de Philippe-Auguste* (Paris, 1883-85, 2 v.); cp. *JS*, 1883, p. 239, and 1886, p. 187.

many expeditions. His personal acquaintance with the king makes his *De gestis Philippi Augusti* of great value, more especially because it is a continuation of Rigord's work and therefore deals with the later and most important period of Philip II's reign. Three parts are to be distinguished: an abridgment of Rigord, the body of the work, written probably soon after the battle of Bouvines (1214) and covering the years 1209-15, and finally a brief continuation (1215-20), to which are added a few notes concluding the king's life.

The epic spirit of the epoch, although historical poetry was fast yielding to historical romances at this time, is revealed in William the Breton's long poem in twelve books of hexameter verse entitled *Phillipidos*, which is a poetized rendition of Rigord's and his own previous prose histories.<sup>28</sup> The material employed is substantially that which is found in them, but there are many allusions to manners, military practices, legal customs, and especially striking descriptive passages, as the long one describing the commerce and wealth of the cities of Flanders, which are new information. The poem, in fact, contains a mass of observations upon topography, and the natural resources of the provinces. Thus, for example, he remarks on the hard cider of Normandy, the sweet cider of the valley of the Auge, the wine of Berry and Aunis which rivals the wine of Cyprus, the bitter beer of Flanders, and the high peasant carts which also excited his curiosity.

This survey of the French historians of the high feudal period may conclude with notice of Norman historiography in the twelfth century. The Norman Conquest not only gave a new impulse to English historiography, but also raised the writing of history in the duchy of Normandy to a new height. Ordericus Vitalis (d. 1142), a monk of St. Evroul in Normandy, gave an old-fashioned title—*Historia Ecclesiastica*,<sup>29</sup> to "the most important historical work written in France in the twelfth century," a very valuable, and in many ways a newly conceived sort of work.

Ordericus' father was a vassal of Roger of Montgomery, one of the great companions of William the Conqueror in 1066, who received as his share of the conquest a grant of lands in Shropshire and was first earl of Shrewsbury. Here on the Welsh border Ordericus was born in

<sup>28</sup> For other poetical chronicles of the epoch see Karl Voretzsch, *Introduction to the Study of Old French Literature* (tr. from the 3rd German ed. by Francis M. du Mont, Halle a. S. and New York, 1931), 228-33; MOLINIER, II, nos. 1975-78; GROSS, nos. 1840, 1859.

<sup>29</sup> Edited by A. le Prevost (Paris, 1838-55, 5 v.). The English translation by Thomas Forester (London, 1853-56, 4 v.: Bohn's Antiquarian Library) includes the preface of F. Guizot to his French translation (I, pp. vii-xvi), and the critical study of the life, works, and time of Ordericus by Leopold Delisle (IV, pp. vii-xcii). For other literature see GROSS, no. 1858; MOLINIER, II, no. 1973; HARDY, II, 217-23; R. W. Church, *Saint Anselm* (London and New York, 1905), p. vi; Freeman (n. 15 above), see index and esp. IV, 494-95; GUILDAY, 100-27.

1075, and dedicated by his pious father to the monastic life. When ten years of age he was sent to the monastery of St. Evroul near the southern border of Normandy, where his long and diligent life was spent. His English birth, if not English blood, explains the inclusion of so much English history in his work. When an old man of sixty-six he still remembered his boyhood in England with a pang.

At the end of the eleventh century Normandy was culturally one of the most progressive provinces of France. The seed sown in the reign of Duke Richard II had fallen upon good ground. Old, ruined monasteries like Fécamp and Jumièges had been restored and many new ones established. The light of learning shone brightest at Bec, where the great Lanfranc had taught, before William the Conqueror took him across the sea to be his first archbishop of Canterbury. But even smaller monasteries in Normandy like St. Evroul had good schools and good libraries.<sup>30</sup> Yet Ordericus' interest in history was not inspired by books, but by the stirring nature of the events of his time. His father had participated in the Norman Conquest; he was twenty years of age when Urban II sounded the parole of the Crusades at Clermont; the Spanish crusades had passed their flood when he was young, yet he could have met in Normandy returned veterans of those adventurous expeditions; in the Norman kingdom of Southern Italy and Sicily, Normandy had made an earlier conquest than that of England. Moreover, the monastery of St. Evroul was in constant touch with England and Italy; it owned lands in the former and had sent monks to establish new convents in the latter. Travellers of all sorts, too, were wont to stop at St. Evroul—bishops and abbots, priests and monks, pilgrims and crusaders, adventurous knights ready to break a lance in almost any service, way-faring merchants, minstrels, and jongleurs. No better place for gathering news from as far East as the Holy Land could have been found than St. Evroul, and Ordericus was alive to his opportunity. His design was, he says, "to compose, by God's help, a narrative of Norman events"—at a time when the Norman was shaking all Europe and the Holy Land in addition!

By 1123 he had begun his work and labored steadily at it for eighteen years, though compelled to lay it aside in the winter months when his fingers used to grow numb with writing in the cold, and the ink froze. He seems at first to have had in mind merely to continue the local *Annals of St. Evroul*, but fortunately soon abandoned the idea and launched out upon a wider undertaking. The title which he chose,

<sup>30</sup> For the library of St. Evroul see Delisle's study in Forester (cp. preceding note), IV, pp. ix-xxiii; and for Norman culture in this time, Charles H. Haskins, *The Normans in European History* (Boston, 1915), ch. vi.

*Historia Ecclesiastica*, had a far wider implication than it would have today. Given the enormous authority of the Church in those days and his own status as a churchman, it was a natural title for the time. The *History* is a history of the most important events in Europe in his time, and in some senses may even be regarded as a history of Europe; for there was no country and few important events of which Ordericus did not take cognizance.

Ordericus was too much of a scholar, however, to depend upon oral sources of information, rich as these were. He utilized written sources of many sorts: archives, records of church councils, chronicles and annals of many monasteries, histories of the First Crusade, lives of bishops, lives of saints, letters, necrologies, and even poetry. He went to England in pursuit of manuscripts and sent to Norman Italy for information. The volume and variety of historical information packed in his work is very great. For an understanding of the nature and working of the feudal régime, its institutions and its culture, no history written in the Middle Ages is more valuable. Here are revealed the relations and activities of bishop, deacon and simple priest, of monk and nun, of knight and noble, baron and king, of townsmen and rural peasantry, interspersed with character sketches which together constitute a gallery of portraits. In this particular no other medieval historical work before the thirteenth century is comparable to Ordericus. In the light of these virtues criticism of him falls to the ground. What if sometimes he seems to have been overwhelmed by the mass of his material and his history shows lack of co-ordination? What matters it that he is sometimes diffuse and that his Latin sprawls across the page? Ordericus' *Historia* is a mine of information which may be quarried without limit and not become exhausted. It excels in interesting narration and descriptive quality, and possesses the singular virtue of having very little theological prating and little of the miraculous. "If new miracles were openly wrought in these days," he writes, "I would endeavor to give a faithful report of them in my annals." On the other hand there are supernatural and legendary elements in the *History*, as the Legend of Merlin, and the tale of the Wild Huntsman, that magnificent vision of the dead which the curé of Bonneval saw on January 1, 1091. Ordericus Vitalis took his self-imposed task seriously, serenely convinced of the worth of his work. "No wise man," he comments, "permits his time to be ill-spent." He was a scholar and cherished a scholar's ideals. A couple of feudal nobles who had stayed over night at the abbey before leaving the next morning were shown around the abbey and ushered into the scriptorium where Ordericus was quietly writing. Men of the outer world as they were, bred and nurtured in a bellicose society, and

illiterate as almost all nobles in that age, the two visitors looked curiously at Ordericus bent over his parchment and commented contemptuously upon the nature of his labors. The old man heard the words and grimly recorded them.

Ordericus had keen intelligence, a high sense of duty in performing his self-imposed task, and a feeling for the value of history. He upbraids indifference to history and the failure to keep up local annals in many monasteries. "The human mind," he remarks elsewhere, "has continual need of being usefully employed so that it may be well directed in a virtuous course for the future by its researches into the annals of the past." Evidently Ordericus believed that history is philosophy teaching by example. He continues: "It is every man's duty to be daily learning how he ought to live by having the examples of ancient worthies ever present before his eyes and profiting thereby. It sometimes happens that many events present themselves to the ignorant as unheard-of things, and new circumstances are frequently occurring in modern times on which no light can be thrown to inexperienced minds except by reference to former events. Studious persons, therefore, inquire into the obscure records of the past with anxious care. They unfold the past to posterity. Yet there are senseless men who snarl at history. Let them keep silent who neither produce anything of their own, nor accept the earnest labor of others. Let them learn what they are ignorant of." Ordericus had an appreciation of the dignity of history and faith in his own intellectual integrity. "I have given a true account of the various events," he writes elsewhere, "and I believe that in future times there will be men like myself who will eagerly search the pages of history for the record of this generation."<sup>31</sup> Ordericus Vitalis closed his work sadly in 1142 or 1143, apparently a melancholy and neglected man. There is no contemporary mention of him, and the best example of Norman historical scholarship known exists in a few imperfect MSS. He was all but unknown until modern times. No medieval chronicler made the slightest use of him.

A few narratives and chronicles remain to be mentioned: the *Chronicle of Laon*, the anonymous author of which was a Praemonstratensian canon, the *Chronicle* of Robert of Auxerre which extends from the beginning of the world to 1211 and is one of the best of medieval compilations, and the *Chronicle* of Geoffroy, prior of Vigemois, all notable sources for the information which they contain about the spread of heretical ideas among the peasantry in La Marche and Limousin and the formation of

<sup>31</sup> For the passages quoted, see Books V, 1; VI, 1; and IX, 17. Other observations of Ordericus Vitalis on the dignity of history in the prologues of Books V and VI, and the epilogues of IV and IX.

fanatical local societies among them, a movement which became formidable in the next century. The peasants, to whom the current religious unrest was often unconsciously a vehicle for the expression of economic and social discontent, formed secret societies whose members wore hoods partly to prevent recognition of them, partly as an insignia, and pillaged and destroyed the châteaux of the feudal nobles. The monk of St. Marien of Auxerre says of these "hoods," whom he calls "*secta capuciatorum*": "As they insolently refused to obey the great, these have allied to suppress them" for they are "a formidable pest." To the *Anonymous* of Laon the "hoods" are an "*insania rabies capuciatorum*." To Geoffroy of Vigeois the "League of the Sworn" at Puy was a "*diabolicum et perniciosum inventum*." In every particular, Geoffroy of Vigeois is the most interesting writer of these three historians. His work is an ecclesiastical and nobiliar chronicle of the Limousin and La Marche beginning with 996. The author relates more secular events than most writers and is illuminating for the manners and culture of the period. His view is far from provincial, for he has many details upon the Crusades and the history of the Latin Orient.

In the north-east, from the edge of Flanders and from Hainaut, we have two important chronicles both of which terminate around 1200. The *Chronicle of Guines and Ardres* (to 1203) written by Lambert, a priest of Ardres,<sup>32</sup> is a remarkable example of provincial historiography, for it is an account of the history of a small beer barony of miniature dimensions, yet in its sphere having a life as intense as that of a great fief. The exterior and interior of the lord's château, even the kitchen scullery, the cottages of the servile tenantry, the lay of the land, the comings and goings of visitors and travellers, from high ecclesiastics and nobles to itinerant jongleurs, are all minutely described. Even the lord of Ardres had his little coterie of troubadours and poets around him, as the great Count Henri of Champagne and Philip of Flanders gave hospitality to brilliant poets like Wace and Chrétien of Troyes. For the history of culture, the *Chronicle of Ardres* is a precious and very interesting document.

Gislebert of Mons, chancellor of Baldwin V, count of Hainaut, shortly after 1200 composed the *Chronicon Hanoniense*. The information in it is strictly contemporary and extends from 1150 to 1195; it is very valuable for the history of the Low Countries in general. It abounds with evidence on the internal administration of a small feudal principality.

<sup>32</sup> Edited by Godefroy Menilglaise, *Chronique de Guines et d'Ardre* (Paris, 1855), with a fifteenth-century French translation opposite the Latin text. L. Binaut, "Une cour féodale au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *RDM*, June 1, 1855, pp. 1106-12; E. A. Freeman, "The Lords of Ardres," *BQR*, LXXI (1880), 1-31, reprinted in his *Historical Essays* (London, 1871); Charles H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), 249-52.



In fact no other single medieval chronicle is so valuable in this particular.<sup>33</sup>

Letters or *epistolae* constitute an informal but valuable source of history in the Middle Ages, as we have seen in previous chapters. But no country equalled France in the volume and variety of materials of this nature.<sup>34</sup> The *Letters of Gerbert* have already been noticed. An alleged letter of Archbishop Fulk of Rheims in reply to a request from Alfred the Great that he would send over to England a learned churchman to assist in reviving English education is illuminating. After Chartres cathedral was burned in 1020 Bishop Fulbert wrote to King Canute of England asking for a contribution to rebuild the cathedral, a request with which the Dane at once complied. Fulbert's letters—there are 138 of them—are a precious historical collection. The school of Chartres was then the intellectual center of France, having surpassed Rheims in importance.<sup>35</sup> The educational revolution in France, the question of lay investiture and church reform were burning issues in the twelfth century, and a considerable number of letters of various authors deal with them. Among the most important are the *Letters* of Yves of Chartres, an eminent canonist and leader of the compromise party in the strife over investiture. The letters of Marbod of Angers (d. 1123), whose teaching made the school at Angers in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries a rival of Chartres, throw light on the education of the age. Distinguished for their literary grace, the purity of the Latin, and loftiness of thought are the *Letters* of Hildebert de Lavardin, one of the greatest of medieval poets, whose exquisite poetry the Renaissance refused to believe could have emanated from the depth of the Middle Ages. These letters are as interesting for facts as for culture.<sup>36</sup> Geoffrey of Vendôme (d. 1132), a close friend of Pope Urban II with whom he was at the council of Clermont, and who twelve times made the pilgrimage to Rome, left seventy-six letters. Hugh Metel (1080-1157) corresponded with St. Bernard, with Abelard and Heloise, and with Pope Eugene III, and perhaps was the author of the epic poem *Garin de Lorrain*. There are fifty-five of his letters. Nineteen letters have survived of Hugh of Amiens, a Cluniac monk, one time abbot of Reading in England, then archbishop of Rouen and papal legate in France. They are addressed to the pope, to Suger, and to Louis VII. Among the correspondents of Walter, abbot of Derby, of whom we have sixty-three letters, were Peter the Venerable, John of Salisbury, and Pope Alexan-

<sup>33</sup> See above, ch. XII, n. 39; and MOLINIER, III, no. 2298.

<sup>34</sup> MOLINIER, II, nos. 1877-1937.

<sup>35</sup> A. Clerval, *Les écoles de Chartres au moyen âge du V<sup>e</sup> au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Chartres, 1895).

<sup>36</sup> See A. Dieudonné, *Hildebert de Lavardin* (Paris, 1898); H. O. Taylor, *The Mediaeval Mind* (New York and London, 1911, 2 v.), II, 141-46 and consult index.

der III. Many of them are written to persons in England. There are sixteen letters of Pierre de la Châtre, archbishop of Bourges, to Louis VII on political and administrative matters, and six of a similar nature from Josselin of St. Briec to the same king. The *Letters* of Geoffrey de Breteuil are valuable for details of monastic life; in one of them is found a line which might serve for a motto in a library: "Clastrum sine armario est quasi castrum sine armamentario." A collection of 569 letters, covering the years 1159-72, which was formed in the library of St. Victory in Paris, includes those of French papal legates, cardinals, the king, dukes, counts, "*et alii orbis Christiani illustres viri.*"

Space fails to tell of many more collections of letters, but three or four may not be omitted. For in fact they are more valuable letters than those which have been enumerated. First among them must be counted the few *Letters* of Suger, which have been preserved, among them that famous reprimand of Louis VII for his cowardice in refusing to come home after the failure of the Second Crusade "although the wolves are tearing the sheep." The *Letters* of Peter the Venerable, the last great abbot of Cluny, protector of Abelard and friend of Heloise, intensely interested in the Spanish crusades, the first to realize that Islamic culture had something of value in it, that all Mohammedans were not savages, are a mine of precious information. In one of them is an amusing allusion. A bear had broken into a priory situated in the Jura mountains and eaten some of the parchment manuscripts in the library—parchment was leather and tempted the hungry bear not by the contents but by its fleshy nature. Among the books consumed was the only copy of the Bible in the priory. Peter is writing to a sister priory for another Bible.

But the greatest and richest collection of Letters of France in the twelfth century is the *Epistles* of St. Bernard <sup>37</sup> of which we have 380. More than the popes of the period Bernard was, as Milman has written, "the governing head of Christendom." His voice and influence were the most authoritative in Europe. He is a source of information of some sort with regard to almost everything which happened in Europe in his lifetime. His correspondence was as wide as Christendom and reached to the Holy Land. It included popes and emperors, kings and nobles, bishops and abbots, people in all walks of life and of high and low degree. It is impossible to do justice to these amazing letters in a page. Nothing but the reading of them will suffice to make their unique value understandable.

<sup>37</sup> *Life and Works of Saint Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux*, edited by Dom. John Mabillon, tr. by Samuel J. Eales (2nd ed., London, 1889, 2 v.).

Finally, Professor Charles H. Haskins has reminded us,

History in the vernacular develops in France earlier than elsewhere, and in France earliest in Normandy and in the English lands which shared the Norman speech and produced the oldest surviving example of such a work, the *Histoire des Engles* of Gaimar, written between 1147 and 1151. The chief centre for the production of vernacular history was the court of that patron of ecclesiastical and secular learning, Henry II, and his Aquitanian queen, to one or both of whom are dedicated the histories of Wace and Benoit de Sainte-More. Wace, the most interesting of this group of writers, was a native of Jersey and a clerk of Caen who turned an honest penny by his compositions and won a canonry at Bayeux by the most important of them, his *Roman de Rou*. Beginning with Rollo, from whom it takes its name, this follows the course of Norman history to the victory of Henry I in 1106, in simple and agreeable French verse based upon the Latin chroniclers but incorporating something from popular tradition. . . . If we ignore the line, at best very faint, which in works of this sort separates history from romance and from works of edification, we must carry the Norman pioneers still further back, . . . to the *Chanson de Roland*, pre-Norman in origin, but Norman in its early form.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Haskins, *The Normans in European History* (n. 30), 183-84. For literature on this subject see PAETOW, 497; MOLINIER, II, nos. 1975, 1977, and (for French prose redactions based on Dudo and William of Jumièges) 1978.

## CHAPTER XV

### NORMAN AND ANGEVIN ENGLAND (1066-1199) <sup>1</sup>

**Z**EAL for letters and religion (i.e., monasticism) had grown cold in England many years before the coming of the Normans," William of Malmesbury wrote about the year 1150, and the statement succinctly expresses the deterioration of English letters, including the writing of history, in the last century of the Anglo-Saxon period. In spite of zealous endeavor, the revival of monasticism and hence of learning had not been effective.

The frequent and terrible ravages of the Danes recorded in the pages of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle from 980 to 1016 proved fatal to the revival of monasticism; it was impossible for learning to flourish among men who lived in daily fear of the coming of the pirate host. When Canute had established peace and restored the monasteries which had suffered in the struggle, the older generation had passed away and their successors did not attain their level.<sup>2</sup>

"The most tangible effect of the Norman Conquest upon the chroniclers of England," the late Charles Gross has written, "was to widen

<sup>1</sup> WARD, I, ch. ix and bibliography, pp. 499-503; GROSS, 326-99; MOLINIER, II, 213-34; GARDINER AND MULLINGER, pt. ii, ch. iii; G. B. Adams, *The History of England from the Norman Conquest to the Death of John, 1066-1216* (London, 1905: *The Political History of England*, ed. by W. Hunt and R. L. Poole, II), appendix; Rose Graham, *English Ecclesiastical Studies* (London, 1929), 177-82; Kate Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings* (London and New York, 1887, 2 v.), I, 81-93, II, 439-47; GAIRDNER; HARDY, II, preface. The articles in the *Dictionary of National Biography* should be consulted. For general collections see GROSS, nos. 1664-72; for individual works and authors in alphabetical order, nos. 1673-1869. The great collection is the *Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi Scriptores, or Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland During the Middle Ages* (London, 1858-91, 97 numbers), published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls since 1858 and so generally known as the "Rolls series." For the list of its volumes see GROSS, appendix C, and POTTHAST, I, pp. cxxvii-ccxxii. The prefaces to the volumes edited by the late Bishop Stubbs are very remarkable and have been called "the wonderful prefaces"; they have been reprinted in a separate volume as *Historical Introductions to the Rolls Series* (ed. by A. Hassall, London, 1902). Many of the important works are translated in Joseph Stevenson, *The Church Historians of England* (London, 1853-58, 5 v. in 8), and others can be found in the well-known Bohn Translations. Convenient illustrative extracts in A. E. Bland, *The Normans in England, 1066-1154* (London, 1914), and S. M. Toynce, *The Angevins and the Charter, 1154-1216* (London, 1913: these two works are Bell's English History Source Books, iii and iv). Felix Liebermann edited the English chronicles of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries for the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, XXVII-XXVIII (Hanover, 1885-88), with admirable (Latin) introductions. See also Heinrich Richter, *Englische Geschichtsschreiber des 12. Jahrhunderts* (*Neue deutsche Forschungen*, Abteilung mittelalterliche Geschichte, ed. by Fr. Baethgen, IV, 1938); and T. F. Tout, "The Study of Mediaeval Chronicles," in his *Collected Papers* (Manchester, 1932-34, 3 v.), III, 1-25.

<sup>2</sup> Graham (n. 1), 165.

their horizon, to make their treatment of history less insular and more cosmopolitan; this was an inevitable result of the closer contact of England with the continent.”<sup>3</sup>

The Norman Conquest gave a new impulse to historiography and both the quality and the amount of it improved. The Norman monastery and cathedral schools were already distinguished for their learning, and this quality was translated across the channel to England. The increase in monastic foundations in the years immediately succeeding the Conquest is remarkable. Between 1066 and 1135 three monastic cathedrals, thirteen nunneries, eleven abbeys, seventeen Cluniac priories, sixty cells of other French houses, besides many for English houses, were established. Norman and French monks swarmed across the sea bringing higher learning and better art with them. Indeed, the high standard of English historical writing in the one hundred and fifty years between 1066 and 1215—the year of the Great Charter—is unmatched anywhere else in medieval historiography, except possibly in Germany in the same centuries. Part of this stimulation may be attributed to the influence of the Renaissance of the twelfth century, but independently of that intellectual awakening, Norman influence itself was a powerful factor in promoting this development. Lanfranc’s reform of education must be given credit for a large influence, and he gave an immediate impulse to the writing of history at Christ Church, Canterbury.

This is not saying, however, that continuity was always consistently maintained. From 1066 to the death of Henry I in 1135 the level of Anglo-Norman historiography was high. It decayed under the anarchy of Stephen’s reign (1135–52) and rose again under Henry II (1152–89), when also a new Romantic school appeared with Geoffrey of Monmouth.

For the actual history of the Norman Conquest, apart from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, one must look to Norman writers. True Anglo-Norman historiography, as distinguished from Norman historiography, emerged with the great elevation of the English Church under the leadership of Lanfranc and Anselm, those two high-minded and energetic archbishops of Canterbury whom Piedmont Italy gave to England. The first representative of the new era was Eadmer (d. ca. 1124), a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, and author of a history of his own times, entitled *Historia novorum in Anglia*,<sup>4</sup> “which he grouped as in a picture around the central figure of his own master, Anselm.”<sup>5</sup> In

<sup>3</sup> GROSS, p. 326; cp. HARDY, II, preface; and E. A. Freeman, *The History of the Norman Conquest of England* (Oxford, 1867–79, 6. v., vols. I–II in 2nd rev. ed.), V, ch. xxv, sec. 3, esp. pp. 575–79.

<sup>4</sup> GROSS, no. 1768.

<sup>5</sup> Norgate (n. 1), I, 80.

unity of plan and consistency of treatment this work is of a high character, but it is unfortunate that Eadmer felt it necessary to begin a full century before the Conquest.

It is not a little remarkable, in spite of all the power of the Norman crown, how the English Church compelled the conquerors to reverence and to adopt her old English saints. Milo Crispin's *Vita Lanfranci* could not compete in popularity with Eadmer's *Life of Dunstan*, written at Lanfranc's command, and another of St. Elphege. Osbern, precentor at Canterbury, wrote a new *Life of Dunstan* at the same time; a Norman monk of Ely named Goscelin, who later lived at Ramsey and Canterbury, was the author of a *Life of St. Etheldreda*, a *Life of St. Ivo*, and *Lives* of St. Augustine and the first six of his successors. Folcard, abbot of Thorney (ca. 1066), wrote the *Lives* of St. Adulf, St. Botulf, and St. John of Beverley. Indeed, the English mind still continued to make saints among contemporary Englishmen. A Worcester monk named Coleman between 1095 and 1113 wrote a *Life of Wulfstan* which, except for the twelfth-century part of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, is as far as we know "the last piece of consecutive prose written in the Old English language." It is unfortunate that it has not survived. Yet it may have been taken to Rome, perhaps by the papal legates who returned there after investigating the dispute between Canterbury and York in the time of Lanfranc. William of Malmesbury perceived the value of Coleman's *Old English Life of Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester* and rewrote it in Latin.<sup>6</sup> Great interest is attached to this work because there are so few examples of lives of the first prelates after the Norman Conquest. Another contemporary saint's life is the *Vita S. Godrici* by Reginald of Durham. Godric was the last of the Old English saints who was born when the Conqueror was still alive and died only seven years before Henry II.<sup>7</sup>

But the vogue of saints' lives and the reign of the English tongue as the language of literature were declining. On the Continent Latin had possessed complete sway and no vernacular literature existed. From the Norman Conquest to the time of Langland and Chaucer Latin was the sole literary language. Only at Peterborough, after 1075 and down to 1154, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* was continued in the native tongue, holding up the flag of desperate fidelity to a lost cause in a changed world. Worcester and Peterborough were the last strongholds of Anglo-Saxon scholarship.

<sup>6</sup> *The Vita Wulfstani of William of Malmesbury*, ed. for the Royal Historical Society by Reginald R. Darlington (London, 1928); English translation of this by J. H. F. Peile, *William of Malmesbury's Life of St. Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester* (London, 1934).

<sup>7</sup> For a vivid account of this austere Northumbrian, see Kate Norgate (n. 1), I, 74-79.

The scriptorium at Worcester had been for more than a century the depository of the sole contemporary edition of the *English Chronicle*; and there alone the national history continued to be recorded in the national tongue down to the early years of Henry I. In the middle of his reign the monks of Peterborough, probably in consequence of the loss of their own records in a fire which destroyed the abbey in 1116, borrowed a copy of the *Chronicle* from Worcester, and wrote it out afresh for their own use, with additions from local history and other sources. It is only in their version that the earliest *Chronicle of Worcester* has been preserved to us. . . . When the copyist had brought his work down to the latest event of his own day—the sinking of the White Ship in 1120—another scribe carried on the annals of Peterborough and of England for ten more years, in the native speech of the land; and when he laid down his pen it was taken up by yet another English writer whose notices of contemporary history, irregular and fragmentary though they are, still cast a gleam of light across the darkness of the “nineteen winters” which lie between the death of the first King Henry [1135] and the coming of the second [1154]. . . . Save in that one abbey in the Fens, English had ceased to be a written tongue; the vernacular literature of England was dead.<sup>8</sup>

But even in dying the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* revenged itself upon the Norman invader. Early in the twelfth century Florence of Worcester<sup>9</sup> made a Latin version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* which in spite of a mass of interpolations, alterations, and the infusions of a foreigner's prejudice, deserves to be remembered because thereby Norman historiography was grafted onto the literary tradition of England before the Norman Conquest, and so inspired a new generation of English historians. The pedigree of the English chronicles from the time of Bede is now pretty clear, thanks to modern critical scholarship. Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* ended in 731, and was followed by the *Gesta veterum Northanhymbrorum*, which breaks off in 803. These were probably compiled by a northern monk early in the ninth century. Next came the *Winchester Chronicle*, Asser's *Life of Alfred*, and the continuation of the *Northumbrian Annals* by a monk of Chesterle-Street, which to a great degree overlap one another in time and are mutually related. Florence of Worcester then carried the history on to 1117, the year before his death, and an edition of the *Northumbrian Annals*, much interpolated, by a canon of Hexham about 1120 completes the earlier series.

The next cycle involves greater difficulty. The relation of Simeon of Durham (to 1129) and of Henry of Huntingdon (to 1154) to previous chronicles is still partly uncertain. Apparently the foundation of the former is the *Northumbrian Annals*<sup>10</sup> with the Chester continuation, the rest being built upon Florence of Worcester.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 81-82.

<sup>9</sup> GROSS, no. 1866.

<sup>10</sup> Stubbs in the preface to his edition of Roger of Hoveden (*Magistri Rogeri de Houedene Chronica*, London, 1868-71, 4 v.: Rolls series no. 51), I, pp. ix-xiii gives an account of the northern or Northumbrian school of history, which began with Bede, was continued by Simeon of Durham, William of Newburgh, John and Richard of Hexham, and terminated with Hoveden.

With Florence of Worcester (d. 1118) began what might be called the "Norman dynasty" of English historians—Simeon of Durham, Henry of Huntingdon, William of Malmesbury, William of Newburgh, Benedict of Peterborough, Roger of Hoveden, Gervase of Canterbury, finally culminating in the thirteenth century in the brilliant St. Alban's School of historians, of whom Matthew Paris was the greatest.

Simeon, first a monk of Jarrow and then precentor of Durham, aware of the dignity of Northumbrian historiography in Anglo-Saxon times, was transcribing and placing together the old northern annals which had grown by obscure accretion ever since Bede—not for nothing had he been an inmate of Jarrow—when he came upon the chronicle of Florence of Worcester and forthwith made it the base of his own work, and between the years 1104 and 1108 composed his *Historia Dunelmensis ecclesiae*, or *History of the Church of Durham*, which he covered from the establishment of Christianity in Northumbria by Aidan in 635 down to the year 1096.<sup>11</sup> The earliest part is based upon Bede<sup>12</sup> and the *Life of Cuthbert*, the middle portion upon lost Northumbrian annals, and the last part upon Florence of Worcester. He is an independent authority for the years 1119–29. This history of Durham was continued to 1154 by John, prior of Hexham. It relates principally to northern affairs.

Yet the current of Anglo-Norman historiography, thus started, did not flow uninterruptedly. The revived literary activity of the reign of Henry I was given a set-back by the anarchy of King Stephen's reign (1135–54). The unknown author of the *Gesta Stephani* (1135–47)<sup>13</sup> probably was a Norman and chaplain to Bishop Henry of Blois, the king's brother. The pre-eminence of Northumbria in historical writing now passed from the North to the South-South-West, to the old abbey of Malmesbury made famous by the learning of Aldhelm in the seventh century.

The "new" English or Norman-English historiography really got into full stride with William of Malmesbury and William of Newburgh. The spirit and method of this new historiography were the result of the use of dialectic and philosophy which Lanfranc and Anselm had introduced. The former had stressed the right use of authorities; the

<sup>11</sup> On Simeon of Durham see GROSS, no. 1767; his work is translated in Stevenson (n. 1), III, pt. ii.

<sup>12</sup> He paid glowing tribute to Bede. "It seems almost unbelievable that a man who lived in a remote corner of the world, who never crossed the sea in order to acquire knowledge, who did not visit the schools of the learned (*philosophi*) should be famous for such great learning, and should be known everywhere in the world for the composition of so many books."

<sup>13</sup> GROSS, no. 1781; translation in Stevenson (n. 1), B, pt. i, and in Thomas Forester, *The Chronicle of Henry of Huntingdon, and The Acts of Stephen* (London, 1853: Bohn's Antiquarian Library).



latter the justification of authority by reason. The fundamental principles of modern historical criticism, even the distinction between external and internal criticism, are found in William of Malmesbury and William of Newburgh.<sup>14</sup> A rhetorical or turgid style was suspected and condemned. The revival of learning—the so-called Twelfth Century Renaissance—improved both the quality and the form of thought.<sup>15</sup> The Latin becomes a genuinely literary language, and ceases to be a slavish imitation of the Vulgate. It is not classical Latin, yet it is a living tongue.

William of Malmesbury (d. 1142)<sup>16</sup> was the son of a French knight of Le Mans and an English mother. He was a monk in the venerable old West Saxon abbey in Wiltshire made famous by Aldhelm. From his youth up, he was a natural student. His first effort, as he himself records, was to "collect at his own expense some histories of foreign nations." The once rich library which Aldhelm had helped so much to form had deteriorated, but William's abbot Godfrey, a pure-blooded Norman, eagerly set himself to form a new library, in which service the budding historian nobly aided him. The traditions of Malmesbury were redolent and it was an inspiring atmosphere the young author breathed. He had only to look around him with sympathetic eye and his imagination was kindled. No other monastery in England except possibly Glastonbury or St. Alban's was in wider or more frequent and intimate contact with the outside world, even as far as the Holy Land.

His father must have been a man of some education, or at least one who valued education, for he strongly urged his son to study logic, theology, medicine, and history and procured some works on the last subject from abroad for him. "Thence it came," writes William, "that not satisfied with the writings of old, I began to write history myself." His *Gesta regum Anglorum* (*Lives of the Kings of England*, 449-1125) and his *Gesta pontificum Anglorum* (*Lives of the Bishops and Abbots of England*, 601-1125) were both completed in 1125. For some years he was librarian of Malmesbury, and between 1125 and 1139 compiled a large collection of MSS, one of which, at least, is still extant in a volume

<sup>14</sup> Claude Jenkins, *The Monastic Chronicler and the Early School of St. Albans* (London and New York, 1922), 14, 18, 20; Graham (see n. 1), 180.

<sup>15</sup> Cp. Norgate (n. 1), I, 93-95; and C. H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), ch. viii: "Historical Writing."

<sup>16</sup> GROSS, nos. 1444, 1815; W. de Gray Birch, "Life and Writings of William of Malmesbury," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom*, 2nd series, X (1874), 318-92, also separate reprint; Norgate (n. 1), I, 83-93; Graham (*ibid.*), 179-82; James Armitage Robinson, "William of Malmesbury 'On the Antiquity of Glastonbury,'" in his *Somerset Historical Essays* (Oxford, 1921). William's *De gestis regum Anglorum* has been translated by J. A. Giles (London, 1847: Bohn's Antiquarian Library), and again in Stevenson (see n. 1), III, pt. 1.

believed to have been written by his own hand. It is a transcript of the Roman law-book known as the *Breviarium Alarici*.<sup>17</sup>

In his Latin translation of Coleman's *Life of Wulstan*, previously alluded to, William nobly wrote: "I think Wulstan never will lack for readers so long as the stars turn about the pole and there is any writing in the world." William of Malmesbury had so high a conception of the nature of history that he had little respect for any of his predecessors except Bede. "Pigro successit pigrior; et sic in gente nostra studiorum detepuit omnis fervor, ut pigerrimi pigrioribus succedere nunc videntur," he scornfully wrote. He had a just pride in his own ability and honestly believed that he was inaugurating a new period in English historiography, and he was right. He was, said Stubbs, "the first writer after Bede who attempted to give his details of dates and events such a systematic connection, in the way of cause and sequence, as entitled them to the name of History." He had the real historical spirit. "How much information of the past has perished for lack of record," he complained. He expressly says that his plan is to adorn English history with "Roman art," and that without a revival of learning, monastic reforms were impossible.<sup>18</sup> The two famous abbeys with which he was associated were full of documents and redolent with the traditions of Old English history. In the *Gesta regum* William made use of old ballads (*carmina*) which would have delighted the heart of Aldhelm.

Henry of Huntingdon (d. ca. 1155)<sup>19</sup> was archdeacon of Lincoln cathedral, a point to be noticed, for most medieval historians were monks. He was an East Anglian by birth who seems to have been educated at Ramsey Abbey and later was an attaché of the household of Robert Bloet, bishop of Lincoln, from 1092 to 1122, after which he was made archdeacon of Huntingdon and Hertfordshire. He died in 1154. His historical work was begun at the instance of Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, who died in 1147. The first seven books contain the history of England from the beginning of Roman Britain to the death of Henry I in 1135. The reign of Stephen forms Book VIII. The ninth book contains some of Henry's writings on other historical subjects. Book X is a history of English saints and their miracles, compiled from Bede

<sup>17</sup> The MS is Bodleian MS. Selden B. 16. Cp. the preface of Stubbs' edition (*Willelmi monachi Malmesbiriensis De gestis regum Anglorum libri V*, London, 1887-89, 2 v.: Rolls series no. 90), I, pp. xxiv-xxv, cxxxi-ii, cxxxviii-ix; and A. S. Cook, "Aldhelm's Legal Studies," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XXIII (1924), 104-13. Unfortunately this precious MS as a whole is yet unpublished.

<sup>18</sup> Graham (n. 1), 167; edition of N. E. S. A. Hamilton (*Willelmi Malmesbiriensis monachi De gestis pontificum Anglorum libri V*, London, 1870: Rolls series no. 52), 249.

<sup>19</sup> Gross, no. 1801; F. Liebermann, "Heinrich von Huntingdon," *FDG*, XVIII (1878), 265-95; R. L. Poole, "Henry of Huntingdon," *Saturday Review*, XLIX (1880), 419-20; for translation by T. Forester see above, n. 13.

and other writers. The last two books contain Henry's poems and epigrams and are not strictly historical.

Abandoning the simple practice of narration of his predecessors, Henry of Huntingdon divided his History into books and treated the history of each of the Anglo-Saxons separately until their union under Edgar.<sup>20</sup> He used almost all available sources and copiously amplified them, especially in descriptive passages, where he may have drawn on his imagination. The popularity of his *Historia Anglorum* is attested by the fact that five recensions appeared between 1130 and 1155. It begins with Caesar's invasion of Britain. It is a voluminous but not important work, based down to 1126 chiefly upon Bede and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and hence useful only for the last years of Henry I and the reign of Stephen.

The sources of Henry of Huntingdon were different and wider than those of his immediate predecessors. Eutropius and Aurelius Victor, Bede and the first two books of Nennius furnished him with most of his historical facts. After Bede he relied, as he himself says, on "such things as we have been able to find in the stores amassed by the careful industry of elder writers." This means that he used the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, apparently in two recensions, the Peterborough and the Abingdon codices.<sup>21</sup> From the latter he acquired such materials as genealogies of kings, the *Song of Brunanburh*, and the notices for the years 891, 894-920, and 944. Liebermann, however, has disposed of the view that Henry of Huntingdon embodied in his text fragments of folk-song which he used for historical evidence, as William of Malmesbury had done. Most of the ballads which Henry used had long ago acquired written form and are found in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. He does not seem to have used Florence of Worcester, as Simeon of Durham did. Instead, he had recourse to Marianus Scotus' *Universal Chronicle*, which extended from the beginning of the world to his own time, i.e., the time of William the Conqueror. But Florence of Worcester is for the most part an enlarged edition and continuation of Marianus, so that Henry of Huntingdon showed acuteness in going back to the source of a source. This is the "filiation of chronicles" insofar as modern criticism has unravelled it.<sup>22</sup>

Henry of Huntingdon was no cloistered monk but a man of the world, for he passed from his home in the fens, during the reign of

<sup>20</sup> One of his passages is the only memorial of the foundation of the kingdom of Essex.

<sup>21</sup> Liebermann (n. 19), 279-81.

<sup>22</sup> The stages have been indicated by the various scholars who have unravelled this or that portion. The whole matter is treated at length by Thomas Arnold in the introduction to his edition (*Henrici archidiaconi Huntendunensis Historia Anglorum*, London, 1879: Rolls series no. 72), and has been briefly summarized in the review by R. L. Poole (n. 19).

William Rufus, to the court of Robert Bloet, bishop of Lincoln, who had little of the spiritual churchman in him, but lived the life of a princely feudatory, as his immense revenue from the greatest diocese in England enabled him to do. At Lincoln the office of archdeacon did not prevent young Henry from writing epigrams and poems, two long ones "Of Love" and "Of Herbs," and others on "Spices" and "Gems." Years later when writing to a friend on contempt of the world (*de contemptu mundi*) he recalled these gay days with a twinge. But Lincoln was not wholly given over to pleasure. The intellectual tradition of the see derived from Remigius, the founder of the diocese, was still vigorous, and Henry himself mentions with loving remembrance his "master" Albinus of Anjou. Henry was made an archdeacon in 1110, and had twenty years of leisure before him. His work was completed in 1130, was continued and revised in 1135, 1139, and 1145, and a final revision brought down to 1154. The original seven books by that time had grown into ten, as one was divided and two more were intercalated before the last book. Henry of Huntingdon began his task with a clear idea of its nature. "History," he wrote in the prologue, "mirrors to us the past as though it were present; it gathers from things past the image of things to come." He spared no pains to make the book answer to his conception of what history should be.

Ornamented, in the manner of the age and with more than its usual learning, with a store of classical scraps, and with excellent speeches ready made on all occasions, it describes the British islands and their people, and tells their story from the coming of Julius Caesar to the death of King Stephen.

Henry saved his work from becoming a dry and arid summary of events by his literary art. "As soon as he reaches the actual fight [the battle of Stamford Bridge]," Freeman has noted, "his narrative, hitherto meagre and inaccurate, suddenly lights up, and becomes minute, poetical, and evidently founded on an accurate knowledge of the spot." The value of the history in its earlier part is that it "always represents an independent tradition."<sup>23</sup> Moreover, Henry possessed imagination. The original, through Holinshed, of the last scene in *Macbeth*, where Siward says: "Gaudeo plane, non enim alio me vel filium meum digner funere," came from Henry of Huntingdon. In spite of the feudal splendor of the episcopal court at Lincoln, Henry held to the Lanfrancian tradition of a scholarly and disciplined clergy.

The Cistercians, like the Cluniacs before them, were not inclined to cultivate the study and writing of history, but the outside world sometimes invaded even their cloisters. In the middle of the twelfth century

<sup>23</sup> Freeman (n. 3), III, 721 and I, 641.

the strong Northumbrian historiographical tradition influenced the abbot Ernald of Rievaulx in Yorkshire, for "he felt that the great events of the twelfth century deserved a northern chronicler."<sup>24</sup> He could not encourage his own monks to write history, for it was counter to Cistercian tradition, and so he gave his support to a learned canon in a neighboring Augustinian priory. William of Newburgh was thus inspired to write his important *Historia rerum anglicarum*, which was finished about 1198 and gratefully dedicated to Abbot Ernald.<sup>25</sup> Unlike preceding writers who were wont to begin with Roman Britain or the year 449, William of Newburgh limited his subject to the period between 1066 and 1198, apparently continuing to write up to his death in the latter year. This limitation of theme, in and of itself, is sufficient to make him remarkable.

His work is not a chronicle; it is a commentary on the whole history of England, political, ecclesiastical and social, throughout the twelfth century. Such a commentary, written at such a time and by such a man, is for later students above all price. The one short chapter in which William sums up the causes and effects of the anarchy under Stephen is of more real historical worth than the whole chaos of mere disjointed facts which is all that the chroniclers have to give us, and in which he alone helps us to discover a meaning and a moral. The same might be said of many of his reflections upon men and things, both at home and abroad.<sup>26</sup>

At this juncture, in sharp antithesis to the work of William of Malmesbury and William of Newburgh we must notice the rise of the Romantic or Celtic School of Anglo-Norman historiography, founded by Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Britonum*, a book which created the whole cycle of Arthurian and Grail romances and the poetical epics of Geoffrey Gaimar and Wace.<sup>27</sup> The formal publication of this famous work is

<sup>24</sup> F. M. Powicke, "Ailred of Rievaulx," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, VI (1921-22), 62.

<sup>25</sup> Edited by Richard Howlett in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I* (London, 1884-89, 4 v.: Rolls series no. 82), I, 1-408, II, 409-583. See Howlett's introduction; GROSS, no. 1823; HARDY, II, 512-16; Norgate (n. 1 above), II, 441-44, and her article in *DNB*, LXI (1900), 360-63; also her article "The Date of Composition of William of Newburgh's History," *EHR*, XIX (1904), 288-97; H. E. Salter, "William of Newburgh," *ibid.*, XXII (1907), 510-14; Rudolf Jahncke, *Gislelmus Neubrigensis, ein pragmatischer Geschichtsschreiber des zwölften Jahrhunderts* (Jena, 1911, and Bonn, 1912), and review by E. de Moreau in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, XIV (1913), 602-06. English translation in Stevenson (n. 1), IV, pt. ii, 297-672.

<sup>26</sup> Norgate (n. 1), II, 444.

<sup>27</sup> The literature upon this subject is enormous. The reader may consult, for older matter, the bibliographies in GROSS, nos. 1374, 1859, 1809. Among more recent literature see Norgate (n. 1), II, 445-50; WARD, I, ch. xii and bibliography on pp. 513-16; Karl Voretzsch, *Introduction to the Study of Old French Literature* (tr. from the 3rd German ed. by F. M. du Mont, Halle a. S. and New York, 1931), 229-32, with bibliographies; George Saintsbury, *The Flourishing of Romance and the Rise of Allegory: The Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (New York, 1897); James D. Bruce, *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance from the Beginnings down to the Year 1300* (Göttingen and Baltimore, 1923; *Hesperia*, supplementary series, VIII-IX), with a copious bibliography, II, 380-412; Edmond Faral, *La légende arthurienne, études et documents* (Paris, 1929, 3 v.: Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études, fasc. 255-57); W. L. Jones, *King Arthur*

usually assigned to the year 1147, but there are intimations of its circulation earlier.<sup>28</sup> The *Speculum charitatis* of Ailred, abbot of Rievaulx, written about 1142, has a passing but interesting allusion to a novice who confessed to Ailred that he had shed tears over the story of King Arthur.<sup>29</sup>

To Ailred, with his English traditions and keen historical sense, the story of Arthur was doubtless as repellent as, fifty years later, it was to William of Newburgh. The chronological system of Bede had no room for the fanciful exploits of this Welsh hero, this sham Alexander,<sup>30</sup> and Ailred felt that Arthur and his like were dangerous to more than historical truth; they drew the idle tears of young men who are always too willing to find in the luxury of sentiment a relief from the austere pursuit of Christ.<sup>31</sup>

Geoffrey of Monmouth lifted the Welsh into popularity in the English mind, whereas previously they had been looked upon with contempt. William of Poitiers maliciously ascribed the populousness of Wales and Armorica to the practice of polygamy by the Welsh.<sup>32</sup>

The reader will already have observed, from what has gone before,

in *History and Legend* (Cambridge, 1912); Sir E. K. Chambers, *Arthur of Britain* (London, 1927), with bibliographical note, 283-94; Gustave Cohen, *Un grand romancier d'amour et d'aventure au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Chrétien de Troyes et son oeuvre* (Paris, 1931); James Armitage Robinson, "Recent Studies of the Arthurian Legend," *DR*, vol. 187 (1930), 33-49; G. H. Gerould, "King Arthur and Politics," *Speculum*, II (1927), 33-51; J. S. P. Tatlock, "Certain Contemporaneous Matters in Geoffrey of Monmouth," *ibid.*, VI (1931), 206-24; the same, "Geoffrey of Monmouth's Motives for Writing His *Historia*," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, LXXIX (1938), 695-703; W. L. Jones, "Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Legend of Arthur," *QR*, CCV (1906), 54-78.

<sup>28</sup> W. L. Jones, in the *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1898-1900, pp. 62-67.

<sup>29</sup> *Speculum charitatis*, II, 17, in MIGNE, vol. 195, col. 565 D.

<sup>30</sup> In his preface to the *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, William of Newburgh criticized Geoffrey of Monmouth mercilessly. He regarded him as an impudent liar. "Profecto minimum digitum sui Arturi grossiorem facit dorso Alexandri magni" (Howlett, *Chronicles of Stephen* [n. 25], I, 17).

<sup>31</sup> Powicke (n. 24), 66. Geoffrey of Monmouth was born about 1100 and died about 1152. In less than fifty years the legends of Arthur and the romances of the Round Table and the Holy Grail were naturalized in France, Germany, Italy, and Spain. King Lear made his first substantial appearance in literature in the *Historia Britonum*. The names of Lear and his daughters are spelled as follows: Leir, Gonorilla, Regau, and Cordeilla. Spenser was the first to render the last name into the more euphonious Cordelia, and Shakespeare undoubtedly borrowed the form from him. The narrative as given by Geoffrey was repeated by various chroniclers for centuries afterwards, as Robert of Gloucester, Fabyan's *Chronicle*, Grafton's *Chronicle*, and above all found popular currency in the sixteenth century in Holinshed's *Chronicle*, which was Shakespeare's immediate source. The tale of Cymbeline is also found in Geoffrey of Monmouth.

Wace, the author of the *Roman de Rou*, was born in the island of Jersey. His time is ca. 1100-70. He wrote a poetical history of the Norman Conquest which contains a graphic description of the Battle of Hastings. See Gross, no. 1859. Geoffrey Gaimar was the author of a French rhyming chronicle entitled *L'estorie des Engles* composed between 1135 and 1147. His chief sources were the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Geoffrey of Monmouth, with some material borrowed from Florence of Worcester or Simeon of Durham. See Gross, no. 1778.

<sup>32</sup> ". . . regio longe lateque diffusa, milite, magis quam credibile sit, referta. Partibus equidem in illis miles unus quinquaginta generat, sortitus more barbaro denas aut amplius uxores: quod de Mauris veteribus refertur, legis divinae atque pudici ritus ignaris." *Gesta Guillelmi Duci Normannorum*, in Bouquet, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, IX, 88 C.

that two schools of historiography, a Northern and a Southern one, existed in England in the twelfth century. Durham and Peterborough were the seats of the former; Canterbury, Malmesbury, and later, in the thirteenth century, St. Alban's, were the seats of the latter.

The Angevin rulers, as we have seen previously, were always interested in promotion of historical writing. In the reign of Henry II this development reached a climax in so far that it may be said that historiography in his reign became a quasi-official instrumentality of government. The chronicle attributed to Benedict of Peterborough may be said to be a court chronicle.<sup>33</sup> It was not written by, but *for* Benedict, the abbot of Peterborough house, who died in 1193. During his abbacy the scriptorium of the monastery was very active in the production of manuscripts,<sup>34</sup> and the whole place must have had a literary air. The *Gesta regis Henrici secundi* is a chronicle of Henry Plantagenet from 1169 to his death in 1189, and terminates in the third year of Richard I. It is the most important single chronicle of the reign of Henry II, for the reason that it is strictly contemporary and contains many documents inserted into the narrative. The author has not been identified, but it has been conjectured that he was Richard Fitz-Neal, a great officer of the king's court, treasurer of England from 1158 to 1198 and bishop of London (1189-98), who wrote the famous *Dialogus de scaccario*, or treatise on the exchequer, and is known also to have been the author of a lost history called *Tricolumnis* from the circumstance that it was written in three columns.<sup>35</sup>

The *Dialogus de scaccario*, or *Dialogue on the Exchequer*,<sup>36</sup> was written between 1176 and 1178. It is an invaluable source for our knowledge of the inner working and technical nature of the exchequer. In this court, under the Norman kings, Stubbs has written:

The whole financial business of the country was transacted, and as the whole administration of justice, and even the military organisation, was dependent upon the fiscal officers, the whole framework of society may be said to have passed annually under its review. It derived its name from the chequered cloth which covered the table at which the accounts were taken.

<sup>33</sup> See the observations of Stubbs on this point in his edition of Benedict of Peterborough (*Gesta regis Henrici secundi Benedicti abbatis*, etc., London, 1867, 2 v.: Rolls series no. 49), I, pp. xiv-xix.

<sup>34</sup> For a list of books written in this period (1177-1193), see Joseph Sparke, *Historiae Anglicanae scriptores varii* (London, 1723, 2 v.), II, 98.

<sup>35</sup> See HARDY, II, 395-96. Stubbs (n. 33), I, pp. lvii-lxiii conjectured that Benedict of Peterborough might be a transcript of the *Tricolumnis* altered from its tripartite form, a view which Liebermann rejected in his *Einleitung in den Dialogus de scaccario* (Göttingen, 1875); Stubbs relinquished it in his edition of Ralph of Diceto (London, 1876, Rolls series no. 68), I, p. xxxi, n. 1.

<sup>36</sup> GROSS, no. 1915.

In the next century this *Dialogue* was supplemented by the *Red Book of the Exchequer*.<sup>37</sup>

Roger of Hoveden<sup>38</sup> in Yorkshire was the last representative of the northern school and died in 1201. He was a secular cleric, not a monk, and, as was common in the Middle Ages, even of clerics, was employed in the household of Henry II by whom he was sent on several missions and diplomatic embassies, and finally was made an itinerant justice, a high administrative office. In other words, Roger of Hoveden belonged to the civil service of the time. His *Chronica* is divided into four parts, (732–1148), (1148–69), (1170–92), and (1193–1201). Only the last part has value, for it is strictly contemporary and includes many important documents. It is regrettable that a man of so much experience wasted three-fourths of his time in cumbrous compilation of previous works.

The southern school continues with Canterbury rising again in the person of Gervase (d. ca. 1210), a monk of Christ Church and author of several works, including a *Chronicle*<sup>39</sup> of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I. Its greatest value is for the years 1170–99, which deal with Henry II's ecclesiastical policy and the Becket controversy. Naturally the account is hostile to the king. It is not a source of great value, but not without importance.

In the introduction to another smaller *Chronicle*, Gervase makes a distinction between historians and chroniclers. The former, he says, seek for style and are fond of description and inclined to be prolix. The chronicler's aim is to relate facts briefly.<sup>40</sup> He apologizes to his reader and says that he is hardly worthy to be called a chronicler. His work has no literary pretensions and he has no expectation that it will be preserved in a library. Unfortunately Gervase's treatment shows much disproportion, he is careless of chronology and capable of making the wild statement that in 1159 the great scutage amounted to £180,000, which would have implied the commutation of the service of 135,000 knights. The correct figure is believed to have been £2440.

Of Ralph de Diceto (d. 1202),<sup>41</sup> Bishop Stubbs has written that "in

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 1917.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 1800. Translation by H. T. Riley, *The Annals of Roger of Hoveden* (London, 1853, 2 v.: Bohn's Antiquarian Library).

<sup>39</sup> Gross, no. 1730; edited by Stubbs, *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury* (London, 1879–80, 2 v.: Rolls series no. 73).

<sup>40</sup> *Gesta regum*, ed. cit., II, 3: "Cum multa mecum animo revolverem de gestis et eventibus regum Angliae, cum factis pontificum Cantuariensis ecclesiae, confratrum meorum precibus tandem inclinatus, mente proposui, ut de ipsis aliqua summam conscriberem, et, unde quidam magni viri magna et prolixa scripsere volumina, ego saltem ipsorum nomina per singulas regum et archiepiscoporum successiones, cum aliquibus eorum factis breviter memorandis, ad memoriam ipsa scribendi levitate simul et brevitate verborum excitandam recitarem."

<sup>41</sup> Gross, no. 1765; *Opera historica*, ed. by W. Stubbs (London, 1876, 2 v.: Rolls series no. 68).



the roll of English historians of the twelfth century no name stands higher." He was of French ancestry and had studied at Paris. Like Henry of Huntingdon<sup>42</sup> and Roger of Hoveden, he was an archdeacon and much more identified with the civil service than with spiritual affairs. This constant entanglement in temporal business of the archdeacon's office—in Ralph's case, he was archdeacon of Middlesex which included over fifty parishes of which he had supervision, and thus attached to the cathedral staff of St. Paul's—often gave the incumbent such a worldly outlook that it was banteringly written at the time that an archdeacon could not be saved. The *Ymagines historiarum* or "Outlines of History"<sup>43</sup> down to about 1172 are based on the Norman writer Robert of Torigny; but from 1172 forward and especially after 1188 it becomes a very valuable contemporary record fortified by the inclusion of important documents.

Diceto is one of the comparatively few impartial recorders of the Becket controversy. His account of the political feeling in 1173 is equal to William of Newburgh's famous account of the anarchy in Stephen's reign. He saw clearly the connection between Henry II's reforms and the rebellion which they precipitated. Diceto knew about the Continent and was far from being insular in his interests. He had a prejudice against Frenchmen, Germans, and Italians. He has a curious and satirical account of the culture of Guienne, especially of the kind of cookery found there,<sup>44</sup> and there is a remarkable description of the city of Angers and the bridge across the river. A valuable surviving monument of Ralph of Diceto's ecclesiastical administration is the *Domesday of St. Paul's* or survey of the estates of the chapter, made in 1181.

Archbishop Stephen Langton of Canterbury wrote a *Life of Richard I* which is lost, and only its table of contents has been preserved by Ranulf Higden, the fourteenth-century chronicler. Langton's biography, in turn, was written by Matthew Paris, and some fragments only have survived.<sup>45</sup> Accordingly, we are dependent upon sundry contemporary chroniclers for the history of the reign of Richard I, at least in England. At best, the result is a patchwork. The most important single source is Richard of Devizes' *De rebus gestis Ricardi Primi*,<sup>46</sup> which has been described by its editor as "one of the most amusing products of the

<sup>42</sup> J. H. Round discovered a MS in the Duke of Rutland's muniments with the signatures of Henry of Huntingdon and Ralph de Diceto upon it—as well as that of John of Salisbury. See Historical Manuscripts Commission, *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland, Preserved at Belvoir Castle*, vol. IV (London, 1905), 159-60 and 105; cp. R. L. Poole, "The Early Correspondence of John of Salisbury," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XI (1924-25), 41.

<sup>43</sup> He quotes Cassiodorus' *De institutione dignarum litterarum*, ch. xvii: "Chronica sunt ymagines hystoriarum brevissimaeque commemorationes temporum" (*Opera*, ed. cit., I, 34).

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 294.

<sup>45</sup> F. M. Powicke, *Stephen Langton* (Oxford, 1928), 2.

<sup>46</sup> Gross, no. 1764. Translated in Stevenson (n. 1), V, pt. i. The author was a monk of St. Swithun's, Winchester.

Middle Ages . . . [but] its classical quotations, bombastic speeches and keen gibes are mixed up with valuable historical facts."

The sources for the history of Richard I's participation in the Third Crusade will be noticed in the chapter upon the historiography of the Crusades. There is one important source for the king's later years. This is the *Chronicon Anglicanum* of Ralph of Coggeshall.<sup>47</sup> From 1066 to 1186 it is, of course, a compilation. But the entries from 1187 to 1223 are very valuable, covering as they do the whole reign of Richard and John.

The larger and advantageously situated monasteries learned much of the outside world from guests of distinction who stopped over night with the monks. Thus, Hugh de Neville furnished Ralph of Coggeshall, a Cistercian house not far from Bury St. Edmunds, with an account of an engagement between Richard Coeur de Lion and the Saracens, and the minute details of the capture of Richard when on his way home from Palestine were given him by Anselm the king's chaplain. From the same source probably also Ralph's account of Richard's death in Poitou and the remarkable estimate of his character were derived. In connection with the relation of this event we have an illustration of the conscientious effort of a chronicler to be exact. The narrative of Richard's capture had already been written, but the reminiscences of Anselm, who had stopped over at Coggeshall, were too valuable to be lost. Accordingly, the manuscript was withdrawn from the scriptorium, and the account erased, and the relation of the chaplain substituted.<sup>48</sup>

It is manifest, from this survey of English historians in the twelfth century, that a new school of historical writers had come into being with wider view and better method of presentation than formerly. The old-fashioned monastic chronicle, with its dry annalistic form and its provincial, even parochial, point of view, was gradually supplanted by a broader and deeper treatment of history. Naturally, however, monastic annals did not become extinct. Examples of the older type are found in the *History of Ramsey Abbey* (924-1200),<sup>49</sup> in the *Chronicle of Abingdon Monastery*,<sup>50</sup> and in the *Annals of St. Edmunds*.<sup>51</sup>

As the obscure mists of the legendary period disappear, and the steady light of facts dawns upon the grateful reader, so in the artless, unsystematic and sometimes ill-arranged and confused narratives and chronicles of the eleventh and the following century we seem to trace an era of intellectual progress when the mind of Europe had not yet been trained in the schools, and the great questions which agitated mankind had not yet been submitted to logical analysis and arrangement.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>47</sup> GROSS, no. 1756.

<sup>48</sup> *Radulphi de Coggeshall chronicon anglicanum* ed. by J. Stevenson (London, 1875: Rolls series no. 66), pp. xii-xv.

<sup>49</sup> GROSS, no. 1357.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 1701 and 2628.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 1358.

<sup>52</sup> HARDY, II, preface, pp. ix-x.

Clearer thinking, the development of feudal government into a constitutional form, and new and closer relations with the Continent gave men an altered view and induced a steadier observation of facts.

A striking feature of English historiography in the twelfth century is the changed nature of the ever popular saints' lives. The saints' lives, instead of being, as formerly, filled with more or less legendary information and abounding in miracles, now become serious biographies of good men and true like Crispin's *Life of Lanfranc* and Eadmer's *Life of Anselm*, which have already been noticed, but to which we may now add the *Life of Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln*, by Adam of Evesham, the *Life of Remigius, Bishop of Lincoln* by Gerald of Barri, the *Life of Robert, Abbot of Newminster*, the *Life of St. Godric*, and above all, various *Lives of Thomas Becket*.<sup>53</sup>

Another feature to be observed is the historical importance of the *Letters* of the twelfth century. No longer are they, as formerly, pious and edifying documents, but informing epistles which constitute a particular kind of narration which throws light upon much civil and ecclesiastical history, written as the occasion arose with no intention of publicity. Among the most important of these collections are the *Letters* of Lanfranc, Anselm, Archbishop Thurstan, Gilbert Foliot, Henry of Huntingdon, Herbert of Losinga, Herbert of Bosham, John of Salisbury, King Henry II, Thomas Becket, and Peter of Blois.<sup>54</sup>

A final word should be said about three English writers in the twelfth century, whose works are neither strictly history nor letters, but are of inestimable value in any appraisal of the intellectual culture of the age. These three are John of Salisbury, Walter Map, and Gerald of Wales.

John of Salisbury saw important history in the making; it passed under his own eyes. He knew personally almost every distinguished man of the time in Western Europe; popes, cardinals, bishops, kings, and princes were among his acquaintances. Though an Englishman, he spent much of his time in Italy—he was a favorite of Popes Eugene III and Hadrian IV—and in France, where he died as bishop of Chartres in 1180. He was the most learned and the most cultured ecclesiastic of the twelfth century, surpassing even Otto of Freising. In his youth in Paris he heard the lectures of Abelard, Robert of Melun, and William of Conches, and at Chartres acquired that remarkable knowledge of and taste for the classics which made him the most distinguished repre-

<sup>53</sup> On the *Lives* of Becket, see *ibid.*, III, 309-88; GROSS, nos. 2229-31; *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, ed. by J. C. Robertson (London, 1875-85, 7 v.: Rolls series no. 67), with valuable introduction.

<sup>54</sup> For reading on these see the pertinent bibliographies in POTTHAST, GROSS, and the *Dictionary of National Biography*. On Peter of Blois, see A. Luchaire, "Un diplomate," *ASMP*, CLXXI (1909), 371-81.

sentative of classicism in an age when the scholastic philosophy and the study of civil and canon law were the ruling intellectual influences. His works comprise his *Letters* which are vivacious.<sup>55</sup>

The only strictly historical work of John is the *Historia pontificalis*, which covers the period 1148-52 and is the principal source for these years.<sup>56</sup> It is a history of the relations of the papacy with the Emperor Frederick I and the kings of Norman Sicily; and especially valuable for information not otherwise preserved about Arnold of Brescia. Intended as a continuation of Sigebert of Gembloux' *Chronicle*, it probably concluded with the death of Pope Eugene III in 1153, but "the accident of the loss of a few leaves has deprived us of its termination."

John also was an author of *Lives* of Anselm and Thomas Becket, the *Entheticus*, a poetical satire on English politics in the time of Stephen, and lastly and most important, two treatises entitled *Policraticus* and *Metalogicon*, which are among the most learned productions of the Middle Ages, both works being full of classical citations. The latter for the first time in medieval scholarship makes use of the complete *Organon* of Aristotle. It may be described as an intellectual autobiography. The *Policraticus*, on the other hand, is a treatise on political theory and government, contemporary with Otto of Freising's *The Two Cities* and as profound as that work, but more analytic, or, one may say, more modern in its outlook and interpretation. The Prologue to Book I dwells on the value of writing and of written records in preserving the knowledge of the past. The copy of the *Policraticus* which John gave to Thomas Becket still bears the press-mark of the library of Christ Church, Canterbury, and is listed in a fourteenth-century catalogue. It is now in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, to which it was given by Archbishop Parker in the reign of Elizabeth.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>55</sup> See GROSS, index; Clement C. J. Webb, *John of Salisbury* (London, 1932); Carl Schaarschmidt, *Johannes Saresberiensis nach Leben und Studien, Schriften und Philosophie* (Leipzig, 1862); Webb, "John of Salisbury," *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, II, no. 2 (1893), 91-107; excellent article by Reginald Lane Poole in *DNB*, XXIX (1892), 439-46; the same, "The Early Correspondence of John of Salisbury," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XI (1924-25), 27-53. For this knowledge of classical literature, cp. SANDYS, I, 537-42; and A. C. Krey, "John of Salisbury's Knowledge of the Classics," *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, XVI, ii (1909-10), 948-87.

<sup>56</sup> *Ioannis Saresberiensis Historiae pontificalis quae supersunt*, ed. by Reginald Lane Poole (Oxford, 1927).

<sup>57</sup> Webb, *John of Salisbury* (n. 55), 23. The best editions of both these works are by Webb: *Joannis Saresberiensis episcopi Carnotensis Metalogicon libri IV* (Oxford, 1929), and *Ioannis Saresberiensis . . . Policratici sive De nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum libri VIII* (Oxford, 1909, 2 v.). The *Policraticus* has been translated by John Dickinson, *The Statesman's Book of John of Salisbury* (New York, 1927), containing Bks. IV-VI and portions of VII-VIII, and by Joseph B. Pike, *Fringillies of Courtiers and Footprints of Philosophers* (Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1938), offering Bks. I-III and the balance of VII-VIII. See E. F. Jacob, "John of Salisbury and the *Policraticus*," in *The Social and Political Ideas of Some Great Mediaeval Thinkers*, ed. by F. J. C. Hearnshaw (London, 1923); R. W. and A. J. Carlyle, *A History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West* (New York, etc., 1903-36, 6 v.), III, 136-46, IV, 330-37;

Walter Map (ca. 1140-1210) was of Welsh descent, a student in Paris, and then a clerk of the household of King Henry II, by whom, like Henry of Huntingdon, he was employed as an itinerant justice. He represented the king in the Lateran Council of 1179 and in his late years was archdeacon of Oxford. Map was a suave, intriguing, and at times satiric courtier. He is dubiously credited with a share in the composition of the Arthurian legends, with a lost poem on Lancelot, as well as the authorship of numbers of the ribald songs and ballads included in the notorious collection of Goliardic poetry. But the sole authenticated work of Map is the *De nugis curialium* or *Courtiers' Triflings*, a compound of racy anecdotes and satirical reflections which throw amusing light upon high social and court life in the reign of Henry II.<sup>58</sup>

The relations of England with Wales were far closer than those with Scotland in the twelfth century. This is strikingly reflected in the various writings of Giraldus Cambrensis.<sup>59</sup>

Giraldus (1147-1223) was the youngest son of a Norman baron by the daughter of the famous Nesta, the "Helen of Wales," a daughter of the great Rhys-ab-Tewdwr, prince of South Wales, mother of the Fitz-Geralds by Gerald de Windsor, mother of the Fitz-Henries by King Henry I, and mother of the Fitz-Stephens by Stephen, castellan of Aberteivi. His mother Augharad was the first-cousin of the lord Rhys-ab-Gruffyd, prince of South Wales, who is often mentioned in his works. He was educated by his uncle David, bishop of St. David's,

Reginald Lane Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Mediaeval Thought and Learning* (2nd ed., London, 1920), ch. vii; and C. Webb, "The Policraticus of John of Salisbury," *CQR*, LXXI (1910-11), 312-45.

<sup>58</sup> *Walter Map: De nugis curialium*, ed. by Montague Rhodes James (Oxford, 1914); this supersedes the older edition of Thomas Wright in the Camden Society publications (London, 1850, no. 50). James offered an English translation, *Walter Map's 'De nugis curialium,'* in the record series of the Cymmrodorion Society (London, 1923, no. IX), and M. B. Ogle and Marion Tubber followed with another, *Master Walter Map's Book, De nugis curialium (Courtiers' Trifles)* (London, 1924). For literature see PAETOW, 484, 490, 492, and add an article by Georg Phillips in *Sitzungsberichte der k. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, X (Vienna, 1853), 319-99. See also *The Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes*, ed. by Thomas Wright (London, 1841: Camden Society no. XVI); W. Lewis Jones, "Walter Map," *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, Session 1905-06* (London, 1907), 161-88; Achille Luchaire, "Gautier Map," *JS*, 1901, pp. 504-16; Alfred Maury in *Revue archéologique*, I. série, VIII (1851), 584-87.

<sup>59</sup> Known also as Gerald of Barri and Gerald of Wales. For editions of his works see GROSS, no. 1782. The literature upon Giraldus is copious. *Giraldi Cambrensis opera*, ed. by J. S. Brewer (London, 1869-91, 8 v.: Rolls series no. 21), I, preface; translation by H. E. Butler, *The Autobiography of Giraldus Cambrensis* (London, 1937), with introductory chapter by C. H. Williams; anon., "Gerald of Wales, Patriot and Churchman," *LTLS*, 1937, p. 300; T. R. Lounsbury, "A Scholar of the Twelfth Century," *New Englander and Yale Review*, XXXVII (1878), 717-41, XXXVIII (1879), 50-74, XXXIX (1880), 70-95; "The Life and Times of Giraldus Cambrensis, Churchman and Historian," *CQR*, LV (1902-03), 341-63; F. M. Powicke, *The Christian Life in the Middle Ages and Other Essays* (Oxford, 1935), 107-29. *The Historical Works of Giraldus Cambrensis*, rev. ed. by Thomas Wright (London, 1892 and 1905, Bohn's Antiquarian Library) contains translations by Thomas Forester and Sir Richard C. Hoare.

the grandson of Rhys-ab-Tewdwr, and studied at the University of Paris. Twice he was elected to be bishop of St. David's, but each time failed of appointment. He was a versatile, intellectual, restless, ambitious, conceited, but very able man, all of whose writings abound with originality and all of which are of importance, both for political and cultural history.

Two of his works relate to Wales: the *Itinerary through Wales*, and the *Description of Wales*;<sup>60</sup> and two to Ireland: the *Topography of Ireland* and the *Conquest of Ireland*. Nothing but an attentive reading of these four works can convey an idea of their interest, originality, vivacity. They will challenge comparison with any similar works ever written and are classics of their kind. His *Autobiography* is one of the raciest examples of medieval literature. Gerald knew almost every person of note in England, France, and Italy in his day, including Innocent III, with whom he was on terms of intimacy. He recited his books at Oxford, at Paris, and at Rome and deposited copies of them with the Welsh princes, with Archbishops Baldwin, Hubert, and Langton of Canterbury, with King Henry II and Pope Innocent III. He amused or irritated every person with whom he came into contact, but left no mark on either secular or ecclesiastical history. He is saved from oblivion by his personality.

The heterogeneous elements which entered into the formation of the peoples of the country we know as Scotland were so many centuries in becoming sufficiently fused together into a nation that Scottish historiography did not emerge until late in the twelfth century.<sup>61</sup> So obscure and confused is the history of Scotland before the second half of the twelfth century that the main reliance of historians has to be put upon English sources.<sup>62</sup> In the early Middle Ages the Picts seem to have been the strongest and most civilized of the Celtic tribes. This is shown not only by the embassy sent by one of their kings to Jarrow, as recorded by Bede, but by the evidences of art found in their archaeological remains. We know from continental writers that the Picts were an independent nation having a political system and a language in which they

<sup>60</sup> Translated in Everyman's Library: *The Itinerary through Wales and The Description of Wales*, by Giraldus Cambrensis (London and New York, 1908); and in Wright (n. 59). See also A. G. Little, *Mediaeval Wales, Chiefly in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (London, 1902).

<sup>61</sup> The Irish of the Highlands, the Lowland English, and the Welsh of Galloway are the three chief ingredients of the Scottish people. Historically the Picts were the original Celtic inhabitants of North Britain and entirely distinct from the Scots, the "Irish marauders," as Gildas called them, who came from "Scotia," as Ireland was then called in the fifth century, who swarmed into the country in such numbers that it became a "New" Scotia, and then merely "Scotia" as the name in the island to the west was eclipsed by that of Erin. See W. F. Skene, *Chronicles of the Picts, Chronicles of the Scots, and Other Early Memorials of Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1867), introduction.

<sup>62</sup> For proofs see Alan O. Anderson, *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers, A.D. 500-1286* (London, 1908).

read the Scriptures until the middle of the ninth century. From then until the twelfth century the name Pict was the designation of the strongest element of a population formed of two separate and different peoples but united under a single rule. Bede testifies to the double-nature of the Scotch. After the twelfth century the name Pict disappeared as applied to any group of people. Henry of Huntingdon (d. ca. 1155) makes the curious statement that the Picts seemingly were destroyed and their language extinct when he wrote.<sup>63</sup> Yet the Picts formed a division at the Battle of the Standard in the very year when Henry was writing. He mentions the "Scots" but does not distinguish the different elements in their composition. Picts and Scots had become fused into a single people, but the Pictish language survived as a local dialect in certain quarters, notably around Kirkcudbright (according to Richard of Durham).<sup>64</sup>

The earliest truly Scottish historical work is the *Chronicon Anglo-Scoticum* (60 B.C.-1189 A.D.), compiled late in the twelfth century by an anonymous Scotch monk.<sup>65</sup>

It is difficult to form a definite conception of what are the real sources of Welsh history. At the beginning we have three: (1) Gildas' *Historia* or *Epistola*, ca. 560 A.D., (2) Nennius' *History of the Britons*, perhaps written in the eighth century, but with additions extending to 977, part of which are genealogies, and (3) the *Ancient Laws and Institutions of Howel the Good* in the tenth century. The date claimed for early Welsh poetry is the sixth century, which also was the century of the Welsh saints. In this period the college of Bangor on the Dee River was founded by Dunawd Fawr, who was the Dinodh Abbas mentioned by Bede. In the seventh century the Welsh peoples seem to have become nationally self-conscious. For then, apparently, "the popular lays floating about among the people were brought into shape and assumed a consistent form. The sudden rise of the Cymric population to power under Cadwallan, and the burst of national enthusiasm and excited hope found vent in poetry" (Skene). There was a wide hiatus of

<sup>63</sup> *Quamvis Picti jam videantur deleti, et lingua eorum ita destructa, ut jam fabula videatur quod in veterum scriptis eorum mentio invenitur: cui autem non comparet amor coelestium horror terrestrium, si cogitet non solum reges eorum, et princeps et populum deperisse, veterum etiam stirpem omnem et linguam et mentionem simul defecisse; et si de aliis mirum non esset, de lingua tamen, quam unam inter caeteras, Deus ab exordio linguarum instituit mirandum videtur* (Bk. 1).

<sup>64</sup> When Scott wrote *The Antiquary* only one Pictish word was known and that had been preserved by Bede. It is Peanfahel. Since that time there have been discovered Ur, Scolofth, Cartit, Duiper (William Reeves, ed., *Life of Saint Columba, Founder of Hy, Written by Adamnan* [Edinburgh, 1874], 63) and a considerable number of proper names both of persons and places.

<sup>65</sup> Up to 731 A.D. it is derived from Bede. There is nothing between 735 and 1065. From 1065 to 1129 it is an abridgment of Simeon of Durham. From 1129 to 1189 the information is independent and contemporary. See GROSS, no. 1748, for editions and a partial translation.

time, however, before the true historical spirit emerged. The *Annales Cambriae*, the oldest history of Wales, were written about 954 A.D. and are the basis of all later Welsh chronicles.<sup>66</sup> The work was written at St. David's, probably by Biegegyrd, archdeacon of Llandaff. At the end of the eleventh century new political impulse stirred the Welsh in 1177 when Rhys-ab-Tewdwr returned to South Wales from Brittany, and Gruffydd-ap-Cynan, the true heir of North Wales, landed there from Ireland in 1180. North Wales developed along the line of poetry. In South Wales intellectual life found expression in history. The first evidence of this was Geoffrey of Monmouth's romantic *History of the Britons* (1147). More concrete evidence of Welsh historiography is the *Black Book of Carmarthen* which was written also in the reign of Henry II of England.

It is not easy to determine the priority of origin of various Irish annals written in this epoch, for they all begin in the misty past of Irish history. Perhaps the oldest are the *Annals of Tigernach*, written by Tigernach O'Braein, abbot of Clonmacnoise, who died in 1088.<sup>67</sup> The work was continued by various hands down to 1321. The most important portion is that known as the *Chronicon Scotorum*, which extends to 1135.<sup>68</sup> *The Annals of Inisfallen*,<sup>69</sup> from the middle of the tenth century, contain entries relating to the history of Munster not found elsewhere. A fourth Irish chronicle is the *Annals of Loch Cé*, which begins with the battle of Clontarf in 1014 and extends to 1220.<sup>70</sup> Finally we have the *Song of Dermot*,<sup>71</sup> based on a lost chronicle probably written about 1175 by Morice Regan, a Breton in the service of Dermot McMurrough, king of Leinster, and translated into old French about 1225. It is a primary source for Strongbow's invasion of Ireland. From the beginning of the thirteenth century Latin tended to supplant the use of the Irish language, and the Anglo-Norman style of writing to displace the old Gaelic hand.

<sup>66</sup> GROSS, no. 1351.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 1377 for editions and literature.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 1752.

<sup>69</sup> *The Annals of Inisfallen*, with an introduction by R. I. Best and Eoin MacNeill (Royal Irish Academy, Dublin and London, 1933); reviewed by E. Curtis in *EHR*, L (1935), 309-10.

<sup>70</sup> GROSS, no. 1711.

<sup>71</sup> *Song of Dermot and the Earl, an Old French Poem* [to about 1175, with a translation], ed. G. H. Orpen (Oxford, 1892). Cp. GROSS, no. 1842.



## CHAPTER XVI

### HISTORIANS OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

THE attentive reader will have observed that the chapters immediately preceding, which have dealt with the historiography of the Feudal Age, have each terminated about 1200. The historiography of the thirteenth century possesses some characteristics which are like those of previous centuries. But it is more important to observe the differences and to perceive that the distinguishing characteristics of historical writing in the thirteenth century were original and novel—neither like those which had gone before, nor wholly like those which are found in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This is not implying, however, that the historical writers of the thirteenth century clearly perceived and understood the significance or even the actuality of the changes with which they were contemporary. No generation understands its own age—that is left to future historians to interpret.<sup>1</sup>

The thirteenth century not only viewed history on a larger scale than formerly; it also regarded it from a new angle and so developed new types of historiography. The explanation, of course, is to be found in the changed nature of the times.

The far-reaching change [it has been written] which took place in church, state, and society at the end of the thirteenth century left its impress on historiography. Whereas in the eleventh and twelfth century men of birth and high official position not infrequently wrote the history of the world in excellent compendiums, we are dependent in the following centuries mostly on the works of the lower classes of society. Among these the Mendicant Orders, especially the Minorites, play an important role. The laity of the towns also fill a prominent place in the historical literature of the time.<sup>2</sup>

The thirteenth century was both the culmination of medieval history and culture, and the threshold of modern history. It was at once medieval and modern in spirit and in practice in what it preserved of the past and in what it projected into the future. It was simultaneously ecclesiastical-minded, as the previous centuries had been, and secular-minded—which was a new attitude of thought. The power and au-

<sup>1</sup> "Nos historiens du XII<sup>e</sup> et du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle ont à peine soupçonné la révolution dont ils étaient les témoins, sans en prévoir la portée. Les auteurs modernes ont bien reconnu le profond changement qui s'est alors opéré dans le gouvernement de la France." L. Delisle, *Catalogue des actes de Philippe-Auguste* (Paris, 1856), p. v.

<sup>2</sup> Hans Prutz, *The Age of Feudalism and Theocracy* (Philadelphia and New York, 1905: *A History of All Nations*, ed. by J. H. Wright, IX), 303.

thority of the medieval Church, which reached its zenith in this age, "rising as it did from the threefold root of Roman law, Greek thought and Hebrew theocracy,"<sup>3</sup> awakened an historic sense greater than before. Latin still remained the chief instrument for the expression of thought, but the vernacular languages in this century had reached such a degree of development that they could successfully become a new instrument of literature. Monastic chroniclers continue to use Latin,<sup>4</sup> but lay chroniclers use Italian, French, German, or Spanish, as the case may be. In this usage of the vernacular it is to be observed that English historiography is slower in development and lags behind the Continent.

These lay writers were of two classes. Some were nobles, as Villehardouin and Joinville. More of them were of bourgeois status. In the depth of the Middle Ages few nobles, even kings and princes, were able to read or write. But as Europe advanced in culture, the education of the upper laity was improved, until by the twelfth century many noble lords and ladies were able to read and write and appreciated literature, as the patronage of both prose writers and poets at feudal courts shows.<sup>5</sup>

The new bourgeois historiography is reflected in the town chronicles which arise in the thirteenth century and which grow more numerous in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, especially in Italy and Germany. This new literature, of course, was a product of the social and economic revolution of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when a communal movement of wide dimension prevailed all over Europe, but was stronger in Lombardy, Tuscany, Germany, and Flanders, where many free cities or city republics existed. So intense was this bourgeois movement that even chronicles not of actual bourgeois authorship reflect the new spirit.

Another fact to be observed is that the old-fashioned "Universal Chronicle," while not extinct, diminished in the thirteenth century, and was replaced by a new sort of general chronicle of a different scope and interest, and even of a different form and spirit. The fantastic disproportionateness of the old-fashioned universal history tended to decline in the twelfth century, and a more rational chronology and more reasonable dimensions to prevail. At the same time the artificial distinction between "sacred" and "profane" history which had been invented in the patristic age and had been adopted by medieval histori-

<sup>3</sup> J. H. Bridges, *The Life and Work of Roger Bacon* (London, 1914), 141.

<sup>4</sup> Monastic Latin annals, however, almost all seriously declined by 1300, and many of them came to an end.

<sup>5</sup> See C. H. Haskins, "Henry II. as a Patron of Literature," *Essays in Medieval History Presented to Thomas Frederick Tout*, ed. by A. G. Little and F. M. Powicke (Manchester, 1925), 71-77; F. Philippi, "Heinrich der Löwe als Beförderer von Kunst und Wissenschaft," *HZ*, CXXVII (1922-23), 50-65; K. J. Holzknicht, *Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1923).

ans, inclined to become blurred, even when it was not wholly obliterated. Further, one discerns better analysis of historical evidence and improved integration of materials in this new kind of universal chronicles. Already in the twelfth century, Hugo of St. Victor in a short but cogent work entitled *Liber de tribus maximis circumstanciis gestorum*<sup>6</sup> had pointed out that the essential information in every historical event was time, place, and circumstance, or where and when an event happened and the nature of it. The educational revolution which began in the twelfth century and culminated in the establishment of many universities in the next century, was not without influence upon this change. At the same time, the growing power of monarchy in Europe, united with increasing territorial expansion, especially in France, simplified the political pattern and made the effect more massive. Again, the rival claims to universal sway made by the emperor and the pope familiarized men's minds with broader political concepts, far different from the particularistic theories and practices of the early feudal age. The "new" historiography inclined to abandon the old consecrated division of history into the "six ages of man" and to regard history in a realistic way.

An early example of this new kind of universal history is that of Helinand, a monk of Froidmont near Beauvais, who composed a vast chronicle in forty-nine books distinguished by two characteristics—a sense of proportion and a careful indication of the sources used. Before becoming a monk Helinand had been a jongleur at the court of Philip Augustus. Other universal chroniclers were Robert of Auxerre (d. 1214) and Aubri of Trois-Fontaines, a Cistercian abbey near Châlons, the author of a vast chronicle which extended to 1241. One may also include, for courtesy's sake, and because it represented a popular type of the historiography of the thirteenth century, Philippe Mouskes' *Chronique rimée* of over 31,000 lines, which terminates in the year 1241.<sup>7</sup>

Although here and there an author of the older monastic orders broke away from tradition and wrote history from the new point of view and along the new lines, in the main historical writers in the monastic orders were too conservative to change. Not so the Dominicans, who from the inception of their order sympathized with the new and broader spirit and adopted and improved the new technique of historical writing.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> It remains unpublished, cp. POTTHAST, I, 625; B. Hauréau, "La chronique de Hugues de Saint-Victor," *JS*, 1886, 303-15; MOLINIER, II, no. 2196.

<sup>7</sup> For further information and critical literature on these three writers, see MOLINIER, III, nos. 2514, 2521, and 2522.

<sup>8</sup> For examples of the energy of the Dominicans in historiography see MOLINIER, III, pp. 77-82. On Franciscan historiography, which was inferior to that of the Dominicans, consult F. Baethgen, "Franziskanische Studien," *HZ*, CXXXI (1925), 421-71; *Monumenta Franciscana*, ed. by J. S. Brewer (London, 1858-82, 2 v.: Rolls series no. 4) for England, with a valuable introduction, and cp. B. Hauréau in *JS*, 1882, pp. 726-32.

From the time of their foundation the Dominicans emphasized the importance of education and clear thinking and clear expression of ideas, and wrote textbooks and compends for their students.<sup>9</sup>

The most striking example of Dominican historiography is the second part of that "colossal compilation" made by Vincent of Beauvais (1190–1264) under the royal patronage of St. Louis, and known as the *Speculum Historiale*, or *Mirror of History*.<sup>10</sup> It is at once a work of information and edification, for he explains that the mirror not merely is to be looked into for information, but its reflections deserve to be taken to heart. The work is a vast historical encyclopaedia, exhibiting enormous knowledge and great breadth of view, as for example his generous treatment of pagan literature. The prologue makes the interesting comment that everywhere knowledge of literature, both secular and ecclesiastical, is increasing, and that his fellow-Dominicans in especial are working assiduously on historical and philosophical matters. He deplores that the history of the Church is falling into neglect—a sign of the growing laicization of the medieval mind. The *Speculum Historiale* was originally brought down from Genesis to 1244 and later extended to 1250. So enormous was the size of it that Vincent himself made an epitome which he called *Memoriale*. The attention given to cultural history is not the least remarkable feature of this important book, for Vincent deals with the religion of the ancient Hebrews, Egyptians, Babylonians, and Romans. It is in no sense a scientific history, but a skillful weaving together of excerpts from very many authors into a pattern of Vincent's own devising and own making. It is a document of prime importance in many fields of medieval history and culture.<sup>11</sup>

Another brilliant example of Dominican historiography, produced just after the turn of the century, but very different in its nature from the work of Vincent of Beauvais, was the *Flores Chronicorum* of Bernard Gui (d. 1331), the Dominican bishop of Lodève, formerly prior of several Dominican houses and inquisitor of Toulouse. As an historian Bernard Gui deserves high praise; he exhibits real qualities of learning and criti-

<sup>9</sup> "Das Aufkommen und die rasche Verbreitung der Bettelmönche brachte in die Geschichtsschreibung ein ganz neues Element. . . . Sie schreiben Geschichte um zu lehren, um Handbücher für ihre Disputationen und Vorrathskammern für ihre Predigten zu haben. . . . Sie mussten Compendien zum bequemen Gebrauch und daneben grosse Encyclopädien haben, in denen sie alles leicht aufsuchen konnten, dessen sie gerade bedurften" (WATTENBACH, II, 459). See further Ottokar Lorenz, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter seit der Mitte des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts* (3rd rev. ed., Berlin, 1886–87, 2 v.), I, 8–12; H. Vildhaut, *Handbuch der Quellenkunde zur deutschen Geschichte* (2nd ed., Werl, 1906–09, 2 v.), II, 14–23; E. Michael, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes* (3rd ed., Freiburg, 1897), III, 383–88; L. Oelsner, in *HZ*, III (1860), 410–24.

<sup>10</sup> WATTENBACH, II, 463. The other two parts were the *Speculum Naturale*, and the *Speculum Doctrinale*.

<sup>11</sup> See B. L. Ullman, "A Project for a New Edition of Vincent of Beauvais," *Speculum*, VIII (1933), 312–26. For other literature, see POTTHAST, II, 1095–96; MOLINIER, III, nos. 2524–26.

cism, and is scrupulous in citation of sources. He is exact, well informed, and imbued with a sense of precision and proportion. To the end of his life he continued to revise and correct his work.<sup>12</sup> He was one of the greatest historians of the Middle Ages, comparable to Otto of Freising and Matthew Paris.<sup>13</sup>

Bernard Gui wrote for scholars. His older contemporary, the Polish Dominican Martin of Troppau, who was papal penitentiary and chaplain, wrote for the popular interest a vast but ill-formed general history entitled *Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum* which terminated in 1277. It was the "best seller" of its time, a sort of medieval H. G. Wells' *Outline of History*, and was one of the earliest books printed, besides being translated into Czech, German, and Italian. Like the earlier Benedictines, the Dominicans also maintained local annals in their most important priories. But though written in annalistic form, these Dominican annals in many cases exhibit the merits of the new historiography in their breadth and preciseness of information. An example is the Dominican *Annals of Colmar* (1211-1305).<sup>14</sup>

Another change in historical writing observable in the thirteenth century is the interest of governments and kings in history. The office of historiographer-royal makes its appearance in France, England, and Spain. History begins to be written for kings and under the eyes of kings. Increasing literary appreciation and patronage of letters were two factors in this new development, but political interest or propaganda was another factor. It is a sign not only of the growing literacy of Europe, but also of the growing influence of public opinion. At the same time the political pamphlet, the birth of which is attached to the War of Investiture in the late eleventh century, multiplied enormously. The Crusades, the Catharist heresy, and the bitter struggle between Frederick II and the popes opened the door to the use of propaganda on a huge scale, and the spirit of it entered into and tintured some of the historiography of the age.<sup>15</sup>

In France this new form of historical writing appears in the huge compilation of Guillaume de Nangis (1285-1300), who was keeper of the records (*custos cartarum*) and official historian of the crown in the reign of Philip IV. Of a more popular nature, but still intended to flatter the monarchy, was the *Grand Chronique de France* or *Grands Chroniques de St. Denis*, so called because the work emanated from this

<sup>12</sup> Successive editions terminate in 1301, 1315, 1319, 1321, 1327, 1330.

<sup>13</sup> See MOLINIER, III, no. 2844, for the rest of his numerous writings. Léopold Delisle has an exhaustive account in *Notices et extraits* . . . , XXVII, ii (1879), 169-455.

<sup>14</sup> POTTHAST, I, 59; Lorenz (n. 9), I, 17-21.

<sup>15</sup> The most valuable information for the history of the Albigensian Crusade is documentary. For this, and the narrative literature, see MOLINIER, III, pp. 55-82 (nos. 2387-2511).

favorite abbey of the French kings. The origin of this famous compilation goes as far back as the Abbot Suger, who began it. Subsequent monastic writers added to it, so that in the course of a century and a half the work became a vast accretion of ill-digested materials derived from many sources. Almost without value, the *Grands Chroniques de St. Denis* were vastly popular and vastly influential, because they were written in the French language instead of Latin and so could be read by the laity to whom Latin was a closed book.<sup>16</sup>

History written in the French language, as we shall see in a later chapter, dates from the fourth crusade in 1204. We owe to the ill-fated seventh crusade of Louis IX the immortal biography of St. Louis by the Sieur de Joinville (1224-1317), his seneschal and loyal servitor for many years. At the age of eighty he dictated this perfect tribute to an almost perfect king, at the request of Queen Jean of Navarre, who implored him to preserve the memory of the "paroles et les beaux faits" of this sainted hero of France. Through the transfiguring mists of time Joinville viewed the king as in a golden haze. The spirit and the practices of feudalism were idealized, the hard realities of the kingship were softened by sentiment and lapse of time. While important for valuable information, the *Vie de St. Louis* is more important for the atmosphere of chivalry which invests it, the salient anecdotes told of the king, which shed light not only upon his character but the feudal nature of the age, and finally for Joinville's own shrewd observations upon men and events, as for example his comments on the futility of the crusades. Among many vivid passages may be cited the description of the Nile viewed from the walls of Damietta (ch. xii); the king's dangerous illness and his instructions to his son (ch. xxix); the death of the king on the sands before Tunis (ch. xxx). A single extract must suffice. It is an account of a battle between the French and the Muslims near Damietta:

On they came [writes Joinville], a good thirty of them with their drawn swords in hand and Danish axes [these weapons were borrowed by the Saracens from the Varangian guardsmen of the Byzantine emperor who were Danes]. I asked my lord Baldwin of Ibelin, who knew well the Arabic tongue, what they were saying, and he answered that they were coming to cut off our heads. All about us the French knights were busy confessing their sins to one of the Brethren of the Trinity, of the household of William of Flanders.

But Joinville could think of no sins to confess—only that it was no use trying to defend himself or to run away. And when one of the terrible

<sup>16</sup> On the *Grands chroniques de St. Denis* consult MOLINIER, III, no. 2530; *Études d'histoire du moyen âge dédiées à Gabriel Monod* (Paris, 1896), 307-16; POTTHAST, I, 316-17; Léon Lacabane, in *BEC*, II (1840-41), 57-74; L. Delisle, in *JS*, 1900, pp. 610-18.

axes was raised over him he could only kneel and cross himself, thinking "thus died St. Agnes." But the constable of Cyprus, who knelt at his side in that awful moment, insisted on confessing to him. "I absolve you," murmured Joinville, "with such power as God has given me. But when I rose up I could not remember a word of what he had said." The gem of the book is Joinville's protest against the king's second crusade against Tunis. Joinville had no illusions about the crusades and regarded them as folly. "I was much pressed by the king," he writes, "to cross myself, and I answered that while I was serving God and the king beyond sea in the former crusade the officials of the king had destroyed and impoverished my vassals so that they and I never were in a worse condition. I said also that if I wished to do God's will I ought to stay at home and take care of my people. . . . I thought that those who advised the king to go committed mortal sin, for as long as he was in France the whole realm was at peace, but after his departure things got continually worse."<sup>17</sup>

Aside from these works, the sources of the history of France in the thirteenth century are more of a documentary than an annalistic character.<sup>18</sup> All the chronicles relate the general history of the reign, and these are supplemented by provincial chronicles, each of which contributes its contingent of facts. But as these were written by cloistered monks who knew little of what was going on in the wide outside world, these narratives have merely occasional and local value. Among the more important of these provincial annals are the *Chronicon Lemovicense*, written in the abbey of St. Martial in Limoges; the *Chronicon* of St. Pierre le Vif in Sens; the *Chronicle* of Moissac; the *Chronicle* attributed to Baldwin of Avesnes in Flanders, which is an amorphous compilation; the *Chronicle* of Rouen; and a medley of various annals of monastic houses in Touraine fused together into the *Chroniques de Touraine*. All in all, the historiography of France in the thirteenth century, save for Vincent of Beauvais and the works of Villehardouin and Joinville, is not distinguished. But in the writing of history in the popular tongue France was the pioneer.

In contrast with France, English historiography in the thirteenth century<sup>19</sup> adhered to Latin and built on the substantial foundations laid by

<sup>17</sup> The only critical edition of Joinville is by Natalis de Wailly (Paris, 1865, etc.); the original text has been published with an English translation by Joan Evans (London, 1938); another translation in Everyman's Library. Older literature in POTHAST, I, 679-81. H. F. Delaborde, *RDM*, December 1, 1892, pp. 602-36; Gaston Paris in *Romania*, XXIII (1894), 78-116; A. Paulet, *ibid.*, LVIII (1932), 551-64; Max Müller, *Chips from a German Workshop* (New York, 1889-91, 5 v.), III, 151-91; and *LTLS*, 1938, p. 204.

<sup>18</sup> For these see MOLINIER, II, nos. 2538-69.

<sup>19</sup> J. C. Russell, *Dictionary of Writers of Thirteenth Century England* (London, 1936: Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, special supplement, no. 3).

the historians of the twelfth century. Only one English historian in the thirteenth century, however, was as qualified a writer as several in the previous century. This was Matthew Paris. The times were stimulating, for this was the age of Magna Charta, of the Barons' War, of the rise of Parliament, of the conquest of Wales and Scotland, nor may we omit England's political connections with France and Flanders, with the papacy, and even the Holy Land. In this century, too, the friars settled in England, where the influence of the Franciscans was intellectually greater than that of the Dominicans. Again in contrast with the Continent, in England the old Benedictine foundations exhibited an intellectual vitality which put those across the channel to shame, and the number and value of monastic annals is large. Almost all of them, however, manifest the chronic weakness of monkish annalists, and borrow copiously from their predecessors for all information save that which is actually contemporary.

Among monastic annals are those of Walter of Coventry, a monk of St. Mary's, York, which extend from Brutus to 1225;<sup>20</sup> and the *Annals of Burton*, which for the years 1211 to 1263 are very valuable. The editor Luard calls them "one of the most valuable collections of materials for the history of the time that we possess." It is a primary source for the Barons' War (1258-63).<sup>21</sup> The *Annals of Tewkesbury*, which favor the barons, are equally valuable for this struggle.<sup>22</sup> The *Chronicle of Melrose Abbey* is an original authority from the middle of the twelfth century down to 1275, and important for the history of North England and Scotland.<sup>23</sup> A reviewer of the new edition of this chronicle wrote of it:

It is a remarkable work, these Scots annals, whether the compilers are drawing upon a lost Northumbrian source or upon the Scottish material used, the editors argue, by Howden. The derived part is in some ways as significant for Northumbrian historical scholarship as the part—mainly after 1171—in which the chroniclers reveal both their originality and their personalities, sometimes even in too marked a way. The thirteenth-century material is often of considerable importance, and the range is astonishing. The deep interest shown by those monks in the Emperor Frederick II almost rivals that of Matthew Paris. They are well informed about the Crusades, and show a striking knowledge of the events of 1244; they are particularly observant of the conduct of legates. They give precious facts about the years 1215-1218, when the fate of the young Henry III was in the balance, and their portrait of the legate Gualo presents another side to that commonly known. They give a picture of Northern monasticism which shows it well-informed, courtly, dignified, European, perhaps more inclining to the spirit of Cluny than of Cîteaux; and they have much to say about the relations of the English and the Scots kings, not always to the advantage of Henry III.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>20</sup> GROSS, no. 1761.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 1692.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 1694.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 1735; English translation in Joseph Stevenson, *The Church Historians of England* (London, 1853-58, 5 v. in 8), IV, pt. i, 79-242.

<sup>24</sup> *LTLS*, 1936, p. 416.



Interesting light is thrown on the importance attached to historical literature in the thirteenth century by the action of Edward I in 1291. In that year he caused the libraries of England to be searched for anything which would furnish information on the English claim to lordship over Scotland. As a result of the newly discovered value of the chronicles the king transmitted to the more important monasteries a copy of the consent of the two rivals for the Scottish crown to accept his decision.

In the *Annals of Winton* <sup>25</sup> the account of the events after the Battle of Evesham (1267-77) is the most important part. The *Annals of Waverly* <sup>26</sup> are an important source for the reign of Henry III and again a primary source for Evesham and after. The *Annals of Dunstable Priory* <sup>27</sup> are original for the years 1201-97; "Many historical facts are known solely from this chronicle. . . . It is probably the most accurate record extant of the ordinary secular proceedings of a monastery in the thirteenth century." The *Annals of Worcester Priory* <sup>28</sup> "will always rank very high as an authority for the latter years of the thirteenth century." The bulk of the *Annals of Oseney* <sup>29</sup> is "an original authority for the general history of England from 1223 to 1293."

The Cistercians, as has been observed before, were not greatly given to the writing of history. But Ralph, abbot of the Cistercian abbey of Coggeshall (1207-18), building upon Florence of Worcester and Henry of Huntingdon for the early part of his *Chronicon Anglicanum*, <sup>30</sup> managed to include a considerable amount of independent material for the years between 1187 and 1223, and more especially for the reign of John and the minority of Henry III.

Unique amid this series of monastic annals is the *Chronica* of Jocelin of Brakelond (1173-1203), a Cistercian house, which gives an intimate account of the economy and working of a medieval monastery both inside and out. As a source of economic and social conditions at the end of the twelfth century, it is without a peer.<sup>31</sup> Bartholomew Cotton, a monk of Norwich who compiled a copious *Historia Anglicana* <sup>32</sup> extending from Hengist and Horsa to the middle of the reign of Edward I (1298), in the last portion is an informing writer.

Substantial as these monastic annals are, at least in places and for

<sup>25</sup> GROSS, no. 1696; English translation in Stevenson (n. 23), IV, pt. i, 347-84.

<sup>26</sup> GROSS, no. 1695. <sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 1821. <sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 1698. <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 1693. <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 1756.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 2628; *Poethast*, I, 654. First edited by J. G. Rokewode (London, 1840: Camden Society, first series, XIII); and again in *Memorials of St. Edmunds Abbey*, ed. by Th. Arnold (London, 1890: Rolls series no. 96), I, 209-336. English translation by T. E. Tomlins, *Monastic and Social Life in the Twelfth Century, as Exemplified in the Chronicles of Jocelin of Brakelond* (London, 1844, 2nd ed., 1845). This work is the basic fabric of Carlyle's *Past and Present* (ed. 1857, pp. 51-156).

<sup>32</sup> GROSS, no. 1760.

certain years, they are all of them inferior to the great succession of monastic chronicles which issued from St. Albans Abbey in the thirteenth century, where it is not an exaggeration to say that a genuine "school of history" developed.<sup>33</sup> Indeed, in this time St. Albans vied with Oxford and Cambridge as a center of English intellectual life.

The town of St. Albans is about twenty miles from London. It was a halting place for travelers on the great north road. That there was a great deal of travel and a great number of guests is indicated by the fact that there were nearly three hundred stables for the horses of the guests. These wayfarers brought the news and gossip of the outside world, often even of foreign countries, and thus the abbey became a center of intelligence. Frequent visits of royalty and prominent men are recorded. The variety of visitors enabled the chroniclers to get the viewpoint of all classes. The monastery was also an important depository of documents. The advantage of location is of peculiar significance for the later development of the monastery.

The wealth and prominence of St. Albans made a good background for its literary activities. The scriptorium of the abbey was founded in the time of Abbot Paul (1077-93), a learned Norman. He was a kinsman of Archbishop Lanfranc, who advised and assisted him in the project. Two parts of the tithes of Hatfield were given for its support by a Norman nobleman. At first, scribes were hired from other places. Books were accumulated and from that time a love of learning became a tradition of the house. Occasionally this was a disadvantage when erudite but impractical men were chosen as abbots. The scriptorium was a separate building. Here books were written and issued. It was a writing school, too, and developed a distinctive palaeography. It has been suggested that the writing master was a foreigner, and his pupils were unusually apt. Frequent reference is made to the "St. Albans hand."

The creation of the office of historiographer at St. Albans is a matter of dispute. Jenkins states that:

So far as any evidence that a really painful search can discover affords us the information, the office of historiographer of St. Albans was regarded as a distinct office to which there was a regular succession with the regular duties of a regular chronicler assigned to it.

<sup>33</sup> See HARDY, III, pp. xxxii f.; Claude Jenkins, *The Monastic Chronicler and the Early School of St. Albans* (London and New York, 1922); Augustus Jessopp, *Studies by a Recluse, in Cloister, Town, and Country* (London, 1893), ch. 1; *Matthaei Parisiensis, monachi S. Albani, Chronica majora*, ed. by H. R. Luard (London, 1872-84, 7 v.: Rolls series no. 57), consult introduction; J. A. Froude, *Short Studies on Great Subjects* (New York, 1908, 5 v.) IV, 1-95; L. F. Rushbrook Williams, *History of the Abbey of St. Alban* (London and New York, 1917); *Westminster Review*, LXXXVI (1866), 508, XCII (1869), 287-88; *QR*, CLXII (1886), 293-324; GAIRDNER, ch. vi; *Rogeri de Wendover Chronica sive Flores Historiarum*, ed. by H. G. Hewlett (London, 1886-89, 3 v.: Rolls series no. 84), introduction.

This positive statement may justify hesitation, but it is fairly certain that a chronicle was kept and a little later a compilation was begun which was the foundation for historical writing. Generally the administration of Abbot Simon (1166-83) is given as the time of the establishment of the office. He repaired the scriptorium and enlarged it, kept two scribes constantly employed, and made the rule that in the future every abbot should employ at least one scribe to keep the local annals.<sup>34</sup> The names of the scribes are not given, but "there is some evidence that after the year 1180, Walter, a monk of St. Albans, wrote a chronicle of English affairs entitled *Anglicarum Rerum Chronica*." <sup>35</sup>

In the early thirteenth century there was a general chronicle, relating to the Continent as well as England, in existence at St. Albans. The author or authors of it are not established beyond doubt. It is possible that it was the work of more than one hand, regardless of the existence of an office of historiographer. Adam the Cellarer is mentioned in the early part of the work. Whether he was a writer of annals or not is disputed. The original compiler is believed to have been Abbot John de Cella (1195-1215), a sound scholar and a lover of books, who presented many books to the library, among them the *Historia Ecclesiae* of Peter Comestor. His successor as abbot, William, also added to the books in the library. Luard <sup>36</sup> gives a list of the books available at this time and remarks that most of those listed have been identified with certainty.

With Roger of Wendover the historical school of St. Albans issued into clear light.<sup>37</sup> He continued the general chronicle of his predecessors down to 1235. The *Flores Historiarum* is a work of very high value not only for the fullness of information, but also for the intelligent interpretation and "fearless frankness" of the author. To sum up: the scriptorium of St. Albans was established between 1077 and 1093, and the office of historiographer probably created between 1166 and 1183.

Matthew Paris, Dr. Jessopp's "universal genius," became historiographer at St. Albans following Roger's death in 1236. He had been a member of the community since 1217. A student at the University of Paris, whence his name, he distinguished himself at his monastery as a scholar, copyist, and artist. Not merely a monk, he was a courtier and man of the world besides, and on intimate terms with the English court;

<sup>34</sup> HARDY, III, p. xxxiv. Williams (n. 33), 79 is authority for the statement that it was provided that the abbot should have one special writer in addition to the inmates of the scriptorium. Also Jessopp (n. 33), 43 says that this is the beginning of the St. Alban's School of History.

<sup>35</sup> HARDY, III, p. xxxvi. He says that Pitts is the only authority for the statement and gives no voucher for it, but Hardy is inclined to believe that it is true.

<sup>36</sup> *Op. cit.* (n. 33), I, p. xliii.

<sup>37</sup> For Hewlett's edition, see n. 33. English translation by J. A. Giles (London, 1849, 2 v.: Bohn's Antiquarian Library). GROSS, no. 1864; PORTHAST, II, 981; see also JS, 1900, pp. 16-26, 106-17; and Stevenson, *EHK*, III (1888), 353-60.

on at least one occasion he was invited by Henry III to sit near the throne in order that he might be able to write a full account of the proceedings. The following year (1248) he was sent to Norway by Innocent IV to reform the Benedictine house at Holm. He had ample means for acquiring information. He was a favorite of Henry III and had been present at the marriage of the king with Eleanor of Provence in 1236; he was frequently a royal guest, for not only was he acquainted with the important men of the day, but many of them facilitated his studies by furnishing him with important documents and other sources.

Matthew Paris transcribed the *Flowers of History* by Roger of Wendover, making additions and corrections of his own, and then continued it down to his death in 1259. The entire work constitutes his *Chronica majora*, or *Greater Chronicle*, which in Luard's edition<sup>38</sup> fills six volumes, allotted as follows: (1) from the Creation to 1066, (2) 1067–1216, (3) 1216–39, (4) 1240–47, (5) 1248–59, and (6) Additamenta. Independently of this work Matthew Paris also wrote a *Historia minor*, or *Lesser Chronicle*, extending from 1067 to 1253, in which he rehandled some of his old materials and sometimes modified his previous opinions. The *Historia minor* seems to have been written for presentation to Henry III, and accordingly discreetly omits or modifies many passages in which the king and the pope were sharply criticized. Sometimes a whole paragraph has been toned down. Thus a passage in the *Historia major* attacks the friars for receiving vows to go on a crusade from old men and women whom they afterwards absolved for money, and adds that Richard of Cornwall, the king's son, profited by this practice. In the first reproduction of this passage Matthew Paris contented himself with cutting out the mention of the earl. But gradually he grew more cautious and substituted the statement that the friars "mercifully" relieved many who had unwittingly taken a vow to go the road of the cross. On the other hand, it is significant of the execration in which John was held, that Matthew Paris deleted nothing in the terrible indictment of that king, even though the work was written as a gift to the son of King John.<sup>39</sup> The contemporary sections of both his chroni-

<sup>38</sup> See above, n. 33. A seventh volume contains a detailed index.

<sup>39</sup> The example of this work in the British Museum is Matthew Paris' own autograph copy. It belonged successively to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, a brother of Henry V and the greatest English book collector of the fifteenth century; to John Russell, Bishop of Lincoln; to Henry VIII; to Henry Fitz Alan, Earl of Arundel; to John, Lord Lumley, after whose death in 1609 it passed with the rest of his library to Henry, Prince of Wales, son of James I, and so passed into the Royal Library and was given to the nation by George II in 1757. English translation of Matthew Paris by J. A. Giles (London, 1866–69, 3 v.: Bohn's Antiquarian Library); French translation by A. Huillard-Bréholles (Paris, 1840, 9 v.). For literature see GROSS, no. 1830; PORTHAST, I, 778–79; HARDY, III, preface; Jessopp (n. 33), I, 1–65; the article by William Hunt in *DNB*, XLIII (1895), 207–13; *QR*, CLXII (1886), 293–324; Hans Plehn, *Der politische Charakter Mathæus Parisiensis* (Leipzig, 1897).

cles are invaluable. He was in the midst of affairs himself; he had a vast number of correspondents from all over Europe from whom he collected news, sifting and verifying his "sources," forming independent judgments, and not hesitating to criticize the royal policy. He had, says Mr. W. Lewis Jones,<sup>40</sup> "the instinct, temper, and judgment of the born historian." Dr. Jessopp calls him "the thirteenth-century editor of the *Times*."<sup>41</sup>

After Matthew Paris' death the historical school at St. Albans declined. William Rishanger, who entered the monastery in 1271, continued the *Chronica majora* to 1327. But it is far inferior work to its predecessor: "a literary production, lame, disjointed, verbose, obscure, and, in many places, almost unintelligible," writes the editor.<sup>42</sup>

It remains to notice certain other elements of English history in the thirteenth century. Thomas of Eccleston's *De adventu fratrum minorum in Angliam* is a precious account of the history of the Franciscans in England from 1224 to 1250.<sup>43</sup> A work said to have been written at Chester, ca. 1100, had furnished the earliest example of the history of a town,<sup>44</sup> and this effort was followed, at long last, in the thirteenth century by Arnald Fitz-Thedmar's *Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London*,<sup>45</sup> one of the most valuable of the London city chronicles, particularly for the years 1236-74. Fitz-Thedmar was an alderman of London, and a loyal supporter of Henry III against the barons. Among collections of letters of his time, those of King Henry III;<sup>46</sup> of Robert Grosseteste, the great bishop of Lincoln,<sup>47</sup> from 1235 to 1253; of Adam March,<sup>48</sup> the first great English Franciscan and friend of Grosseteste, and Simon de Montfort, are the most valuable. The *Munimenta Academica*<sup>49</sup> are documents illustrative of academic life in Oxford and Cambridge.

Upon the organization, though not the origin, of Parliament, we have the *Modus tenendi parliamentum*,<sup>50</sup> which has been dated as early as the

<sup>40</sup> WARD, I, 199.

<sup>41</sup> *Studies by a Recluse* (n. 33), 51.

<sup>42</sup> *Chronica monasterii S. Albani*, ed. by H. T. Riley (London, 1863-76, 7 pts. in 12 v.: Rolls series no. 28), II, introduction. Cp. GROSS, no. 1836.

<sup>43</sup> Edited by J. S. Brewer in *Monumenta Franciscana* (see n. 8), I, 1-72, II, 7-28; see his introduction, and A. G. Little, "The Missing Manuscript of Eccleston's Chronicle," *EHR*, V (1890), 754-59; GROSS, no. 2201.

<sup>44</sup> HARDY, II, 90.

<sup>45</sup> Edited by Thomas Stapelton, *De antiquis legibus liber*, etc. (London, 1846: Camden Society, first series, XXXIV); translation by H. T. Riley, *Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London* (London, 1863). GROSS, no. 1773; POTTHAST, I, 235.

<sup>46</sup> *Royal and Other Historical Letters, Illustrative of the Reign of Henry III*, ed. by W. W. Shirley (London, 1862-66, 2 v.: Rolls series no. 27).

<sup>47</sup> *Roberti Grosseteste, episcopi quondam Lincolnensis, Epistolae*, ed. by H. R. Luard (London, 1861: Rolls series no. 25). GROSS, no. 2243.

<sup>48</sup> Text in Brewer's *Monumenta Franciscana* (n. 8), I, 77-489. GROSS, no. 2201.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 2781. See J. R. Green, "The Early History of Oxford," in his *Stray Studies from England and Italy* (New York, 1876), 287-308.

<sup>50</sup> William A. Morris, "The Date of the 'Modus Tenendi Parliamentum,'" *EHR*, XLIX (1934), 407-22; GROSS, p. 351 and nos. 2028-30.

France. Italy was a geographical expression, a country without political unity, but possessed of a rich and varied culture, and *par excellence* the most bourgeois country in Europe. This survey may commence with a view of the historiography of the gigantic duel between the Empire and the Papacy, which culminated in the triumph of the latter in 1250, because that collapse liberated the Italian cities in the north from all superior control and left them free to work out their own independent destinies.

The number of annals and chronicles in Italy alone, without including transalpine sources, is very large.<sup>56</sup> Unfortunately what seems to have been the fullest biography of Frederick the Magnificent, written by Bishop Mainardinus of Imola, has nearly perished.<sup>57</sup> The history of Frederick II and of his son Manfred, down to 1258, was written by Nicholas of Jamsilla<sup>58</sup> from a strongly imperial point of view, and by Saba Malaspina from the Guelf-papal point of view. The weightiest narrative sources for the reign of Frederick II, however, are the *Chronica regni Siciliae* by Richard of San Germano, the emperor's notary, who died in 1243;<sup>59</sup> the *Chronicle* of Rolandin of Padua,<sup>60</sup> which is the major source for the history of Ezzelino, the emperor's brilliant and ill-starred son whom he made lord of the north; and finally the *Chronicle* (1167-1287) of Fra Salimbene of Parma. This is an inimitable and unique source for the history of the times, which deserves to be noticed at some length.<sup>61</sup>

Salimbene was born in Parma of good family in 1221. His father had been a crusader with Baldwin of Flanders. The great religious revival in 1233, inaugurated by the impassioned preaching of a Dominican

<sup>56</sup> A good summary of them may be found in J. F. Boehmer, *Regesta imperii: die Regesten des Kaiserreichs*, etc., vol. V [1198-1272], rev. ed. by F. Ficker and E. Winkelmann (Innsbruck, 1881-1901), pp. lxxxvii ff.

<sup>57</sup> It has been reconstructed as far as possible from the fragments by F. Güterbock, *NA*, XXX (1904), 35-83.

<sup>58</sup> POTTHAST, II, 852.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 969.

<sup>60</sup> *Liber chronicorum sive Memoriale temporum de factis in Marchia et prope marchiam Tarvisinam libris XII*. Cp. POTTHAST, II, 981-82.

<sup>61</sup> Older editions and critical literature, *ibid.*, II, 994. Latest edition by O. Holder-Egger in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores*, XXXII (Hanover, 1905-18), with a preface by Bernhard Schneidler. German translation by Alfred Doren, *Die Chronik des Salimbene von Parma* (Leipzig, 1914, 2 v.: *Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit*, vols. 93-94); partial English version by G. G. Coulton, *From St. Francis to Dante, a Translation of All That Is of Primary Interest in the Chronicle of the Franciscan Salimbene, 1221-1288* (2nd ed., London, 1906); Italian translation by Carlo Cantarelli, *Cronica di Fra Salimbene Parmigiano* (Parma, 1882-86, 2 v.). Consult the bibliography in Dahlmann-Waitz, *Quellenkunde der deutschen Geschichte* (9th ed., Leipzig, 1931) no. 6416; also E. Emerton, "Fra Salimbene and the Franciscan Ideal," *Harvard Theological Review*, VIII (1915), 480-503; Holder-Egger, "Zur Lebensgeschichte des Bruders Salimbene de Adam," *NA*, XXXVII (1911-12), 165-218, XXXVIII (1912-13), 471-81; Coulton, "The Autobiography of a Wandering Friar," *Nineteenth Century*, LVII (1905), 1009-19; H. O. Taylor, *The Mediaeval Mind* (New York and London, 1911, 2 v.), I, ch. xxi.

friar named John of Vicenza,<sup>62</sup> made a profound impression upon him, and he surreptitiously entered into the Franciscan Order, being received by Elias, the general of the order. Perhaps he joined the Franciscans instead of the Dominicans because he perceived a certain parallel between his own condition and that of St. Francis. For the father of each was furious and endeavored to reclaim his son. Accordingly Salimbene was spirited away by his superiors, and while getting his education, was shifted from Fano to Castello, to Lucca, to Siena, and to Pisa, where one day he wandered into a magnificent courtyard full of strange animals and gay youths; it was the palace of the Emperor Frederick II in Pisa. When the fierce struggle between the emperor and Pope Innocent IV entered into its last and most tragic phase, Salimbene found himself back in Parma and was an eye-witness of the heroic resistance of the city to the imperial arms and the frightful cruelties by which Frederick II endeavored to intimidate the garrison. He carried the news of the siege to the pope, who was in Lyons for a great council, and then set out on a protracted series of wanderings during which he met John of Plano Carpini, the heroic missionary friar who had penetrated Farther Asia clear to China, before Marco Polo, and had now returned to report to the new minister-general of the Franciscans, John of Parma. For a few weeks Salimbene joined the train of St. Louis en route to the Holy Land, but turned off in Provence in order to study Joachimism, that strange mystical, wistful "everlasting gospel" preached by Joachim of Flora in Calabria, which anticipated some of the Franciscan ideals and which had spread beyond the Alps and was capturing men's hearts by its visionary nature, although condemned as heresy by the Church.<sup>63</sup> Here in the Midi, Salimbene was also a witness of the last flurry of that strange uprising of the French peasantry known as the Pastoreaux. Thereafter Salimbene settled down to a quiet life and wrote his autobiography. Nothing save a reading of this astonishingly vivid narrative can do it justice.

He has reproduced, as in a mirror, the age in which he lived, with its fierce party struggles and its great figures such as Frederick II and St. Louis of France. He brings before us by a hundred anecdotes the daily life of the clergy, of the feudal lords, of the merchants and artisans of the Communes. . . . The extraordinary frankness of the work is equalled by the clearness and boldness with which men and events are judged.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>62</sup> For an account of these revivals in medieval Italy, of which Savonarola's may be regarded as the last, see SYMONDS, I, 384, and 473-85 (appendix IV).

<sup>63</sup> See Émile Gebhart, *L'Italie mystique: histoire de la renaissance religieuse au moyen âge* (6th ed., Paris, 1908), tr. by E. M. Hulme as *Mystics and Heretics in Italy at the End of the Middle Ages* (London, 1922); Ellen S. Davison, *Some Forerunners of St. Francis* (New York, 1907); Sedgwick (n. 54), I, ch. iv; G. E. Troutbeck, in *Nineteenth Century*, LII (1902), 140-52; and for other references see PAETOW, 440.

<sup>64</sup> W. F. Butler, *The Lombard Communes: a History of the Republics of North Italy* (London, 1906), 205.

His descriptions of the anarchy of Italy in the last stages of the imperial-papal conflict, and of the cruelty of the times, stagger the imagination;<sup>65</sup> the "spotted actuality"<sup>66</sup> of clerical life baffles belief. Salimbene's testimony as to the economic developments of the period is brief, but illuminating. He describes a popular Guelf uprising in Parma which under the leadership of a poor workingman succeeded in consolidating the guilds. Quick to see the possibilities of this device, Charles of Anjou gave it a religious color as a confraternity and enrolled its members as a local vigilance committee to keep the imperialist party under surveillance and intimidation.<sup>67</sup> We have also an account of how Venice seized and fortified a point on the Ravenna canal, thus crippling part of the trade of the Lombard cities.<sup>68</sup> In his travels in France Salimbene picked up a snatch of verse with some economic significance, extolling Normandy for her fisheries, England for corn, Ireland for milk, and France for wine.<sup>69</sup> He notes that there were three principal wine districts: La Rochelle (Poitou), Beaune, and Auxerre (Burgundy).<sup>70</sup> Obviously the claret region of the Gironde was not mentioned because Guienne and Gascony were English possessions and not part of "France."

From this brief consideration of the more important general historical sources of Italian history in the thirteenth century, we pass to a survey of the most copious, most typical, and most characteristic historiography of Italy in this age, namely, the *Town Chronicles*. The bourgeois origin and bourgeois nature of these is implied in the very term. The town movement of the Middle Ages originated in Italy earlier than elsewhere, and the towns were numerous. Some were inland, like those of Lombardy and Tuscany; others were maritime communities, as Venice, Pisa, and Genoa. But one and all were born of the development of commerce and industry during the Crusades.<sup>71</sup> Some of these, as the *Chronicle* of Otto Morena of Lodi and his son, Acerbus, and that of Sire Raoul of Milan, date back to the time of Frederick Barbarossa and the war with the Lombard League. But far the greater number of these town chronicles blossom in the thirteenth century. Almost all of them, as became the condition of the country and the spirit of the age, are of lay authorship. Milan's annals are carried on anonymously in three different forms—in a longer version to 1228, in a short version to 1237, and in a *Memoriae* to 1251.<sup>72</sup> Bergamo's annals extend to 1241, Brescia's to 1273, Cremona's to 1232, Ferrara's to

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, ch. x, esp. 293-309.

<sup>67</sup> Coulton's translation (n. 61), 128.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 196.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 139.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 136-37.

<sup>71</sup> On this history see my *Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages, 300-1300* (New York, 1928), chs. xvii, xxviii, and the bibliographies on pp. 831-35.

<sup>72</sup> Alfred Dove, "Lombardische Chronisten des 13. Jahrhunderts," *HZ*, CXI (1913), 1-14.



1264, the *Chronicon Pisanum* to 1269; Piacenza boasts a double series of annals, one of Guelf and papal sympathy, the other of Ghibelline-imperial sentiment. It is significant of the persistence of the "lost cause" of the Hohenstaufen that the latter extends to 1284 while the former terminates in 1235. Vicenza's *Cronica* extends to 1243 and the *Annales Florentini* to 1247.

Almost all of these town chronicles are of lay authorship and in many cases the compiler is not known. An exception is the *Chronicle* of Cremona, to 1213, from the pen of the local bishop Sicard, which begins as the bald pages of Raoul of Milan conclude. An anomaly of the time is the want of a chronicle in cities of such importance as Pavia, Lucca, Parma, Perugia, and Bologna, whereas the little Piedmontese town of Asti in the *Chronica Astensia*, to 1293, produced one of the most vivid relations of this turbulent age. Another remarkable fact is the high quality of historical writing which was done in Northeastern Italy, i.e., the Trevisan Mark, in this century. Gerardo Maurisio and Ferreto of Vicenza, Rolandino and Mussato of Padua—to mention only four chief writers of this part of Italy—were true forerunners of the two Villani and Dino Compagni, with whom the historiography of the Italian Renaissance begins. Some of these writers were men of affairs. Gerardo Maurisio was an envoy of Ezzelino. Mussato was one of the most scholarly men of his time, a precursor of the humanists of the next century, and one of the leaders of the moderate party in Padua; he fought in the bitter war of Padua with Vicenza, and was a friend of Can Grande della Scala, Dante's protector. Ventura, a citizen of Asti, who continued Bishop Sicard's chronicle, played a leading part in the turbulent politics of his city and anticipated the method of Machiavelli in the clear and cogent analysis he makes of local politics.

He shows us the play of faction within the walls, in this case confined to the leading families. The mass of the people were ready to acclaim whatever faction was temporarily victorious, and to take the field in its favor against those who had lately been the masters or the allies of the Commune. He paints for us the hostilities which still went on in this part of Italy between the cities and the petty feudal lords who still kept their independence in the Ligurian Apennines. He shows us the Commune, no matter who ruled, always greedy to extend its territories; now rasing a castle, now buying a village, now seizing on a fragment of Montferrat, or compelling the Marquises of Ceva to swear fealty. The burgher militia goes out to war, full of enthusiasm, but liable to attacks of panic, or, if in difficulties, ready to turn on its leaders with the cry: "It is your business to sell pepper, instead of making the people of Asti die of hunger!"<sup>73</sup>

It is curious to observe how belated Florentine historiography was when compared with that of Vicenza and Padua, for example.

<sup>73</sup> Butler (n. 64), 397-98.

Just as the great burghs of Lombardy obtained municipal independence somewhat earlier than those of Tuscany, so the historic sense developed itself in the valley of the Po at a period when the valley of the Arno had no chronicler. Sire Raul and Ottone Morena, the annalists of Milan, Fra Salimbene, the sagacious and comprehensive historian of Parma, Rolandino, to whom we owe the chronicle of Ezzelino and the tragedy of the Trevisan Marches, have no rivals south of the Apennines in the thirteenth century.<sup>74</sup>

It is not possible, in the space at command, to enter into a consideration of the details which may be found imbedded in these town annals and chronicles. They are history written for the first time from the point of view of the bourgeoisie. The "ecclesiastical mind" would seem to have ceased to exist insofar as they are concerned. Churchly matters, which bulk so large in previous years, are supplanted by internal matters of city politics, family or party strife, the conduct of trade, taxation, and finance.

In contrast with this wealth of historical writing in North Italy, the poverty of Rome is astonishing. While medieval Rome *made* history, it left to others to record it. English, French, and German historians in the thirteenth century, as in previous centuries, were better informed about the history of Rome than Italian chroniclers. There is no chronicle of the city in the thirteenth century. The modern historian is compelled to rely largely upon archival material for information, as the *Letters* and *Registers* of the popes. The latter are fairly complete from the pontificate of Innocent III, whose own *Register*, however, lacks four of the nineteen books which once formed it. The old *Liber Pontificalis*, which had been continued from century to century, fades out at the end of the twelfth century, and a new series of Lives of the Popes, which began with the *Gesta* of Innocent III, terminates after the first eleven years of his pontificate and was not continued. None of the succeeding popes of the thirteenth century, except Gregory IX, found biographers. The lives of such of them as we have were compiled in the fourteenth century. For all the grandeur of the history in this time and the greatness of the popes, Rome produced but one historian. This was Saba Malaspina, dean of Malta and private secretary to Martin IV. He wrote in 1284-85. His work is entitled *Rerum Sicularum libri VI*, and extends from 1250 to 1276; it is important for the light it throws on the fall of the Hohenstaufen and the founding of the Angevin power in the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily. It was continued by another hand to 1285. "This solitary historian stands—a unique figure—in the literary desert of Rome, and causes us deeply to regret that other of his fellow citizens have not transmitted to us the history

<sup>74</sup> SYMONDS, I, 198.

of their times.”<sup>75</sup> Malaspina was a highly intelligent and honest writer, as his treatment of Manfred shows. In the beginning of his work he declares: “Nec ambages inserere, aut incredibilia immiscere, sed vera, vel similia; quae aut vidi, aut videre potui, vel audivi communibus divulgata sermonibus.” His narrative, where it can be checked and controlled by documents, is truthful and exact.

The increasing shrinkage of Italian historiography becomes more and more evident as one moves from the North to the South. Native history almost wholly fails in the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily after the French occupation (1268); and one must resort to French and Aragonese sources for information concerning the policy and achievements of the Angevin dynasty and the history of the Sicilian Vespers (1282). These have received attention elsewhere.

It yet remains to notice the “new history” found in the stirring annals of the three great maritime republics of Italy—Venice, Genoa, and Pisa. These three famous cities, unlike almost all other Italian cities, had no inheritance from antiquity, no ancient tradition, but arose in the Middle Ages. Although Venice was born in the sixth—perhaps even in the fifth—century, Venetian history was obscure and unimportant until the Crusades. As for Genoa and Pisa, they quite literally leaped into the limelight during the Crusades. All three of them were products of the enormous stimulation given to commerce by the Crusades, which gave Western Europe occupation of the ports of the Holy Land and Syria and a huge economic influence in Constantinople and other ports of the Byzantine Empire, both in Europe and Asia—and even in Alexandria. All three of these maritime cities were commonwealths of the mercantile and industrial classes. Rivals in trade, they also differed politically. Venice and Genoa were anti-imperial and pro-papal in Italian politics, while Pisa was strongly pro-imperial; Venice was anti-Norman, and Genoa was pro-Norman in sympathy and policy. Isolated by its lagoons, Venice was able to keep aloof from mainland politics at least when and if it chose to do so. On the other hand, Genoa could not avoid being drawn into the feuds of its feudal neighbors. Venice had no party factions; Genoa and Pisa were torn by them. Venetian government was a government of merchant-princes, an aristocratic bourgeois government from beginning to end. The Genoese and Pisan governments alternated between aristocratic and democratic party domination. These differences in internal conditions, organization, and spirit naturally tinted the historiography of each city.

Venetian historiography came into its own in the second half of the

<sup>75</sup> GREGOROVIVS, V, pt. ii, 625. The only critical study made of Malaspina is by A. Cartellieri, *NA*, XXVI (1901-02), 681-776.

thirteenth century when Venice was at the height of her power as a maritime and colonial empire, in Martino Canale's *La cronica dei Veneziani dall'origine della città*, which from 1250 to its conclusion in 1275 is full of interesting details. Strange as it may seem, this first important Venetian chronicle was written in French. In the preface Canale explains to his readers why he has done so.

Por ce que langue français cort le monde [he writes] et est la plus delitable a lire, et a oir, que nule autre, me sui je entremis de translater l'anciene estoire des Veneciens de latin en français, et les euvres et les proeces que il ont faites e que il font.<sup>76</sup>

In contrast with the slow and obscure rise of Venice, Genoa and Pisa on the Ligurian Gulf made their first important appearance in history in the first quarter of the eleventh century when, in 1017, the two cities combined for the conquest of Sardinia from the Muslims, whose corsairs used it as a base and from that vantage place harried the Italian coast towns. The Genoese took the booty, the Pisans the island as their reward. Other less important joint expeditions followed, notably in 1088, when the allied fleets attacked the African coast. Then came the First Crusade at the turn of the century and Genoa's achievement led to the birth of the *Annals of Genoa* (*Annales Januenses*), which run without interruption from 1099 to 1294. The first author was a well-to-do citizen named Cafaro de Caschifellone. The entire body of these annals falls into twelve parts, each with a different authorship.<sup>77</sup> When Cafaro died in 1163 his work was continued by a notary named Oberto (1164–73); he in turn was succeeded by Ottobono, the city clerk of Genoa; and thenceforward the *Annals of Genoa* may be regarded as official state annals. The two portions between 1220 and 1248 are especially rich in information and were written by a father and son, Marchisius (1220–24) and Bartholomew (1224–48); “Bartholomaeus scriba, filius Marchisi” the page reads. Bartholomew gives a stirring account of how the Genoese fleet brought the Fieschi pope Innocent IV, a son of Genoa, right through the blockading squadron

<sup>76</sup> Quoted in Thor Sundby, *Della vita e delle opere di Brunetto Latini* (Florence, 1884), 71. Canale was not alone in this admiration of the French language in this century. Brunetto Latini, though a Florentine, wrote his *Treasure* in French, and Marco Polo's immortal *Travels* were also written in French. One wonders whether Canale's precedent influenced the account of the great Venetian traveller. A modern Italian translation of Martino Canale, facing the original French text, in *ASI*, ser. I, VIII (1845), 268–707, n. 709–66. Cp. Prost, “Les Chroniques vénétiennes,” *RQH*, XXXI (1882), 525–27. No comprehensive and critical study of Canale has yet been made. A swarm of compilers, redactors, and adapters filled the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, of whom the only notable ones were Andreas Dandolo in the fourteenth and Mark Antonio Sabellico (1436–1506) in the fifteenth century, by whose time Venice had passed into the history of the Italian Renaissance.

<sup>77</sup> For these separate parts see POTTHAST, I, 181; and for the whole subject consult Cesare Imperiale di S. Angelo, *Jacopo d'Oria e i suoi annali: storia di un'aristocrazia italiana nel duecento* (Venice, 1923–31, 4 v.).

of the Emperor Frederick II, and how the emperor's vessels retaliated by capturing a shipload of bishops, including several cardinals, who were en route for the council of Lyons in 1245. The succeeding parts of the annals, which are from various hands, deal with even more exciting times. These were the great days of Boccanegra, the first Captain of the People, who when exiled was welcomed by St. Louis of France and helped him to build the fortifications of Aigues-Mortes, from whose high walls he witnessed the king's departure upon Genoese ships on his fatal crusade against Tunis. They were the days of Charles of Anjou and the Sicilian Vespers; of unending war with Pisa, Genoa's bitter trade rival, until the Genoese ruined Pisa by blocking the mouth of the Arno with a huge mole and so silted up its harbor; of the election of Oberto d'Oria and a Spinola—great family names in Genoese history for centuries to come—as captains of the people; of the adventures of Genoese sailors and merchants in every corner of the Mediterranean and Black Seas; and finally of the breakdown of the aristocratic government in Genoa and the beginning of that long decline by which, in the fifteenth century, it fell under French sway. The best pages are the part covering the years 1280–94. They were written by Jacopo d'Oria, the youngest brother of Oberto, who though by inclination a scholar, in his young years led an adventurous life. His intimate knowledge of the East recommended him to Edward, Prince of Wales, when on that crusade in 1272 from which Edward returned a king. He had also served with his uncle before Tunis in the army of St. Louis. This varied experience qualified him to know of what good history consisted and made him a worthy successor of Cafaro. When he retired from the sea Jacopo began to arrange and decipher the documents in the family archives, from which it was a natural step to become the historian of Genoa. Jacopo was a Doria—to adopt the later spelling of the name—and he saw Genoa at the height of her power under the aristocratic regime. His Latin is not distinguished, but it is effective and racy of the soil and borrows terms from the local dialect. For Latin was still a living tongue, although yielding to the vernacular, as we have seen in the cases of Villehardouin and Martino Canale.

It remains to consider the historiography of Germany in the thirteenth century. One must be prepared for disillusionment, for the great days of the German kingdom had passed with the death of Henry VI in 1197. The Guelf and Ghibelline factions rent the country asunder and the lawful Emperor Frederick II (1218–50) rarely saw Germany during his long and tumultuous reign. Germany became a thing of shreds and patches, broken into nearly three hundred principalities, lay and clerical—for the German bishops were powerful feudal princes—and

only a few states like Austria, Brandenburg, and the County Palatine of the Rhine were of any size and weight. Under these circumstances German historical writing was reduced to local terms, whether monastic or dynastic in spirit. "As the Empire declined," it has been written, "the interest which large circles had formerly taken in its history died out." Historical literature henceforth became largely localized, and a lower stratum of the people grew interested in it. This, of course, necessitated the use of the German tongue, not to speak of local dialects. Some authors reached a larger circle of readers by using rhyme and verse for their productions. They dwelt with pleasure on the past history of their race, knowing how it appealed to their readers. Thus legends crept more plentifully into the historical tradition; in fact, they were intentionally fostered and invented.

These petty annals swarm in number, but few of them are of more than local significance.<sup>78</sup> Among the outstanding Latin chronicles for the first half of the thirteenth century are the continuation of Ekkehard of Aura's *Chronicle* from 1126 to 1229, by Burchard, provost of Ursperg, known as the *Urspergensis Chronicon*;<sup>79</sup> and the *Annales Colonienses maximi*, or *Royal Chronicle of Cologne*, from the Creation to 1237,<sup>80</sup> of which there are three recensions. It is an original source for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as far as it goes. In spite of its title it is a general chronicle dealing with world affairs in the period of the Crusades, and of special value for the Hohenstaufen period in Germany. The work was very popular outside of Germany and examples of it may be found in the catalogues of French, Belgian, and English monastic libraries. Of less importance are the *Annals of Marbach* (A.D. 631-1272), the *Annals of Hamburg* (1-1265), the *Annals of Speyer* (920-1272), and the *Annales Saxonici* (1-1273).<sup>81</sup>

In rhymed vernacular history—if it may be called history—Germany in the thirteenth century was more productive than any other country in Europe. The earliest form of the immensely popular *Kaiserchronik*, of South German origin, appeared in the twelfth century, but its final form was not crystallized until the thirteenth. It is an amazing, bizarre compound of history and legend, of Roman and German history. Julius Caesar succeeds Romulus and Tarquin the Proud is placed between Caesar and Nero; Lucretia, who is made a symbol of woman's chastity in the age of chivalry, is a contemporary of Totila, last king of the

<sup>78</sup> For a conspectus of these see POTTHAST, II, 1660-62. They are printed in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores*, vol. XVI ff. For an extended analytic account, see Lorenz (n. 9 above).

<sup>79</sup> Critical literature listed in POTTHAST, I, 178.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 239-40.

<sup>81</sup> On these vernacular chronicles in the thirteenth century see the remarks of G. Waitz in a review in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1877, pt. i, 735.

Goths in the middle of the sixth century; Scaevola is made to attempt the assassination of Lars Porsena after the struggle between Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian. The Christian chronology is no more exact. Very important in this century from the linguistic point of view, because it affords a curious specimen of the dialect of the Lower Rhineland in an age when the Swabian dialect was almost supreme, is the *Rhymed Chronicle of Cologne*, by the clerk Gottfried Hagen. Other popular rhymed chronicles were the old *Chronicle of Holstein*, the *Lief-länder Kronik*, and particularly the Styrian's *Rhymed Chronicle*, which is much the best, and closes thirteenth-century German historiography, or rather literature, with dignity. Ottocar had seen much of the world and was a man of culture. The first part of the work, to 1291, seems to have been composed soon after Styria became a Habsburg possession. The succeeding parts are episodic in character so that the whole latter portion of the work lacks continuity, in spite of the author's revision soon after 1300 and his effort to integrate the whole.

The Interregnum (1250-73) had as profound an effect upon German historiography as it had upon German politics, and we find a great hiatus in historical writing comparable to the political disruption. A slight resuscitation is observable, however, even before the accession of Rudolph of Habsburg terminated the long period of anarchy. Hermann, abbot of the Bavarian monastery of Niederaltaich, compiled a series of annals which extend from 1137 to 1273, but are contemporary only from 1256 on. They contain valuable matter pertaining to the history of Bavaria, Austria, and Bohemia, but the treatment is characterized by narrow monkish prejudice. A continuation of these annals to 1305 was made by Eberhard, archdeacon of Regensburg.

Other important Latin sources for the history of the rise of the Habsburgs are the *Salzburg Chronicle*,<sup>82</sup> and the *Annales Ottokariani*, a continuation of Cosmas of Prague. Simon of Keza, a clerk of King Ladislaus III of Hungary, author of the *Chronicon Hungaricum*, from the remotest times to 1290, was the earliest Hungarian historian. From the eleventh century on it is very informing, and written in good Latin.<sup>83</sup> He was the sole contemporary Magyar annalist of the early history of the Habsburgs.

The chief Bavarian writer of the time was an anonymous monk of the abbey of Fürstenfeld, who wrote the *Chronicle of the Princes* (*Chronicon de gestis principum*), which covers the years between 1273 and 1326. It relates events from the accession of Rudolph of Habsburg to the victory of Ludwig IV of Bavaria. It displays unusual mastery of material and is favorable to Bavaria. In Austria the cultivation of

<sup>82</sup> POTTHAST, I, 289.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 698.

historical writing flourished in the Dominican houses at Klosterneuburg, Heiligenkreuz, and Zwettl.

In Alsace, Strassburg was an important literary place where the soundness and sturdiness of the town element early began to develop an historical tradition. The victorious struggle of the burghers over Bishop Walter of Geroldstock in 1262 was an influential factor in the growth of this spirit. Soon after this date an unknown citizen of Strassburg wrote the *Bellum Waltherianum*. This conflict also figures in the annals which the Strassburger Ellenhard (d. 1304) wrote in Latin, covering the period between 1208 and 1297. The accession of the Habsburgs to imperial rule was hailed with enthusiasm in Alsace, famously loyal to that house, and exercised an influence on the development of historical literature in this southwestern quarter of Germany, where Gottfried von Ensmingen, an episcopal notary, wrote the *Gesta Rudolphi et Alberti regum Romanorum*.



BOOK III

*EASTERN EUROPE AND THE ORIENT TO THE END  
OF THE CRUSADES*



## CHAPTER XVII

### THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE EASTERN ROMAN EMPIRE (395-1204) <sup>1</sup>

THE Greek historians of the Eastern Roman Empire in the early centuries of the Middle Ages were better observers and recorders of events than those of the West. The first of these in the fifth century was Eunapius,<sup>2</sup> who was born at Sardis and lived until at least

<sup>1</sup> The standard work on Byzantine literature is Karl Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur von Justinian bis zum Ende des Oströmischen Reiches, 527-1453* (2nd enlarged ed., Munich, 1897: I. Müller's Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, IX: 1), see pp. 219-30 and sections 219-408. For the benefit of those who do not read German, reference has been made throughout this chapter to the concise and pregnant comments of the great English Byzantinist J. B. Bury in his edition of GIBBON, IV, appendix i, V, appendix i, and VI, 515-22. See also Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire, from Arcadius to Irene, 395-800* (London and New York, 1889, 2 v.), II, 167-94, 254-57, 518-34; and its sequel, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire from the Fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil I, 802-867* (London, 1912), 493-97; D. C. Hesseling, *Essai sur la civilisation byzantine*, tr. by G. Schlumberger (Paris, 1907), 100-20, 201-10, 287-99, 319-24; A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire* (Madison, Wis., 1928-29, 2 v.), I, 145-56, 216-24, 353-63, 437-49, and II, 159-82; for the fifth and sixth centuries see HODGKIN, II, pt. i, 39, 211, 487, III, 420, 595-96, 636, and IV, pt. i, 25, 83, 129, 397, 499, 645; on the ninth century, K. Morgenstern, "Ueber das Studium der byzantinischen Geschichtsschreiber," *Proceedings of the Russian Academy*, IV (1837), and again in VI (1845), 169-202; on the ninth and tenth centuries, Ferdinand L. R. Hirsch, *Byzantinische Studien* (Leipzig, 1876); J. M. Hussey, *Church and Learning in the Byzantine Empire, 867-1185* (London, 1937), 25-29, 108-11, 232-39; C. Neumann, *Griechische Geschichtsschreiber und Geschichtsquellen im zwölften Jahrhundert: Studien zu Anna Comnena* (Leipzig, 1888); Johannes Seger, *Byzantinische Historiker des X. und XI. Jahrhunderts*, reviewed by Bury in *Classical Review*, 1890, p. 62; Steven Runciman, *Byzantine Civilization* (London, 1933), 241-45; Rudolf Nicolai, *Geschichte der neugriechischen Literatur* (Leipzig, 1876 f.), III, 3-135; E. Gerland, "Die Grundlagen der byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibung," *Byzantion*, VIII (1933), 93-105; for general bibliography see *Cambridge Medieval History*, II, 720-22, 747-48, 766, and IV, 795-840. *Blackwell's Byzantine Hand-List* (Oxford, 1936) is a useful catalogue of Byzantine authors, texts, translations, commentaries, and books on Byzantine literature, history, religion, art, and archaeology.

The earliest edition of the Byzantine historians was published under the auspices of Louis XIV of France, in 36 volumes folio (Paris, 1645-1702). The Latin translation provided not uncommonly appeared before the original Greek version. The series was reprinted at Venice in 1729; contents are listed in POTTHAST, I, p. xlv. For fuller information on this and other early editions see Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, 221-26. In the early nineteenth century Niebuhr began his *Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae* (Bonn, 1828-97), which in time came to 50 volumes. Contents in POTTHAST, I, pp. lx-lxi. Extracts in French translation in L. Cousin, *Histoire de Constantinople depuis le règne de Justin jusqu'à la fin de l'empire* (Paris, 1672-74, 8 v.; a better edition was printed in Holland, 1685, 10 v.). Many of the texts in these earlier editions were reprinted in J. P. Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* (Paris, 1857-86, 161 v. in 165), which has a complete parallel Latin translation of the Greek columns; a very full index planned for 2 v. is being published by Guethner, Paris, in parts beginning 1929. A more scholarly edition of the works of medieval Greek historians is that of Constantine Sathas, *Bibliotheca medii aevi* (Venice, 1872-76, 6 v.), of which there are long reviews in *JS*, 1874, pp. 269-84, 1875, pp. 13-29, 1876, pp. 249-53, 261-71, and 1877, pp. 393-409. For the development of Byzantine studies since Sathas see volume II, chapter LVIII.

<sup>2</sup> Translation by W. C. Wright (London and New York, 1922: Loeb Classical Library).

414 A.D. He continued the *Chronicle* of Dexippus, which ended in 270, down to the death of Theodosius I in 395. He is a primary source for the life of the Emperor Julian. In the next ten years he wrote the *Lives* of twenty-three philosophers and sophists, and then returned to his chronicle and continued it to 404. Probably he intended to continue it to the death of Arcadius in 408. Only fragments remain. We know its contents chiefly through the use of it made by Zosimus,<sup>3</sup> who was a count and former advocate of the imperial fisc, a pagan, and hostile to the Christian emperors. He was the last pagan historian. "Introducing his work by expressing his belief in a guiding providence in history, and appealing to the work of Polybius in which the wonderful career of Rome was unfolded, Zosimus proceeds to give a rapid sketch of imperial history up to the death of Claudius (I, 1-46), and then begins, with the accession of Aurelian [270], a fuller narrative, coming down to the siege of Rome by Alaric in 410. The author clearly intended to continue his work to a later date; if the sixth book, of which there are only thirteen chapters, had reached the average length of the first five, it would probably have ended with the death of Honorius [429]. Between Books I and II there is a great gap, corresponding to the reigns of Carus, Carinus, and Diocletian. We may conjecture that Book II began with the accession of Diocletian."<sup>4</sup> The main sources of Zosimus were the *Scythica* of Dexippus, a lost work on the Gothic invasions, and Eunapius; he used Magnus of Carrhae for Persian affairs, whose work Ammianus Marcellinus had also employed; but singularly enough he did not use Ammianus' work. As a former official of the fisc Zosimus is valuable for economic conditions and fiscal matters.

Another of Zosimus' sources was Olympiodorus,<sup>5</sup> who lived at the same time but was older than Zosimus. He was a native of Thebes, a pagan, and in 412 an ambassador to the Hunnic prince Donatus. His *History*, dedicated to Theodosius II, contained an account of events between 407 and 425 and formed twenty-two books. We know it only through an abstract made by the learned patriarch Photius of Constantinople in the ninth century.<sup>6</sup> The work must have been a voluminous one to require so many books for so few years, and its loss is deplorable. Even though Olympiodorus' information is at times trivial, as the anecdotes he relates about his talking parrot, this is compensated for by his

POTTHAST, I, 434; GIBBON, II, 537-38; HODGKIN, I, pt. i, 277-80; *The Library of Photius*, tr. by J. H. Freese (New York and London, 1920), I, 128-29 (no. 77).

<sup>3</sup> English translation: *The History of Count Zosimus, Sometime Advocate and Chancellor of the Roman Empire* (London, 1814); POTTHAST, II, 1126-27; HODGKIN, I, pt. i, 234-36; Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire* (n. 1), II, 538.

<sup>4</sup> GIBBON, II, 538.

<sup>5</sup> POTTHAST, II, 877.

<sup>6</sup> Freese's translation (n. 2), 134-48, no. 80; cp. HODGKIN, I, pt. ii, 817-18; GIBBON, III, 483.

interesting information about the enormous wealth of some of the great families of Rome—figures which almost stagger the imagination.<sup>7</sup>

Fragments of Priscus<sup>8</sup> of Panium, in Thrace, whose *History* began about 433 A.D. and terminated in 474, indicate that “he was, perhaps, the best historian of the fifth century.” The most interesting portion which has been preserved is that relating to the history of his embassy to Attila the Hun in 448; and its fullness, interest, and vivacity are so great that one feels a pang that little more is available.<sup>9</sup> In the second half of the fifth century the history of the years 457–474 was written by Candidus the Isaurian.<sup>10</sup> He himself tells us that he was “a clerk to certain influential Isaurians”—a name which he derived from Esau! His *History*, of which only extracts survive, was a medley and his style rhetorical. His language exemplifies the transition of post-classical Greek into Byzantine Greek. Isaurian history rose to importance in this epoch and Pamprepus, a philosopher and friend of the general Illus who rebelled against the Emperor Zeno, wrote a book on Isaurian history, as also did Capito the Lycian, the translator of Eutropius into Greek.

Priscus' *History* found a continuator late in the fifth century in Malchus<sup>11</sup> of Philadelphia in Syria who covered the years 474–480. They were years of assassination in high places and revolt in the provinces. Six books deal with events in the East. The seventh relates to Italy in 475–476. Photius says of Malchus that he was “a most admirable historian . . . his language is a model.” The chronicle of Marcellinus (*Imago mundi*) is original for the reigns of Zeno and Anastasius.

It will have been observed that all these Greek historians deal with periods, some of which are only a few years in length. This is a striking departure from precedent, for most earlier writers covered long epochs, and as for ecclesiastical writers, they began with Creation or the Flood. However, it would be wrong to suppose that the taste for general history had declined. Eustathius of Epiphania, in the reign of Anastasius (491–518), composed a *History* which extended from the earliest times to 502, when he died. In the first third of the sixth century Hesychius of Miletus wrote a *Universal History* to 518, one long fragment of which remains, covering the reign of Justin I and the early years of Justinian; the loss of the rest is greatly to be regretted. A less

<sup>7</sup> Freese, 147.

<sup>8</sup> Printed in Karl Müller, ed., *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* (Paris, 1868–84, 5 v.), IV, 69 ff.; cp. POTTHAST, II, 937; GIBBON, III, 483; and HODGKIN, II, 37, 59–60, and consult index.

<sup>9</sup> Extracts of this are translated in HODGKIN, II, ch. 2; and J. H. Robinson, *Readings in European History* (Boston and New York, 1904–06, 2 v.), I, 30–33.

<sup>10</sup> Freese's translation of Photius (n. 2), 130–34, no. 79. Reinhold Pallmann, *Die Geschichte der Völkerwanderung . . . nach den Quellen dargestellt* (Gotha, 1863–64, 2 v. in 1), II, 263; GIBBON, IV, 511; HODGKIN, II, 506. Isauria Tracheia was a district of Asia Minor between Cilicia and Pisidia.

<sup>11</sup> Freese, 129–30, no. 78; Pallmann, II, 262.

important loss is a *Historia Tripartita* by Theodoros Anagnostes (Lector), a blend of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, coming down to 439, and a continuation of the same to the beginning of Justinian's reign. The long gap between these two dates is chiefly filled by the *Universal History* of John of Antioch,<sup>12</sup> which extends from Adam to the death of the Emperor Anastasius in 518. Of course, only the last part has any value.

The imperial restoration of the sixth century under Justinian (527–565) gave a new force and new dignity to secular history, and it is, therefore, in his reign that Byzantine historiography may be said to have been founded. At this time a new series of historians appears who, in an almost uninterrupted succession, relate the political history of the empire down to the capture of Constantinople by the crusaders in 1204. The individuals who formed this line are naturally different, but they have points in common, and the continuity of the writing is manifest.

These historians were conscious of being the continuators of an imposing tradition; they follow as nearly as possible the writings of Greek antiquity. Some imitate Herodotus or Thucydides, others Xenophon or Polybius—always with great servility, but the fact that they regard themselves as the successors of these great names is of importance. The history of Greek literature presents an astonishing example of literary continuity. With the exception of a remarkable gap of two hundred years from 650 to 850 A.D. the flow of Greek literature was unbroken from the fifth century B.C. to the middle of the fifteenth century A.D.

The constant study which the Byzantine historians made of Greek models taught them something else besides the art of reproducing old forms. They owed to it the conscientious method which they employed in their studies. There are many Byzantine historians who have great scientific value. The most striking fact, however, is the variety of their researches, the judgment which they exercise, the rationality of their criticism. Thanks to the fact that the Church never dominated in the East as in the West, Byzantine historians did not draw false parallels from biblical history nor seek to write the world's history from the creation or the deluge, but were interested in the history of their own times. Often they give characteristic details because they were important officials of the court in many cases. Nothing perhaps could show more emphatically the striking difference between Eastern and Western historiography in the Middle Ages than the statement that in Byzantium the writings of the monks are of less value than those of lay writers.

<sup>12</sup> POTTHAST, I, 656.

The historians continue regularly the work of their predecessors and give us official history. After Evagrius, twelve hundred years passed without the appearance of a single Greek ecclesiastical historian.

The most eminent and most copious historian of the age of Justinian was Procopius,<sup>13</sup> a true successor of Ammianus Marcellinus and Zosimus. A native of Caesarea, Procopius came to Constantinople in 527 and for fifteen years was on the staff of the great general Belisarius, whose secretary he was, and whom he accompanied on his African, Italian, and Persian campaigns. Hence he was an eye-witness of much that he relates. Procopius is remarkable for the intelligence of his observation, his fullness of narration, his vivacity of style. He had a keen eye for geography as well as history. He hated all Germans and despised all Latins. His descriptive powers were unusual, as one will readily admit who reads his account of the Via Appia, or of Belisarius' ride through the streets of Ravenna in 540, or that of the imposing fourteen aqueducts which supplied Rome with water. In 542 Procopius returned to Constantinople, where he continued to hold various offices in the administration for twenty years to come.

During these years he acquired that intimate knowledge of "inside" history which is related in the *Arcana*, or *Secret History*.<sup>14</sup> These are the revelations of a courtier who was often devoured with envy of his rivals and superiors. It sometimes descends to scandal and scurrility, so that it must be read with caution. It is a strong indictment of Justinian's administration and undoubtedly contains many statements and tales for which no valid evidence could be produced. The *De aedificiis* is an account of the grandiose building operations and public improvements initiated by Justinian.

Procopius had a violent and justifiable antipathy for monasticism, the evils of which were ever a problem of the Byzantine government. Greek classical tradition greatly influenced both his thought and his style. Though a Christian, of course, he was half theist, and half fatalist. He believed that there was a nemesis in history. Thucydides was

<sup>13</sup> Translations: H. B. Dewing, *Procopius* (London and New York, 1914-35, 6 v.: Loeb Classical Library); *The Secret History of Procopius*, tr. by Richard Atwater, with an introduction (New York, 1927); the *De aedificiis*, or *Of the Buildings of Justinian*, tr. by Aubrey Stewart (London, 1896; Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, II, no. 3). POTTHAST, II, 938-40; J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian*, 395-565 (London, 1923, 2 v.), II, 417-36; HODGKIN, IV, see index; GIBBON, IV, 513-18; William G. Holmes, *The Age of Justinian and Theodora, a History of the Sixth Century A.D.* (London, 1905-07, 2 v.); Charles Diehl, *Justinien et la civilisation byzantine au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1901), introduction; Jacob Haury, *Zur Beurteilung des Geschichtsschreibers Procopius von Caesarea* (Munich, 1896); W. Teuffel, in *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, ed. by W. Schmidt, VIII (1847), 38-79.

<sup>14</sup> Cardinal Baronius in his *Annales Ecclesiastici* deplored the loss of the *Arcana* at the very time when the manuscript of it was lying on the shelves of the Vatican Library, of which he was librarian. It was first published at Lyons in 1623.

the model whom he imitated in style and literary tricks such as casting narrative in the form of imaginary public speeches. From Thucydides he borrowed the exordium in which he sets forth the nature of his subject and his proposed method of treatment. Even his vocabulary is Thucydidean, which led him to introduce curiously archaic words. Herodotus also influenced him, especially in his fondness for digression into strange incidents.

It has been said of Agathias (536-582) <sup>15</sup> that "his call to serious writing is recorded in one of the most touching and impressive passages of autobiography." By profession he was a lawyer or "*scholasticus*." In the Byzantine Empire a large proportion of the historians were lawyers, a fact sharply in contrast with western conditions, where history was almost wholly written by monks. The work extends from 532 to 558 and is very valuable for Justinian's Persian wars. Agathias made a special study of Persian history from Sassanid documents, of which he acquired copies through a friend. His account of the origin of the New Persian kingdom (Bk. II, 26-27) is important. Agathias had a large sympathy for ancient pagan culture. His account in the second book of the closure of the schools of Athens in 529 by Justinian, because of the persistence of pagan tradition attached to them, and the reception of the exiled professors at the court of Chosroes the Great of Persia, is a remarkable one.

An officer of the imperial guard named Menander <sup>16</sup> continued Agathias' history in eight books from 558 to 582. The fragments which survive are important for their geographical and ethnological information about the barbarian tribes in southern Russia and along the frontier in Asia. The church historian Evagrius seems to have borrowed most of the matter in his fifth book from Menander. With Menander's work we may associate Stephen of Byzantium's *Ethnika*, a sort of lexicon, half history and half geography. Of immense importance for the administrative history of Justinian's reign is a treatise on the civil service, *Concerning Magistrates*, written by a government clerk named John the Lydian.<sup>17</sup> It covers the years 511-552. He was one of the few officials in Constantinople who still understood Latin, a faculty which assured him permanence of tenure and promotion. His *History of the Persian Wars* is lost. The events for the years 566 to 581 were related by Theophanes of Byzantium,<sup>18</sup> in his *Ten Books of History*, only fragments of which have been preserved. An obscure fragment of a history written

<sup>15</sup> HODGKIN, V, 3-6; GIBBON, IV, 518; POTTHAST, I, 25-26; Hase in JS, 1829, pp. 715-26.

<sup>16</sup> POTTHAST, I, 785; GIBBON, V, 495.

<sup>17</sup> POTTHAST, I, 669; GIBBON, IV, 512-13.

<sup>18</sup> POTTHAST, II, 1058-59; GIBBON, V, 495; E. W. Brooks, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, VIII (1899), 82-97, XV (1906), 578-87. It was the last Byzantine chronicle known in Western Europe, cp. *Revue de l'Orient latin*, X (1905), 82.



by Peter the Patrician is the first Byzantine information of record about the Lombards.

The years of Byzantine history after Justinian's death, between 572 and 598, when the Persian menace grew formidable, are best related by John of Epiphania, whose *History of the Persian War (572-593)*<sup>19</sup> is well informed, since he was a friend of Chosroes the Great and many influential Persian nobles; moreover he had accurate geographical knowledge. Evagrius (ca. 536-600), who also was a native of Epiphania, used it in composing his sixth book. Another source for the history of the Persian conquest of Egypt is the *Life of John the Almoner* by Leontius, of Neapolis in Cyprus.

The most important ecclesiastical historian of the sixth century, next to Evagrius, was John of Ephesus whose work, in twelve books, extends from the beginning of the Christian era to 584. Only the third part is of value, as it is contemporary or nearly contemporary history.<sup>20</sup> He wrote in the Syriac language and—strange to say—was a Monophysite; yet Justinian employed him to convert to Christianity the pagans who were still numerous in the provinces of Asia, Phrygia, Lydia and Caria—a fact which is even stranger, and it may be said, little known to modern scholarship. Nothing could more impressively illustrate the tenacity of the pagan cults.

The primary source for the important reign of the Emperor Maurice (582-602) is Theophylactus Simocatta's *History*<sup>21</sup> in eight books. A native of Egypt, he had little understanding for the relative importance of facts and wrote in a florid style; but he was honest according to his intelligence. In one particular Theophylactus Simocatta is of unique importance. In Book VII, 7-8 there is a description of a great empire in Eastern Asia which must have been China. It is "the most intimate glimpse of China in European literature before Marco Polo." He derived his information from a diplomatic communication of the Turkish khan to the court of Constantinople.<sup>22</sup> Contemporary with Theophylactus was the anonymous author of the *Chronicon Paschale*, which in its first form begins with Adam and comes down to 629. From 602 to the end the author writes from personal knowledge, and the "chronicle assumes for the reigns of Phokas and Heraclius the dignity of an important

<sup>19</sup> POTTHAST, I, 660; GIBBON, V, 495; Krumbacher (n. 1), 244-45.

<sup>20</sup> Translation by R. Payne Smith, *The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John, Bishop of Ephesus* (Oxford, 1860). Part I has not survived, and only fragments of Part II remain. Krumbacher (n. 1), 404; GIBBON, V, 495; and *QR*, CXVII (1865), 156-64.

<sup>21</sup> POTTHAST, II, 1060; GIBBON, IV, 518, V, 495-96.

<sup>22</sup> G. F. Hudson, *Europe and China, a Survey of their Relations from Earliest Times to 1800* (London, 1931), 127, cited by P. A. Boodberg in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, III (1938), 223. This portion has been translated by Edouard Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux* (St. Petersburg, 1903), 246-49.

contemporary source.”<sup>23</sup> For the great campaigns of Heraclius against the Persians the heroic poems of George Pisides<sup>24</sup> are the primary source. The first expedition is celebrated in the *Akroaseis* in three cantos, and the final victory of the emperor in the *Heracliad* in two cantos. Between these two epics falls another poem celebrating the repulse of the Avar attack on Constantinople in 626. These works are written in smooth iambic trimeters and are the earliest example of Greek poetry written according to the laws of accent and not the rules of quantity. Thus they represent an important transition from ancient classical to medieval verse structure.

The history of the last days of the Byzantine domination in Egypt and its conquest by the Mohammedans has been completely revolutionized in recent years by the discovery of the important history of John of Nikiou, which has rendered obsolete almost all that has hitherto been written about this event. The traditional view, that “the conquest of Egypt resulted from the desertion of a treacherous ruler of the Copts to the Arab standard,”<sup>25</sup> can no longer be held. John of Nikiou was a Coptic bishop who was born probably about the time of the Arabic conquest. His *History of the World* was originally written partly in Greek and partly in Coptic, but soon translated into Arabic and later into Ethiopic. Only this last version has survived, in a MS. acquired by the British Abyssinian Expedition in 1901–05.<sup>26</sup> Unfortunately there is a lacuna from the accession of Heraclius in 610 to the arrival of the Arab conquerors in 638. John was a conscientious and impartial historian. It is now clear that the native Egyptians did not espouse the Muslim cause in their hatred of Byzantine rule and betray the country into their hands.

“The Greek chroniclers,” it has been written, “must be the fundamental authorities of any period in Byzantine history. . . . There was always a network of synoptic chronicles whose relative value it is very difficult to gauge.”<sup>27</sup>

The tradition of the historical chronicle, of course, was old both in the East and the West. The basic chronicle in the East was the *Chronicon Paschale*, which was remotely derived from that of Eusebius in the

<sup>23</sup> GIBBON, V, 497.

<sup>24</sup> *Loc. cit.*; also POTTHAST, I, 499–500.

<sup>25</sup> Leopold v. Ranke, *Weltgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1883–88, 9 v.), V, pt. i, 143; Charles Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine: histoire de la domination byzantine en Afrique, 533–709* (Paris, 1896); GIBBON, V, 515.

<sup>26</sup> Edited with a French translation by H. Zotenberg in *Notices et extraits des MSS. de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, XXIV, pt. i (1883), 125–608. For literature see Krumbacher (n. 1), 404; and add A. J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt and the Last Thirty Years of the Roman Dominion* (Oxford, 1902), pp. viii–ix, 532–33, and index.

<sup>27</sup> Steven Runciman, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and His Reign, a Study of Tenth-Century Byzantium* (Cambridge, 1929).

fourth century. Beginning with the Creation, it came down to 629 A.D.<sup>28</sup> But far more influential was the *Chronographia* of Johannes Malalas, or John the Rhetor,<sup>29</sup> a work utterly without originality, and a confused conflation of many previous chronicles and other sources of information. It "gives the impression that it was compiled by a monk whose abysses of ignorance it would be hard to fathom." Nevertheless, it is very important for the history of literature.

It is the earliest example of the Byzantine monastic chronicle, not appealing to educated people, but written down to the level of the masses. There is no sense of proportion. The fall of an empire and the juggling of a mountebank are related with the same seriousness. . . . All manner of trivial gossip is introduced. The blunders are appalling. . . . The conventional style of historic prose is deserted; popular idioms, words, and grammatical forms are used without scruple.<sup>30</sup>

Malalas was so ignorant of classical literature that he makes Herodotus a successor of Polybius and Cicero is said to be a poet. Pompey was murdered by Caesar; Britain is a city founded by Claudius. Fortunately this ignorant popular form of writing did not give birth to a new Byzantine literature. The classical tradition was strong enough in the Byzantine Empire to rise superior to all levelling influence. In a state in which the whole government centered upon the emperor, the emperor's life and character were of paramount importance. Every reign marked an epoch. Accordingly, the Byzantine chronicler adopted what may be called the "horizontal" method, correlating provincial and frontier events with the contemporary history of the central government at Constantinople. In this wise each reign was treated as a unit.

For the Iconoclastic period of Byzantine history there are two contemporary works, one by Theophanes, the other by Nicephorus. Each of these writers was born in 758; the former died in 817, the latter in 828. Both were passionate opponents of iconoclasm, but they give a vivid picture of the issue and the times. Theophanes was of noble birth, a cousin of the Emperor Nicephorus and an officer in the imperial guard, notwithstanding which he lived, though married, the life of a monk. He attended the Second Council of Nicaea (787) clothed in a garment of hair and riding an ass. He vehemently advocated the venera-

<sup>28</sup> The system of chronology in these chronicles was not uniform. "World eras" differed in them. Julius Africanus reckoned 5500 years from the Creation (*ante mundum*) to the Incarnation, not the nativity. Eusebius calculated events from Abraham, 2017 B.C. The "Byzantine" or "Roman" era was adopted in the *Chronicon Paschale*, with A.M. 5507, and the Incarnation on March 21 in the year 1 B.C. The "Antiochene" era of A.M. 5967 was favored by Syriac historians, as John Malalas. The "ecclesiastical" era reckoned with A.M. 5501. An exhaustive study of these early systems is H. Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie* (Leipzig, 1880-98, 2 v. in 1).

<sup>29</sup> POTTHAST, I, 670; Krumbacher (n. 1), 325-34 and index under "Malalas"; GIBBON, IV, 518; E. W. Brooks, *EHR*, VII (1892), 291-301.

<sup>30</sup> GIBBON, IV, 519.

tion of images and gave his ancestral estates to the founding of a monastery near Cyzicus of which he was abbot in later life until he was banished to the island of Samothrace by the Emperor Leo the Armenian. Theophanes "has the value of a partial and prejudiced contemporary."<sup>31</sup> The language is interesting as it falls between good Greek and the vernacular speech. A mention of Roman customhouses on the Red Sea shows that Byzantine trade with the Orient still survived in spite of the Muslim conquest of Egypt.

Nicephorus also was of noble family and *notarius* in the reign of Constantine VI and his mother, the Empress Irene. He too was an ardent supporter of image-worship and attended the Council of Nicaea in 787 and was deposed from the patriarchate, which he attained in 806, by Leo in 814. He died a monk in the monastery of St. Theodore in the Sea of Marmora. His brief but carefully written *Concise History from the Reign of the Emperor Maurice* extends from 602 to the marriage of Leo IV and Irene in 768. The sources of both Theophanes and Nicephorus were identical.

These two chronicles in turn were continued in the ninth century by George the Monk, and translated into Latin for Pope Nicholas I (858–867) by Anastasius the Librarian. Owing to successive accretions and interpolations it is difficult to distinguish the original form of the work.<sup>32</sup>

Another source for the history of the Iconoclastic Controversy are many *Lives* of "martyrs" who suffered from the policy of the iconoclastic emperors. The most important of these is the *Life of St. Stephen of Mount Auxentius*, who suffered in 767, written by Stephen, deacon of St. Sophia, about the year 808.<sup>33</sup>

Intellectually the ninth century was an age of erudition, but not one of creative literary production. The outstanding representative of the age was the Patriarch Photius from 857 to 867, when he was deposed; restored again in 877, he retained the office until his second deposition in 886. In spite of a tumultuous theological and political life, Photius managed to read an enormous amount of both ancient and medieval Greek literature, besides writing upon theology, mathematics, physics, astronomy, natural science, and medicine. Photius kept a reader's diary (*Myrobiblion*) in which he noted the author and title of 280 works, many of which he criticized and abstracted. It is an invaluable source of literary information in regard to works most of which are lost.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 500–01.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 502; POTTHAST, I, 499; GREGOROVIVS, III, 150.

<sup>33</sup> E. Miller, in *JS*, 1838, pp. 689–706; on Stephen see GIBBON, V, 501–02, where there is also given a list of these lives of saints.

<sup>34</sup> English translation by Freeze (see n. 2 above), but only the first of the projected five volumes has been published. A sixth was to contain an account of Photius' life and works, a bibliography, and a general index. Krumbacher (n. 1), 515–24 and index; La Rue van Hook, "The Literary Criticism in the *Bibliotheca* of Photius," *Classical Philology*, IV (1909), 178–89;

But history went begging in this century. The best historical source is not a history but a manual of administration of which the pedant-emperor, Leo VI (886-912), was the author. It is entitled *The Book of the Prefect* and was composed for the instruction and guidance of the prefect of Constantinople. Government control of industry and commerce has never gone further in the history of the world.<sup>35</sup>

A later imperial author who wrote two treatises of a governmental nature was the Emperor Constantine VII, surnamed Porphyrogenitus (905-959), whose *De administratione imperii* and *De thematibus* are valuable historical works.<sup>36</sup> If Constantine VII did not write history, he inspired its composition, for in his reign and by his order Josephus Genesius wrote an *Imperial History* extending from 813 to 886.<sup>37</sup> It is an indifferent composition but important because it covers a period in which there are few sources. A *Sicilian Chronicle* extending from 827 to 965, which relates the progress of the Muslim conquest of Sicily, is preserved both in its Greek original and in an Arabic translation. It is the best example of a work composed outside of the capital.

In the tenth century the Byzantine Empire attained its zenith. After this long and barren period of almost three hundred years, Byzantine historiography entered upon a new and progressive epoch in the tenth century. For the reign of Romanus I Lecapenus (919-944) the best source is an anonymous record probably written by the emperor's friend Symeon Metaphrastes, who, as logothete of the palace, certainly had excellent means of information. He wrote, like so many others, a history of the world from the beginning down to 948. It does not exist in its original form, but there are four copies, the most reliable of which is the Slavonic version. This chronicle is the basis of all accounts of the reign by subsequent historians.

Leo the Deacon's *Ten Books of History*<sup>38</sup> extends from 959 to 975. The short period which Leo covered was an important one, embracing the reigns of the Emperors Romanus II, Nicephorus Phocas, and John Zimisces. His insertion of official documents, some of them of length, in the narrative is to be noted. The most important of these are six

SANDYS, I, 396-404; cp. GREGOROVIVS, III, 145-46. The great monograph on Photius is (Cardinal) J. Hergenröther, *Photius, Patriarch von Constantinopel* (Regensburg, 1867-69, 3 v.).

<sup>35</sup> French translation by Jules Nicole, *Le Livre du Préfet, ou l'Édit de l'Empereur Léon le Sage sur les corporations de Constantinople* (Geneva, 1893), with introduction and notes. Cp. my *Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages, 300-1300* (New York, 1928), 336-37.

<sup>36</sup> GIBBON, VI, 533-37; J. B. Bury, "The Treatise *De administrando imperio*," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XV (1906), 517-77; E. W. Brooks, "Byzantines and Arabs in the Time of the Early Abbasids," *EHR*, XV (1900), 728-31.

<sup>37</sup> GIBBON, V, 503; POTTHAST, I, 497.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 717; GIBBON, V, 504; Krumbacher (n. 1), 266-69; Greek text with Latin translation in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 117, cols. 635-926; and cp. R. Rochette, *JS*, 1820, pp. 1-15.

laws of Nicephorus Phocas, one of which was a sort of statute of mortmain which forbade the establishment of any new monasteries, or the further acquisition of tax-exempt land by the old ones. Books I-II relate the history of the reign of Romanus II, the expedition against Crete, and a war in Asia Minor against the Muslims. Book III gives an account of the revolution in Constantinople which overthrew Romanus II and brought the able general Nicephorus Phocas to the throne. The events recounted in Book IV, between 964 and 969, have to do with the conquest of Cilicia, the victorious Greek expeditions into Syria and Mesopotamia, and the blockade of Antioch. Books V-VII give an account of the rebellion of the generals at whose instigation the Russians invaded Bulgaria, and of the capture of Antioch, which had long been besieged, and concludes with the assassination of Nicephorus by Zimisce, his general, in connivance with the empress, who was his paramour. Books VIII-IX deal with the war with the Russians, with new campaigns in Syria and Mesopotamia in 974 and 975; and Book X terminates with the murder of Zimisce. This bald analysis fails to give the reader any idea of the variety and richness of information found in Leo the Deacon.

The author of the sixth and last book of the *Continuation* of Theophanes, which deals with the reigns from Leo VI to Romanus II, may have been Theodore Daphnopates, a former secretary of Romanus I. It was probably written during the rule of Nicephorus Phocas.<sup>39</sup> Another Leo, called Grammaticus, followed Leo the Deacon (fl. 1013).<sup>40</sup> Unfortunately he did not have the sense of proportion of his predecessor and began his *Chronographia* with the Creation, so that he is of use only for his last pages. It terminates in 948.

One now begins to glimpse that sense of the dignity of history which through so many centuries characterized Byzantine historiography as a whole. Whenever a solid study of medieval Greek historiography is made, the continuity of that great tradition will be perceived which linked the Eastern Roman Empire to the ancient world.<sup>41</sup> In the East in the Middle Ages the concept of the continuity of history was a far more abiding influence and had far greater reality than in the West, where an excessive number of puerile and jejune chroniclers lost their theme amid the sands of the years. In a very true way, up to and even through the Renaissance, the theme of the Byzantine historiographer was the history of his own times. There is little antiquarianism and

<sup>39</sup> Runciman (n. 27), 2.

<sup>40</sup> POTTHAST, I, 717; GIBBON, V, 503; C. de Boor, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, II (1893), 1-21.

<sup>41</sup> E. Schwartz, "Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichte bei den Griechen," *Die Antike*, IV (1928), 14-30.

little reaching backward into a remote past. The Byzantine historian wrote of contemporary events, as an actual observer of the times in which he lived. This gives a freshness and an authenticity to Byzantine historiography which that of Western Europe less often possessed.

The revived historiography thus begun was continued by Constantine Psellos, whose *Chronographia* extends from 976 to 1077.<sup>42</sup> Psellos (1018–78) was the ablest of all Byzantine historians. Psellos believed that history should present facts, and in this opinion he adhered to the best tradition of Byzantine historiography. He had a definite conception of the nature of history and was equally clear about its presentation. He was not tempted to write a universal history, but wrote of his own time. He began life as a lawyer, became a secretary to the Emperor Michael V, and was made a professor in the university by Constantine IX. Again he was drawn into the imperial administration for a season, from which he retreated to become a monk, and again, after some years, he returned to secular life once more and became an important minister under three emperors. In learning Psellos was another Photius. Psellos is overlapped in the latter part of his work by a less partial historian, Michael Attaleiates,<sup>43</sup> a lawyer by profession who held various high posts in the government of Constantine Ducas and Nicephorus Botaneiates. His work terminates in 1077 and is especially valuable for the culture history of the eleventh century. This writer in turn was overlapped by Nicephorus Bryennius,<sup>44</sup> a son-in-law of the Emperor Alexius Comnenus; the work is more a family chronicle of the Comneni than a history. In the same period a high official of the imperial court, named John Scylitzes, continued the *Chronicle* of Theophanes as far as the year 1081. In consequence, only the portion for the years 1057–81 has value, but this is considerable.<sup>45</sup>

By this time the Byzantine Empire was involved in the throes of the Crusades, and a new epoch was introduced. Incontestably the outstand-

<sup>42</sup> The literature upon Psellos is more copious than that upon any other Byzantine historian, and rightly so. His *History* has been edited by Constantine Sathas in the Byzantine Texts series (London, 1899); cp. also POTTHAST, II, 943–44. French translation by E. Renauld (Paris, 1928, 2 v.). For reading on Psellos see GIBBON, V, 504–05; J. T. Bent, "Michael Psellos, His Times and Writings," *BQR*, LXXXII (1885), 287–302; J. B. Bury, "Roman Emperors from Basil II to Isaac Komnēnos," *EHR*, IV (1889), 41–64, 251–85; Joan Hussey, *Speculum*, X (1935), 81–90; SANDYS, I, 411–13; E. Renauld, *Revue des études grecques*, XVIII (1905), 224–52; F. Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter* (3rd ed., Stuttgart, 1889, 2 v.), I, 176–83; A. Rambaud, in *RH*, III (1887), 241–82; Charles Diehl, article in *La Grande Encyclopédie*, XXVII, 888–89; Carl Neumann, *Die Weltstellung des byzantinischen Reiches vor den Kreuzzügen* (Altenburg, 1894); W. Fischer, "Beiträge zur historischen Kritik des Leon Diakonos und Michael Psellos," *Mitteilungen des oesterreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung*, VII (1886), 353–77.

<sup>43</sup> GIBBON, V, 505–06; POTTHAST, I, 786; Bury (n. 42).

<sup>44</sup> POTTHAST, II, 846; GIBBON, V, 506.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 507; POTTHAST, II, 1004–05; De Boor, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XIII (1904), 356–67, XIV (1905), 409–67.

ing historical writer of this period was Anna Comnena, the daughter of the Emperor Alexius Comnenus (1081–1118).<sup>46</sup> She was the wife of Nicephorus Bryennius, mentioned above, and a far better writer than he—indeed, one of the most brilliant women of the Middle Ages, who completed her husband's unfinished work during her widowhood. The *Alexiad*, the epic title of which is not without significance, is in fifteen books and covers the years of her father's long reign. Anna Comnena was well informed, having a vast amount of oral tradition and documentary material available. She tells the reader the nature of her sources in these words:

I do not take back my composition to ten thousand years ago, but there are some who survive to the present day and who knew my father and who tell me the facts about him, by whom no small part of the history has been here contributed, with some telling and remembering one thing and some another, as each chanced to do, and all agreeing. And in most cases I, too, was present with my father and accompanied my mother. . . . Some things then I know of myself, and the things that happened in the wars I got from those who fought beside my father (for I questioned them in various ways about these matters), and also from certain ferrymen who brought us news (from Asia). But above all I often listened face to face to the emperor and George Palaeologus when they discoursed about these things.

Her Greek is almost too good, and she herself says that it might be better if she wrote in a less literary style. As an eye-witness of the march of the armies of the First Crusade through Constantinople, she was a shrewd observer. Her character sketches of Godfrey de Bouillon and especially of Bohemond, whom she both hated and admired, are bold reliefs, and her comment on the loquacity of the French amusing, yet true.

The history of these same fateful years also engaged the pen of three inferior writers, George Cedrenus (to 1057), Michael Glycas, and John Zonaras (to 1118).<sup>47</sup> But in each case the period of the Comneni emperors is merely the conclusion of a long world-chronicle, the usefulness of which lies only in the fact that it has preserved excerpts from previous histories otherwise lost. This is especially true of Zonaras, for the first twenty-one books of Dio Cassius are preserved only in his abridgment of them. Cedrenus was a compiler and a copyist of the works of predecessors; Zonaras wrote uncritically, but his frequent sarcastic comments are amusing.

<sup>46</sup> The Greek text with a French translation in Bernard Leib, *Alexiade* (Paris, 1938); English translation by Elizabeth A. Dawes, *The Alexiad of the Princess Anna Comnena* (London, 1928); for other editions and literature see POTTHAST, I, 331, and the account in Krumbacher (n. 1), 274–79. Naomi Mitchison, *Anna Comnena* (London, 1928); G. G. Buckler, *Anna Comnena* (Oxford, 1929); GIBBON, V, 506–07; William Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient* (Cambridge, 1921), 533–50; F. J. Foakes-Jackson, in the *Hibbert Journal*, XXXIII (1935), 430–42; the studies of Neumann (n. 1); and QR, vol. 233 (1920), 62–81.

<sup>47</sup> For these three see respectively POTTHAST, I, 212–13, 532, II, 1126; and GIBBON, V, 508, 509, 508.



John Cinnamus<sup>48</sup> continued the history of the Comneni from 1118 to 1176 in the stirring times when the Byzantine Empire was situated between hammer and anvil, between Western Europe and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and caught in a web of diplomacy in which Hohenstaufen Germany and the Kingdom of Norman Italy and Sicily were the chief factors. The capture of Jerusalem by Saladin in 1187 and the rapid loss of almost all Christian territory in the Orient except Syria, was a relief to the Byzantine government. Cinnamus was deeply influenced in his style by classical Greek historians.

At the end of the twelfth century two brothers stand out for distinguished scholarship, Michael and Nicetas Acominatus. The former might be called "the last of the Athenians." His sermons, letters, speeches, and poems "afford us very valuable information on the political, social, and literary conditions of his time." His brother Nicetas was the author of a long work in twenty-one books relating the *History of the Byzantine Empire from 1081 to 1206*. He had been governor of the theme of Philippolis in 1189. The work is based throughout upon contemporary sources and is especially valuable for the account of the sack of Constantinople by the crusaders in 1204, of which he was an eyewitness.<sup>49</sup> It is the only important Greek source for this period.

Byzantine historiography was transferred to new seats by the capture of Constantinople in 1204 by the Crusaders, and was henceforth, until the Greek recovery of the capital in 1261, carried on at Nicaea and Trebizond, which survived as unconquered fragments of the once great empire.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 507; POTTHAST, I, 320.

<sup>49</sup> On Nicetas see Vasiliev (n. 1), II, 164-68; Gregorovius (n. 42), I, 205-07; GIBBON, V, 507; POTTHAST, II, 848; Krumbacher (n. 1), 281-86; E. Miller in *JS*, 1880, pp. 755-70; Salomon Reinach, *Esquisses archéologiques* (Paris, 1888), 281-312.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### THE LATIN HISTORIANS OF THE CRUSADES<sup>1</sup>

IN A PREVIOUS chapter it has been said that the adventurous achievements of the Normans in Italy, in Spain, and in England in the eleventh century, and the struggle over lay-investiture, awakened a new historical sense in Europe. Nevertheless, the interest in these movements was neither broad nor deep. The Crusades were the first general historical event which excited the interest of all nations and of all classes of society. In the centuries preceding the Crusades history had been written almost wholly in the form of annals, chronicles, and biographies, the view-point of which was narrow and the interest of which was prevailingly local in nature. The Crusades shook Europe out of this narrow sphere, especially France, the leader of the movement. As Molinier has written:

<sup>1</sup> Only the Latin and Western historians of the Crusades will be considered in this chapter, as the Byzantine and Muslim writers are discussed elsewhere, each in their own place.

For bibliographies of the history of the Crusades see PAETOW, 230-38; *Cambridge Medieval History*, V (1929), 864-71; Ernest Lavisse and Alfred Rambaud, *Histoire générale du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle à nos jours* (Paris, 1893-1901, 12 v.), II, 348-49; Louis Bréhier, *L'Église et l'Orient au moyen âge: les Croisades* (5th ed., Paris, 1928), introduction; and my *Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages, 300-1300* (New York, 1928), 830-33. The best bibliography of the sources of the Crusades, which is complete for the French sources, is MOLINIER, II, nos. 2073-2187, III, nos. 2303-96, 2537; there are briefer accounts in G. Dodu, *Histoire des institutions monarchiques dans le Royaume latin de Jérusalem, 1099-1291* (Paris, 1894), 1-26; and Bernhard Kugler, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (2nd ed., Berlin, 1891). For extensive literature on, and editions of, the various historians of the Crusades, consult POTTHAST.

The most complete collection of sources for the history of the Crusades is the *Recueil des historiens des croisades*, published by the Académie des Inscriptions in 16 huge folio volumes (Paris, 1841-1906); cp. POTTHAST, I, p. cxxvi and Henri Dehérain, "Les origines du recueil des *Historiens des Croisades*," *JS*, 1919, pp. 260-66. The collection is divided into five series: Laws and documents, Western, Greek, Arabic, and Armenian writers. The Société de l'Orient latin, established in 1875 by Count Riant, has also published a great amount of source material on the Crusades, which (to 1895) is listed in POTTHAST, I, p. cxxiii. These two great series have made obsolete the old collection of J. Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, etc. (Hanau, 1611, 2 v.). French translations, not too good, may be found in J. Michaud, *Bibliothèque des croisades* (2nd ed., Paris, 1829-30, 4 v.); of this vols. I-III are analyzed by Danou in *JS*, 1830, pp. 102-14; the fourth volume is devoted to Arabic historians. Translations of the French historians of the Crusades also in F. Guizot's *Collection des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France* (Paris, 1824-35, 31 v. in 17).

There is no general account of the historiography of the whole crusading movement, though much on that of particular crusades, which will be noticed in this chapter as it is reached. On account of the novelty of the enterprise, the historians of the First Crusade were many. After that, when the Crusades had become a general European movement, the history of the Second and Third Crusades must be looked for in the general English, French, and German sources of the period. On the other hand, the Fourth Crusade, because of its particular character, found special historians. The history of the last Crusades, except those of St. Louis—the Seventh and Ninth—is very much scattered. For a recent estimate of research still to be done see J. L. La Monte, "Some Problems in Crusading Historiography," *Speculum*, XV (1940), 57-75.

It is perhaps in historiography that the results of the great movement were the most marked. Until that time, for over a century, each portion of the former kingdom of Charles the Bald had lived in isolation, thrown back upon itself, as it were, and limited by a narrow horizon of interest. Now the barriers fell and Europe began to be self-conscious; it had common interests and common foes, and above the petty feuds of its princes loomed a higher ideal—that of Christendom in conflict with Islam. . . . By contact with the Orient the historical horizon of the western writers was marvelously widened, the impulse was given and the time was ripe in France for the composition of general chronicles.<sup>2</sup>

The nature and novelty of the Crusades challenged the imagination of writers.<sup>3</sup> In the preface to his *History of the First Crusade*, Robert the Monk wrote:

If we except the saving mystery of the crucifixion, what has happened since the creation of the world that is more wonderful than this which has been done in modern times on this expedition of our people to Jerusalem? The more one studies this achievement the greater will be his astonishment.

But the new historiography did not spring to full stature all at once. The lack of historical feeling is illustrated after the capture of Antioch, when immediately and on the spot compositions began to be written which were not true, but were exaggerated, or romantic and imaginary. They were not derived from observation of facts, but fashioned after the manner of the vernacular epic poetry of the age.<sup>4</sup> Within a few years the myth-making propensity of the human mind had woven a web of story, legend, and romance around the leaders of the First Crusade by which the true history of the movement was completely misrepresented.

Once the conquest of Syria and the Holy Land was accomplished, and Western Europe possessed of a permanent colony in the Near East, a new interest in geography and the strange customs of strange peoples was awakened. The immense accretion of geographical knowledge brought about by the Crusades, which enabled Western Europe to recover the lost knowledge of the Near East, is to be observed. One has only to compare the crude ignorance of the chroniclers of the First Cru-

<sup>2</sup> Translated from MOLINIER, V, pp. xciii, xcvi.

<sup>3</sup> For sources and literature of the First Crusade, see *ibid.*, II, nos. 2073–2170; P. D. Pasolini, *ASI*, ser. 4, XIX (1887), 213–21; T. A. Archer, *Scottish Review*, XXVI (1895), 274–95; G. Weil, "Zur Literatur der Geschichte der Kreuzzüge," *HZ*, XXIV (1870), 257–73; Heinrich v. Sybel, *History and Literature of the Crusades*, tr. by Lady Duff Gordon (London, 1861); Charles Thurot, *RH*, I (1876), 372–86, II (1876), 104–11; O. J. Thatcher, "The Latin Sources of the First Crusade," *Annual Report of the American Hist. Association*, I (1901), 499–509; GIBBON, VI, 522–28; Paulin Paris, *Les historiens des croisades* (Paris, 1858); *NBR*, I (1844), 114–45; J. H. Robinson, *Readings in European History* (Boston and New York, 1904–06, 2 v.), I, ch. xv; A. C. Krey, *The First Crusade: the Accounts of Eye-Witnesses and Participants* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1921); Frederic Duncalf and A. C. Krey, *Parallel Source Problems in Medieval History* (New York and London, 1912), 95–133; *BQR*, XVIII (1853), 63–101.

<sup>4</sup> Kugler (n. 1), 52.

sade on all Oriental things with the fuller and riper knowledge of writers like William of Tyre, to be aware of the difference and of the rapidity with which Western Europe learned the new geography.

Before the Crusades opened wide the Near East, the knowledge of Western Europe about the countries of the Levant was confined almost wholly to the information brought back by pilgrims. Pilgrimage was an ancient practice, found as far back as the fourth century. In one of his letters St. Jerome, writing from his cell in Bethlehem, exclaims:

Every man of note in Gaul, it would seem, has hastened hither. Even the Briton, sundered from our world by the sea, no sooner makes progress in religion than he leaves the setting sun in quest of a spot of which he knows only through scripture and common report.<sup>5</sup>

Of the historians of the First Crusade, three—Robert the Monk, Baudri of Bourgueil, and Fulcher of Chartres—were present at the council of Clermont, where Pope Urban II made that astounding exhortation in 1095 which marked the inception of the Crusades. Robert was a monk of the monastery of St. Remi in Rheims. His *Historia Hierosolymitana*, in nine books, begins with the Council of Clermont and extends to the battle of Ascalon. Although generally regarded as the oldest complete history of the First Crusade, it has slight historical value, in spite of its popularity in the Middle Ages, attested by translations into French, German, and Italian.<sup>6</sup> Baudri of Bourgueil's *Historia Hierosolymitana* is in four books and extends to the capture of Jerusalem in July, 1099. It was written after 1107 and contains imaginary details and invented speeches.<sup>7</sup>

Far superior to these two is Fulcher of Chartres,<sup>8</sup> a priest, the most important historian of the First Crusade, who stayed in the East for thirty years. He was an intelligent and earnest man, and fairly well

<sup>5</sup> For an account of these pilgrim texts, see the *Journal of Theological Studies*, I (1899), 149 ff. For this medieval passion for pilgrimages see Pierre de Labriolle, *History and Literature of Christianity*, tr. from the French by H. Wilson (London and New York, 1924), 374–80; C. R. Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography* (London, 1897–1906, 3 v.), I, chs. ii–iv, and II, chs. iii–iv; Sidney Heath, *Pilgrim Life in the Middle Ages* (Boston, 1912); G. H. Jones, "Celtic Britain and the Pilgrim Movement," *Y Cymmrodor*, XXIII (1912) entire; Henry C. Lea, *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church* (Philadelphia, 1896, 3 v.), II, 123–35; Reinhold Röhricht, ed., *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem Heiligen Lande* (new ed., Innsbruck, 1900); Jean D. B. Gorce, *Les voyages, l'hospitalité et le port des lettres dans le monde chrétien des IV<sup>e</sup> et V<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris, 1925); see also *ER*, CIX (1859), 86–121, CXX (1864), 217–48; and *QR*, XCIII (1853), 432–62, CXC (1899), 103–27. English translations of pilgrim accounts in *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society* (London, 1885–97, 13 v.); these are listed in my *Reference Studies in Medieval History* (3rd ed., Chicago, 1923–24, 3 v.), II, 121–22. T. Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine* (London, 1848: Bohn's Antiquarian Library), includes the narratives of Arculf, Willibald, Bernard the Wise, and Saewulf.

<sup>6</sup> For critical literature see MOLINIER, II, no. 2118, and POTTHAST, II, 978.

<sup>7</sup> MOLINIER, II, no. 2120; POTTHAST, I, 131.

<sup>8</sup> MOLINIER, II, no. 2123; POTTHAST, I, 476. There is a very valuable account of him by the late D. C. Munro in *Speculum*, VII (1932), 321–35.

read in the classics, although he apologizes for his "rustic" Latin. He is the best source for the early years of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Fulcher was a keen observer. He was careful over chronology, critical of big figures either of armies or of battles, and possessed unusual descriptive power, as his account of the start of the great expedition, of the battle of Dorylaeum, or of the march across Anatolia testify. His whole narration is shot through with his personality. At Lucca he received the blessing of the lawful pope who had been driven out of Rome by the forces of the Emperor Henry IV. In Rome he saw German soldiery robbing the pilgrims in St. Peter's. In Brindisi he saw a shipload of pilgrims sink. He travelled with Robert of Normandy, but once in the East became attached to Baldwin I, with whom he shared hardship and adventure and roved the Orient from Edessa to Jerusalem, and through the marshes of the Jordan into the desert tracts beyond. His descriptions of battle are word-pictures. He was an intelligent observer, describing the face of the country, and tasted of the water of the Dead Sea to satisfy his curiosity. The Saracen pigeon-post between cities interested him. He noticed that "the ways of the East differ from those of the West, as the ways of France differ from those of England."

Of almost equal value with Fulcher, but written by a layman—a remarkable fact—is the *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum* by an unknown who passes as the "Anonymous."<sup>9</sup> Internal evidence shows that the work of the Anonymous is the earliest history of the First Crusade to have been written, for it was current in 1101. The author was a knight who accompanied the Norman-Italians, and later attached himself to Raymond of St. Gilles. The account extends from the spring of 1096 to August 12, 1099. It is a sort of journal written up immediately after the events as they happened. The author was barely literate, for he knew no literature except the Bible and wrote so crude a Latin that it shocked the next generation.

The remaining historians of the First Crusade are very different. Even before the capture of Jerusalem bitter rivalry had been engendered among the leaders of the expedition. Accordingly the writers are partisans. Albert of Aix' *Liber christianae expeditionis pro ereptione, emundatione, restitutione sanctae Hierosolymitanae ecclesiae*—resounding title!—in twelve books relates the history of the First Crusade and that of the Kingdom of Jerusalem until 1120; it is a laudation of the bravery and achievements of the Lorrainers in the East and a panegyric of Godfrey de Bouillon. It abounds in action, ring of battle, mystery, pathos, hairbreadth escapes, gallant feats of arms, and reckless adven-

<sup>9</sup> MOLINIER, II, no. 2115; POTTHAST, I, 517. School edition, with notes and introduction, by Beatrice A. Lees, *Anonymi gesta Francorum* (Oxford, 1924), see pp. ix-xxxi.

ture on land and sea. Scholars are widely disagreed as to its value.<sup>10</sup> Ralph of Caen, who was not with the expedition of 1097-99 but went to the East in 1107, was an advocate of the Norman princes Bohemond and Tancred, and very hostile to Raymond of Toulouse.<sup>11</sup> If he had not been incurably rhetorical, he might have equalled Fulcher of Chartres. Bohemond and Tancred were his heroes, but one tires of Tancred crossing the Vardar "on the ship and oarage of his steed," of his sword "drunk with slaughter," of tag-ends of Lucan's *Pharsalia*—though Ralph could write really stirring Latin poetry; the verses in chapter LXXXIX have the swing and ring of a ballad. Raimond d'Aguilers was a canon of Puy and chaplain to the great count of Toulouse. His *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Jerusalem*<sup>12</sup> is an independent source and the record of an eye-witness, but unfortunately the author was ignorant, credulous, and prejudiced. One does not know whether he was the dupe of the alleged miracle of the discovery of the Holy Lance, or introduced the tale for purposes of propaganda.

Finally we have to mention Ekkehard of Aura, a German monk, and Guibert de Nogent. The former, whose *Universal History* has already been noticed in the chapter on German historians, made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem three years after the capture of the city, and upon his return composed the *Hierosolymita, de oppressione, liberatione ac restauratione sanctae Hierosolymitanae ecclesiae*. Ekkehard was a competent historian who interviewed eye-witnesses and participants in the initial crusade and consulted the *Gesta* of the Anonymous, a copy of which he found at Jerusalem. The latter part of his work, from chapter XXII, is entirely original and very valuable.<sup>13</sup>

Quite different from all other histories of the First Crusade, in fact, unique in its nature, is the work of Guibert de Nogent, abbot of a monastery in the diocese of Soissons, whose *Autobiography* and *Treatise on Relics* have already been noticed. This highly intelligent and keen observer of men and events, profoundly impressed with the depth and

<sup>10</sup> For critical literature see MOLINIER, II, no. 2126; POTTHAST, I, 30. "From this book," says Sybel, "we hear the voice not of a single person, but of regiments speaking with a thousand tongues; we get a picture of western Europe as it was shaken and affected by that ecumenical event. The story is told vividly, uninterrupted by any reflections on the part of the author who is profoundly impressed by the marvellous character of the tale which he has to tell, has no scruple in reporting inconsistent statements, and does not trouble himself much about chronology and topography. But the canon of Aachen, who compiled the work as we have it in the third decade of the twelfth century, is not responsible for the swing of the story. He was little more than the copyist of the history of an unknown writer who belonged to the Lotharingian crusaders and settled in the Kingdom of Jerusalem after the First Crusade. Thus we have in Albert of Aachen the history of the Crusade from the Lotharingian side." Quoted by J. B. Bury in his edition of GIBBON, VI, 525. See Bernhard Kugler, *Albert von Aachen* (Stuttgart, 1885); and Fritz Kühn, *NA*, XII (1887), 545-58.

<sup>11</sup> MOLINIER, II, no. 2125; POTTHAST, II, 949.

<sup>12</sup> MOLINIER, II, no. 2122; POTTHAST, II, 951.

<sup>13</sup> MOLINIER, II, no. 2132; POTTHAST, I, 400-01.

breadth of the movement of the First Crusade, and deeply stirred by the large participation of the French in the expedition, gave his history a proud title: *Gesta Dei per Francos*.<sup>14</sup> It is in eight books and was completed by at least 1106. Guibert followed the *Gesta* of the Anonymous for events in the East, but is an independent authority for the inception of the movement. His attitude is astonishingly rationalistic; while recognizing the hand of God in the movement, Guibert perceived the human nature in it as well. Thus he writes:

The French at this time suffered from famine; bad harvests, coming blow upon blow, had raised the price of wheat to an excessive rate. Avaricious merchants speculated according to their custom upon the privation of all. Bread was dear. The poor supplied the place of it by eating roots and wild herbs. All of a sudden the cry of the Crusade, resounding everywhere at the same time, broke the locks and the chains which kept the granaries. Then provisions which previously had been beyond price, which no one could buy, fell and were sold for nothing. One saw seven sheep sold for five pence. Famine disappeared and was followed by abundance. As every one was eager to take the road of the cross each hastened to convert everything which he did not need on the journey into cash. Things which cost most were objects necessary for the way, but the residue was sold for a song.

This is a remarkable analysis of the economic condition of France in 1095-96. The "hard times" evidently were partly due to forestalling of grain and the speculation of profiteers. Like Ekkehard of Aura, who was writing at the same time, Guibert also perceived the ruinous nature of private feudal warfare. In spite of the self-seeking, the brutality, and the violence of the First Crusade, Guibert felt the thrill and uplift of it. He took a religious and a patriotic pride in the movement. The title of his work was a stroke of fervent imagination, although he modestly says that "it is an unpretending one"—and then proudly adds "but it will serve to honor our nation." One of the earliest and clearest expressions of the sentiment of French nationality is to be found in Book II, chapter 1, where Guibert relates how, meeting an archdeacon of Mainz who mocked at the idea of the French being a war-like people, he replied:

If you think the French so weak and such cowards, and believe that you can wound with ridicule a name whose celebrity extends to the Indian Ocean, tell me to whom Pope Urban II appealed for aid against the Turks, if not to the French? If the French crusaders had not by their prowess and their strength opposed the Turks, not all your Germans would have been of use.

This was the retort courteous and proud.<sup>15</sup> Guibert's style may be

<sup>14</sup> MOLINIER, II, no. 2121; POTTHAST, I, 549; and add M. A. Duménil, "Le Gesta Dei per Francos de Guibert de Nogent," *Mémoires de l'Académie de Toulouse*, 9th series, VII (1895), 161-78.

<sup>15</sup> See Bernard Monod, *Le moine Guibert et son temps, 1053-1124* (Paris, 1905), pp. 235-51 for a chapter on the awakening of French national sentiment in the eleventh century. Cp. also G. Bourgin, *Guibert de Nogent: Histoire de sa vie* (Paris, 1907), pp. xxii-xxiii.

criticized as rather involved and obscure in places, and overladen with classical allusions. But these general defects are relieved by passages of imagination, and sometimes the lyric cry rises to real poetry.

In an age when the *chansons de geste* were on every lip and sung in every court, the transition of the history of the First Crusade from prose to poetry was a natural one. Within a few years heroic poetry wove a thick web of story, legend, and romance around the First Crusade, and this epic poetry must be included in the historiography of the period, though, of course, it must be utilized with great critical caution. In this literature may be mentioned: the *Historia gestorum viae nostrae temporis Hierosolymitanae*, a poem in seven books, of which the first three were composed by a Cluniac monk named Gilo, who later became cardinal-bishop of Tusculum, and the last four books by a certain Fulco, who is otherwise unknown.<sup>16</sup> Similarly a nameless Cistercian monk composed a similar poem.<sup>17</sup> The greatest example of this epic poetry of the crusading epoch is the *Bella Antiochena*, relating the long siege of Antioch and the aftermath of events around it until 1119.<sup>18</sup> This early epic literature was in Latin and merely a poetical recasting of the *Gesta* or other prose source, like the Latin epics in the West. But in time Latin was discarded and a body of epic poetry in the vernacular language developed in its stead, which was more natural and far more widely diffused. Examples are the *Chanson d'Antioche*, in Old French, and another in Provençal, and *Le Chevalier au Cygne et Godefroy de Bouillon*, in which the "swan motif" later popularized in the Lohengrin legend first appears.<sup>19</sup>

On a lower scale of poetry were songs of the camp, ballads, mock-heroic effusions, and songs of ridicule, rough humor, biting irony, or pathos.<sup>20</sup> An illustration of the last is the *Song of the Poor*, a fugitive piece of verse current in Antioch.

Finally, a unique and highly valuable source, not only for the First Crusade but for every one that followed, is the *Letters* which some of the crusaders wrote to their families or liege lords in the West. Many

<sup>16</sup> MOLINIER, II, no. 2127; for other examples cp. no. 2154.

<sup>17</sup> W. Wattenbach, *NA*, II (1870), 414-20.

<sup>18</sup> MOLINIER, II, no. 2134.

<sup>19</sup> On this epic literature see *ibid.*, II, no. 2154; Karl Voretzsch, *Introduction to the Study of Old French Literature*, tr. from the 3rd German ed. by F. M. du Mont (Halle a. S. and New York, 1931), 224-28; Heinrich v. Sybel, "Sagen und Gedichte über die Kreuzzüge," in his *Kleine historische Schriften* (Munich, 1863-81, 3 v.), III, 117-55; Henri Pigeonneau, *Le cycle de la croisade et de la famille de Bouillon* (St. Cloud, 1877); *Histoire littéraire de la France* (Paris, 1733-1927, 36 v.), XXII, 353-402, and XXV, 507-26; Thatcher (n. 3 above), 506-09; French translation by the Marquise de Saint Aulaire, *Le Chanson d'Antioche, composée au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, par Richard le Pèlerin* (Paris, 1862).

<sup>20</sup> Voretzsch (n. 19), 145-46, 328, 335, 432.



of these letters seem to have passed from hand to hand as news-letters and some of them were utilized by writers of the time.<sup>21</sup>

The sources of the Second Crusade (1147-49) are numerous<sup>22</sup> but more diffused than those of the First, so that its history must be searched for in general chroniclers of the twelfth century. There are only two formal histories of this expedition. The first is by Odo of Deuil, a French monk who was chaplain to King Louis VII of France and accompanied him to the East.<sup>23</sup> The second is the *Gesta Ludovici VII*, the authorship and value of which has been much discussed. Critical judgment discounts it greatly and believes that it was not written until over a hundred years after the event. Emperor Conrad III's participation in the Second Crusade is excellently related by Otto of Freising in his *Gesta Friderici I imperatoris*, Book I. Divers French *Letters*—in all twenty-six—upon the Second Crusade have been preserved.<sup>24</sup> The most famous is Suger's reprimand of the king for dallying in the East where he had accomplished nothing, while his realm was in peril. In the huge correspondence of Abbot Wibald of Stavelot, who was regent of Germany during Conrad III's absence, there are many letters which bear upon this crusade.<sup>25</sup>

A curious narrative is the *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, which is an account of the diversion of some English and Flemish crusaders who set out by sea in 1147 for the Holy Land, but changed their destination and instead landed on the coast of Portugal and stormed Lisbon, then a Muslim possession, cooperating with a French expeditionary force which had come by land. This is the particular beginning of the kingdom of Portugal.<sup>26</sup>

By the middle of the twelfth century the Kingdom of Jerusalem had become a settled state in spite of the constant peril which it suffered from external foes and internal discord. The Kingdom of Jerusalem was thought of as a sort of permanent outpost of Latin Christianity in the East, an international colony. The time was ripe for a sustained history of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Crusades which had founded and maintained it. By this time a population which was of

<sup>21</sup> English translation of selected letters by D. C. Munro in *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1894-99), I, no. 4 (40 pp.). See also P. Riant, in *Archives de l'Orient latin*, I (1881), 1-219; Heinrich Hagemeier, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100, eine Quellensammlung zur Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges* (Innsbruck, 1901); MOLINIER, II, no. 2114; and H. Derenbourg, *JS*, 1902, 339-41.

<sup>22</sup> For literature see MOLINIER, II, 299-300.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, II, no. 2171.

<sup>24</sup> MIGNE, vol. 155, cols. 1265-82.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 189, cols. 1121-1458. For other editions and literature see POTTHAST, II, 1112; *Histoire littéraire* (n. 19), XII, 550-71; WATTENBACH, II, 269-71.

<sup>26</sup> Text and translation by C. W. David, *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi, The Conquest of Lisbon*, etc. (New York, 1936: Records of Civilization series); cp. the editor's article in *Speculum*, VII (1932), 50-57.

French, Norman, or Italian ancestry, but had been born in Syria or Palestine, had grown up which looked to the Orient as its homeland and regarded Europe much as an Australian, South African, or Canadian regards Great Britain.

The author of the hour arose in William of Tyre, who was born in the East about 1130, was educated probably in Italy, and knew Latin, Byzantine Greek, and Arabic. After his schooling abroad he returned to Syria and became archdeacon and later archbishop of Tyre, but was frequently recalled into the West. He attended the great Lateran Council in 1179, and in his capacity as chancellor of the realm was sent on diplomatic missions to the Byzantine emperor and the pope. Having tried his hand as an historian in compiling the *Gesta orientalium principum* and writing an *Historia orientalis*, founded in part upon an Arabic chronicle (both of these works are lost), William settled to his great task, the *Historia Hierosolymitana* or *Historia de rebus transmarinis*, in twenty-three books, the last of which is unfinished. It was begun in 1169 and incomplete when the author died in 1184. He was master of a fine Latin style, gathered materials from all quarters, had unusual narrative power and skilfully wove the pattern of the subject, but was less critical and more credulous than an historian should be, though Sybel's criticism of him is too harsh. Beyond doubt William of Tyre's *History of Jerusalem* is a great and noble example of historical writing. Its popularity was so great that it was soon translated completely into French, and parts of it into Spanish, Italian, Catalan, and Provençal, in addition to which it was made the source for much poetry, both in Latin and in the vernacular.<sup>27</sup>

A continuation was made of William of Tyre's monumental work by a certain Ernoul, who in his early life had been a squire of Balian of Ibelin, one of the greatest of nobles in Syria. Both of them had fought against Saladin. This continuation was written in French and is known as *Le Livres Eracles* or the *Estoire d'Eracles*, from the opening words of the French version of William of Tyre: "Les anciennes Estoires disent que Eracles. . . ." Later this work was abridged and the narrative extended to 1231 by Bernard the Treasurer, i.e., treasurer of the abbey of Corbie. The French translation of William of Tyre, the *Eracles*, and Bernard's continuation of the continuation, in the thirteenth century, were often regarded as one work under the title: *Chronique d'Outremer*. Excluding the translation of William of Tyre, the *Chronique* truly

<sup>27</sup> On William of Tyre, see Dodu (n. 1 above), 2-12; H. Prutz, "Studien über Wilhelm von Tyrus," *NA*, VIII (1883), 93-136; MOLINIER, II, no. 2187; and III, no. 2303; POTTHAST, I, 560-62; Voretzsch (n. 19), 233. Unfortunately no critical and competent edition of this very valuable work exists. The task would be enormous but very worth while.

is one of the most charming works in the French language. Its delicious simplicity, its delight in action, the innocent credulity with which it will give two versions of the same story almost in the same page, even its undisguised partisanship—all impress the reader as a far more serious history would fail to do.<sup>28</sup>

The Third Crusade was precipitated by the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin in 1187.<sup>29</sup> The news profoundly stirred Europe, and the three most powerful European sovereigns: the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, Philip Augustus of France, and Richard Coeur de Lion of England, each led an expedition for the recovery of the Holy City. Everything came to naught, but the relations of this crusade are, nevertheless, of interest. The Third Crusade is an event upon which we have ample contemporary evidence from Christian and Muslim, from Frenchmen, Englishmen, Germans, and Syrian Franks. The only general account is to be found in the seventh book of Gui de Bazoches' *Chronographia*.<sup>30</sup> The manuscript was discovered by Count Riant in 1877. Gui was cantor of the cathedral at Châlons-sur-Marne and an interesting and voluminous writer upon various subjects. He begins with an account of his journey from Châlons to Marseilles, whence the French fleet sailed in 1190, and then continues with a record of the voyage and a history of the French expeditionary force which is not lacking in dramatic swiftness, in spite of the learned kind of Latin he wrote.

The only other accounts of the Third Crusade by French historians must be excerpted from the works of the two most eminent historical writers upon the reign of Philip Augustus, Rigord, and William le Breton.<sup>31</sup> As the king's stay in the Holy Land was brief and his conduct treacherous towards his allies both of these writers have much to apologize for and much to conceal. In contrast with the paucity of French sources, the English and German material is copious. All the Anglo-Norman historians who were contemporary with the time, as Benedict of Peterborough, Roger of Hoveden, Ralph of Coggeshall, Richard of Devizes, William of Newburgh, and Ralph de Diceto, deal at more or less length with the history of Richard I in the Orient. But one English source of his reign specifically deals with Richard's expedition. This is

<sup>28</sup> T. A. Archer, *The Crusade of Richard I, 1189-92* (London, 1889: *English History by Contemporary Writers*, ed. by F. York Powell, V), 356. For editions and literature on these works, see MOLINIER, III, no. 2303; Voretzsch (n. 19), 233; E. H. McNeal, *Speculum*, IX (1934), 324-29; M. W. Baldwin, *Raymond III of Tripolis and the Fall of Jerusalem, 1140-1187* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1936).

<sup>29</sup> For the sources, see MOLINIER, III, nos. 2303-47. Translated extracts in Archer (n. 28).

<sup>30</sup> MOLINIER, III, no. 2520; POTTHAST, I, 550. The seventh book has been edited separately by A. Cartellieri, *Ex Guidonis de Bazochiis cronographie [sic] libro septimo* (Jena, 1910). See M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur im Mittelalter* (Munich, 1911-31, 3 v.), III, 914-20.

<sup>31</sup> These two have been noticed earlier in ch. XIV, on the historians of France, 900-1200 A.D.

the *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*.<sup>32</sup> The work contains a detailed account of Richard I's expedition to the Holy Land. The author was Richard, canon of the Church of the Holy Trinity in London, who states in his prologue that he was an eye-witness of much that he records. The narrative extends from 1187 to 1199.

The problem of the relation between the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi* and the *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, the best European account of the Third Crusade, has been variously solved. In his edition of the *Estoire* published in 1897 Gaston Paris argued that the *Itinerarium* is, except in Book I, a translation of the *Estoire*. Book I and the corresponding portion of the *Estoire* he believed to be independently derived from a common source (now lost) which he surmised to be a sort of journal of the siege of Acre before the arrival of the kings of England and France. This opinion held until 1910 when Miss Kate Norgate proposed a theory almost diametrically opposite; she held that the *Estoire* is in substance based upon the *Itinerarium*, except in certain places where the writer of the *Estoire* may have deliberately corrected the statements of his original.<sup>33</sup> Mr. J. G. Edwards in a criticism of each of these hypotheses has concluded that neither supposition is acceptable, and contended "that neither has been translated or derived from the other," and that the Latin account and the French account are both derived from a lost common original which may have been written in prose but possibly in verse by a Norman author.<sup>34</sup>

The German sources are almost as rich in information as the English.<sup>35</sup> Arnold of Lübeck, abbot of St. John's in Lübeck, in his *Chronica Slavorum* deals at some length with the Third and Fourth Crusades and inserts a goodly number of documents. Tageno of Passau's *Descriptio expeditionis Asiaticae Friderici* is a precise journal of events en route; it extends from 1189 to June 21, 1190.<sup>36</sup> Similar in nature and of almost identical title—*Historia de expeditione Frederici imperatoris*—is the work

<sup>32</sup> Edited by W. Stubbs, *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I* (London, 1864–65, 2 v.: Rolls series no. 38), vol. I, see the introduction; GROSS, no. 1803; MOLINIER, III, no. 2332; Archer (n. 28), 351–52. There is a translation in *Chronicles of the Crusades* (London, 1848: Bohn's Antiquarian Library), 65–339.

<sup>33</sup> Kate Norgate, "The 'Itinerarium Peregrinorum' and the 'Song of Ambrose,'" *EHR*, XXV (1910), 523–47.

<sup>34</sup> J. G. Edwards, "The *Itinerarium regis Ricardi* and the *Estoire de la guerre sainte*," in *Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait* (Manchester, 1933), 59–74.

<sup>35</sup> Listed, with critical literature, in MOLINIER, III, nos. 2318–28. See Karl Fischer, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge Kaiser Friedrichs I* (Leipzig, 1870); S. O. Rietzler, "Der Kreuzzug Kaiser Friedrich I," *FDG*, X (1870), 1–149; Anton Chroust, ed., *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friedrichs I* (Hanover and Berlin, 1928: *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, new series, V), with bibliography; Dahmann-Waitz, *Quellenkunde der deutschen Geschichte* (9th ed., Leipzig, 1931), nos. 6333–34, 6426; Chroust, Tageno, Ansbert und die *Historia peregrinorum: Drei kritische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Friedrichs I* (Graz, 1892); Reinhold Rohricht, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Berlin, 1874–78, 2 v. in 1), I, 47–112.

<sup>36</sup> MOLINIER, III, no. 2323.

of an Austrian priest named Ansbert which extends to 1196 and contains many documents.<sup>37</sup> In addition, forty-nine letters are preserved in regard to the history of the German participation in the Third Crusade.<sup>38</sup>

Two epic poems in French commemorate the deeds of Richard Coeur de Lion. The first is *L'Estoire de la guerre sainte*,<sup>39</sup> composed by a Norman jongleur soon after Richard's return from captivity. It is a source of the first order, for the author was an eye-witness of the events he recounts and is both full and impartial. The second is *Le Roman de Richard Coeur de Lion*, written about 1230 and hostile to the French.<sup>40</sup> In addition to these a clerk of Besançon, with the French forces, wrote a poetical account of the *Siege of Acre* which is better history than poetry.<sup>41</sup> A great many other songs upon the Third Crusade in Old French, Provençal, and medieval German have come down to us.<sup>42</sup>

The sources for that gigantic buccaneering expedition known as the Fourth Crusade<sup>43</sup> are numerous, but only two writers are at all remarkable. These are Villehardouin and Robert de Clari, who broke down the Latin barrier which the clergy had erected around historiography and wrote history in a language which could be read by other people than clerics. The change was one of style, of treatment, and even of subject matter, for the world of work and adventure was not interested in themes which the monastic historian found it important to record.

Geoffrey de Villehardouin<sup>44</sup> was marshal to the Count of Champagne, a high noble and a man of valor, who was one of the leaders of the Fourth Crusade and an eye-witness of the sack of Constantinople. When the Latin Empire was erected on the ruins of the Byzantine Empire he was made "maréchal de Romanie." He dictated his remark-

<sup>37</sup> Cp. Chroust, *Tageno* (n. 35), 48-80, and his article in *NA*, XVI (1891), 513-26. The MS. was discovered in 1824 by Joseph Dietrich, a schoolmaster in Leipzig. It had been stolen or lost from the library to which it pertained in the previous century and came into the hands of a Jew, who sold it to a physician at Postelberg in Bohemia, who had begun to cut it up into strips, when Dietrich fortunately heard of it and informed Dobrowsky, who recognized its value and saved it from destruction. It dates from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, and was published at Prague in 1827.

<sup>38</sup> Catalogued in Rietzler (n. 35), 108-15.

<sup>39</sup> See Gaston Paris, *Romania*, XXVI (1897), 353-93.

<sup>40</sup> MOLINIER, III, no. 2331.

<sup>41</sup> Published by H. Prutz, "Ein zeitgenössisches Gedicht auf die Belagerung Accons," *FDG*, XXI (1881), 457-94.

<sup>42</sup> Gaston Paris, *La littérature française au moyen âge, XI<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (5th ed., Paris, 1914), sec. 124; Le Roux de Lincy, *Recueil de chants historiques français depuis le XII<sup>e</sup> jusqu'au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1841-42, 2 v.), I, 85-119; Fr. Raynouard, *Choix de poésies originales des troubadours* (Paris, 1816-21, 6 v.), IV, 83-138; Hermann Schindler, *Die Kreuzzüge in der alprovenzalischen und mittelhochdeutschen Lyrik* (Dresden, 1889).

<sup>43</sup> For literature on the Fourth Crusade and the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204-61), see PAETOW, 233. For the sources see C. Klimke, *Die Quellen zur Geschichte des vierten Kreuzzuges* (Breslau, 1875); F. C. Hodgson, *The Early History of Venice from the Foundation to the Conquest of Constantinople* (London, 1901), appendix; *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV (1923), 859; and especially MOLINIER, III, pp. 39-49. Salient extracts in *Translations and Reprints* (n. 21), III, no. 1 (20 pp.).

<sup>44</sup> For his life see *Histoire littéraire de la France* (n. 19), XVII, 150-71.

able *Memoirs* (*La Conquête de Constantinople*) after 1207.<sup>45</sup> Although written to justify his conduct and to exculpate himself and the other leaders in this infamous affair, his work is a valuable source. Villehardouin's astuteness appears in what he omits; what he relates is substantial and trustworthy information. As an example of thirteenth-century French prose it is a classic of sinewy sentences, brilliant narration, and terse characterizations. Villehardouin possessed the art of expression to a high degree. It is the earliest specimen of racy and vigorous Old French prose. "It is the first work of importance and sustained dignity in the French tongue. . . . At the same time that he dictated it, Villehardouin had no precedents to go by, no models to imitate. He was in all respects—language, narrator's art, style—a pioneer." One is reminded of Herodotus' ability to tell a tale,<sup>46</sup> or of those memoirs of adventure and daring-do with which Tudor times were replete.

Villehardouin was a great noble. Robert de Clari was a simple knight, whose narrative *L'Estoire de chiaus qui conquissent Constantinople*,<sup>47</sup> in the Picard dialect, reflects the interests and feelings of the men-at-arms and of the pilgrims who hung upon the skirts of the army. In some places he supplements Villehardouin, in others he checks and controls him. His description of Constantinople between the two sieges is particularly interesting.

"Never, since the world was created," writes Villehardouin, "had so much booty been won in any city." The sack of the great capital staggers the imagination. It was worse than that of Rome in 1527, which is saying much. Besides gold and silver and jewels, relics of the saints were eagerly sought for. A curious inventory of these is the *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae*,<sup>48</sup> which may be supplemented by the account of the *Theft of Abbot Martin*, a curious tale of the pious depredations of an Alsatian monk among the Crusaders.<sup>49</sup> Poetry and chanson and letters also contributed to the sources of information on this crusade, as of previous ones.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>45</sup> For literature on this remarkable work see POTTHAST, II, 1094; MOLINIER, III, no. 2349; Gustave Lanson, *Histoire de la littérature française* (12th rev. ed., Paris, 1912), Part I, Bk. I, ch. 3; Gabriel Hanotaux, *RH*, IV (1877), 74–102. English translation by Sir F. Marzials in Everyman's Library (London, 1908), with an introduction.

<sup>46</sup> Examples are the two great scenes in St. Marks (Everyman's ed., 7–8), the account of the storming of the city (16–17, 31–44), and of the battle in which Baldwin was made prisoner (94–96).

<sup>47</sup> MOLINIER, III, no. 2351; POTTHAST, II, 975. English translation by Edgar H. McNeal, *The Conquest of Constantinople, translated from the Old French of Robert of Clari* (New York, 1936: Records of Civilization series); for a review see *LTLS*, 1936, p. 390.

<sup>48</sup> MOLINIER, III, no. 2367.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 2368. The passage is translated in C. H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), 234.

<sup>50</sup> See MOLINIER, III, nos. 2350, 2358–64. The Greek accounts of the Fourth Crusade and after will be found in another chapter.

The diversion of the Fourth Crusade to Constantinople from its intended attack upon Egypt, in order to utilize that country as a naval and military base for the recovery of Palestine, left the conditions of the Christians in the East in a more precarious position than before. Only Syria remained intact. In the Holy Land Acre was the chief place still withheld by the Christians from the Muslims. Fanned by the papacy, preaching of a new (fifth) crusade reached a high pitch<sup>51</sup> and culminated in the abortive expedition of 1217.<sup>52</sup> The sources of this crusade are chiefly accounts of the futile attack upon Damietta.<sup>53</sup> One work, however, is of larger interest. This is the *Historia orientalis seu Hierosolymitana* by Jacques de Vitry, the most famous preacher of his time.<sup>54</sup> His original intention was that the work should be in three books, the last of which was to relate the triumph of the Fifth Crusade, and consequently the work is unfinished. Book I is a history of the Holy Land down to 1193; Book II is a scathing indictment of Western Europe for its indifference to the Crusades and their failure so far. Jacques de Vitry's *Epistolae* also are very valuable.<sup>55</sup>

By the thirteenth century Europe had become disillusioned in regard to the Crusades. The Sixth and Seventh owed their initiative and support wholly to Louis IX of France, and the historiography of the saintly king's reign has already been related. After the loss of Acre in 1291 the Crusades degenerated into futile, and even fantastic expeditions, all of which failed. Only passionate die-hards and visionary enthusiasts had an interest in them.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>51</sup> A. Lecoy de la Marche, "La prédication de la croisade au treizième siècle," *RQH*, XLVIII (1890), 5-28; Reinhold Röhrich, "Die Kreuzzugsbewegung im Jahre 1217," *FDG*, XVI (1876), 137-56.

<sup>52</sup> For accounts see Heinrich Heidenheimer, "Die Korrespondenz Sultan Bajazet's II mit Papst Alexander VI.," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, V (1882), 511-73, and Reinhold Röhrich, "Die Kreuzpredigten gegen den Islam," *ibid.*, VI (1884), 550-72; H. Hoogeweg, "Der Kreuzzug von Damiette, 1218-1221," *Mitteilungen des oesterreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung*, VIII (1887), 188-218, and IX (1886), 249-88, 414-47.

<sup>53</sup> For editions see MOLINIER, III, nos. 2386, 2390, 2393.

<sup>54</sup> On him see *ibid.*, no. 2384; POTTHAST, I, 633-34; Philipp Funk, *Jakob von Vitry, Leben und Werke* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1909).

<sup>55</sup> MOLINIER, III, no. 2385. For other letters see nos. 2386, 2393.

<sup>56</sup> On this literature see *ibid.*, III, nos. 3066-92; Louis Bréhier, *L'Église et l'Orient au moyen âge: les Croisades* (Paris, 1907), ch. xii.

## CHAPTER XIX

### MEDIEVAL SYRIAN AND ARMENIAN HISTORIANS <sup>1</sup>

SOME knowledge of the history of Syria and Armenia is a necessary preliminary to an understanding of the historiography of these two countries in the Middle Ages. Syria and Armenia, along with Asia Minor, Palestine, and Egypt before the Mohammedan conquest of them, were comprehended within the Eastern Roman or Byzantine Empire. But if not independent political territories, they were economic, intellectual, and religious entities which were sharply distinguished from the Greek or Hellenistic authority which controlled them and which emanated from Constantinople. The Byzantine Empire during the barbarian invasions had proved a bulwark which the invaders could not overcome, whereas in the West political conditions and the whole manner of life was changed by the German conquests. The vitality of the Orient was manifested at this time not only in the prosperity of its trade, and in its missionary spirit which invaded Persia and even Arabia,<sup>2</sup> but also in a revival of the national languages, Syriac and

<sup>1</sup> Upon Syrian historiography see, for names of writers and editions, the *Cambridge Medieval History*, II (1913), 748-49, IV (1923), 805-13. Texts with modern Latin translations in *Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium*, ed. by J. B. Chabot, I. Guidi, H. Hyvernat, and B. Carra de Vaux (Paris and Leipzig, 1903 ff.). This collection has various series, containing Aethiopic, Coptic, Arabic, and Syriac writers, and each volume is issued in two parts, the first containing the text and the other the Latin translation. Consult J. B. Chabot, *Littératures chrétiennes de l'Orient: Littérature syriaque* (Paris, 1935), and his article, "La littérature historique des Syriens," *RH*, CXXXVII (1921), 74-80; the article on "Syriac Literature" by Norman McLean in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (14th ed.), XXI, 720-25 and the works mentioned at the end; and C. Brockelmann and others, *Geschichte der christlichen Litteraturen des Orients* (Leipzig, 1907), 30-40, 51-64.

Upon Armenian historiography, see the *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV, 814-18; GIBBON, I, 456 and II, 563-65; the article on "Armenian Literature," by F. C. Conybeare and Sarkis Topalian, in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, II, 383-84; the work of Brockelmann just mentioned, 77-130; and Felix Neve, *L'Arménie chrétienne et sa littérature* (Louvain, 1886). For French translations of the chief historians, see M. I. Brosset, *Collection d'historiens arméniens* (St. Petersburg, 1874-76, 2 v.); Victor Langlois, ed., *Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie* (Paris, 1869-80, 2 v.); and the *Bibliothèque historique arménienne*, ed. by Edouard Dulaurier (Paris: A. Durand, 1858 ff.). For the importance of the Armenian historians and a chronological list of authors, see the introduction of Dulaurier's first volume in the last-named collection, entitled *Recherches sur la chronologie arménienne*; and cp. reviews in *JS*, 1869, pp. 626-38, 690-701, 1870, pp. 314-26, 1872, pp. 647-62, 709-27, and 1886, pp. 730 ff. The Syrian and Armenian historians of the epoch of the Crusades are enumerated in MOLINIER, II, 296 and nos. 2155-58; texts in *Recueil des historiens des croisades: documents arméniens*, ed. by E. Dulaurier (Paris, 1907, 2 v.), with a valuable introduction in vol. I; brief analysis of contents in GIBBON, VI, 530. A. J. Saint Martin, *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Arménie* (Paris, 1818-19, 2 v.), is based on Armenian texts.

<sup>2</sup> Jérôme Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'Empire Perse sous la dynastie Sassanide, 224-632* (2nd ed., Paris, 1904); Louis Duchesne, *The Churches Separated from Rome*, tr. from the French by A. H. Mathew (New York and London, 1907), ch. vii.



Armenian—and, it may be added, Coptic in Egypt. Eusebius' *Chronicle* or his *Ecclesiastical History* were the models imitated by Syrian and Armenian historiographers when the writing of history began in these countries. The influence of St. Jerome also had its part, for Jerome, after sojourning for two years at Antioch (372–374), spent five more years as a monk in the desert of Chalchis before he took up his permanent residence at Bethlehem.

Religious dissidence accentuated this national sense in Syria and Armenia. Nestorianism was a Syrian protest against official Hellenism and official orthodoxy, while Armenia claimed apostolic origin for its church. Accordingly, the Syrians and Armenians were indifferent to the Persian, and later the Mohammedan, assaults upon the Asian provinces of the Byzantine Empire, and even abetted their conquests. By 636 Syria was conquered by the Muslims, in 652 Armenia was overrun. Although the Mohammedan domination was not as severe as usually thought, nevertheless the rule of an alien people and an alien religion hardened the sense of nationalism among the Syrians and Armenians. The hold of the Muslims was closer upon the Syrians<sup>3</sup> than upon the Armenians, whose mountainous country was difficult to subdue, so that Armenia preserved a precarious independence in its fastnesses until 1064, when the Seljuk Turks, already masters of the Baghdad Caliphate, reduced it to subjection. Henceforth until the Crusades, Armenia survived only in the Cilician Taurus, where the prince of Kars, unable to defend his country, took refuge under the wing of Constantinople. This was the origin of the kingdom of Little Armenia—the only Armenia left—which became an ally of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in the time of the Crusades (1099–1291). At the same time Syria became the Principality of Antioch under the rule of Bohemond.

Syrian historical sources<sup>4</sup> are prevailingly of two types: chronicles or general histories, and a long series of biographies and hagiographic documents which constitute a mine of material, but a kind which is very difficult to evaluate. Almost all the important Syrian historical works have been published, some of them in whole, others in the form of abridgments or excerpts; some with translation and some without. They are of value because they often throw more light on eastern affairs than do the Byzantine chronicles. The oldest Syrian historical work after the expiration of the Theodosian house in 450 is *A History of the Time of Affliction at Edessa and Amida and throughout All Mesopotamia* by Joshua Stylites, written in the reign of Anastasius (491–518). It is the most exact and the fullest account we have of the wars of the Em-

<sup>3</sup> In 968 Nicephorus Phocas recovered Antioch, but it was lost again in 1084.

<sup>4</sup> See the article of Chabot cited above in the first paragraph of n. 1.

peror Anastasius.<sup>5</sup> Zachariah of Mitylene was a rhetor or scholastic of Gaza, who lived in Constantinople between 491 and 518 and wrote an *Ecclesiastical History* of the years 450–491. He was a protégé of Eupraxius, the court chamberlain to whom the work was dedicated. In late life he was bishop of Mitylene. Although the author was a Greek and not a Syrian, the work was soon translated into Syriac.<sup>6</sup> It deals with events of the fifth and early sixth centuries which relate to the Monophysite churches in Syria and Egypt, and is complementary to the work of John of Asia. The chronicle itself is very interesting. The doctrinal disputes of the period are brought into relief by the correspondence of the disputants themselves, and the latter portions of the work contain also interesting information on the political conditions of the time.

John, the Monophysite bishop of Ephesus, who died about 588, was the author of an *Ecclesiastical History*, only part of which has survived. The work furnishes important and otherwise unknown information concerning the political and religious events in the reigns of Justinian and Justin II. Parts I–II extend from Julius Caesar to 572, but they are known only through long extracts, as said above, in the *Chronicle* of Joshua the Stylite. Part III (572–585) is preserved in a manuscript in the British Museum.<sup>7</sup> A series of small chronicles and fragments of annals has been combined in the *Corpus* under the title of *Chronica minora*.<sup>8</sup>

James, bishop of Edessa, who died in 708, was the best Syrian writer of the seventh century. His *Chronicle*, written in imitation of that of Eusebius, comes down to 706. Unfortunately the unique MS. is very mutilated.

The chronicle known as the *Pseudo-Dionysius of Tellmahre*, preserved

<sup>5</sup> William Wright, *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite Composed in Syriac, A.D. 507* (Cambridge, 1882).

<sup>6</sup> GIBBON, IV, 520–21; *Hermathena*, XI (1901), 214–26. Translated by E. W. Brooks and F. J. Hamilton (London, 1899: Byzantine Texts), reviewed in *EHR*, XVI (1901), 748–49.

<sup>7</sup> Edited by William Cureton, *The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John, Bishop of Ephesus* (Oxford, 1853), tr. under the same title by R. Payne Smith (Oxford, 1860). There is a review of Cureton in *NBR*, XXXI (1859), 56–71.

<sup>8</sup> Of these the most important are: (a) *Chronicon Edessenum*, written in the second half of the sixth century, a precise though short record; (b) the *Chronicon anonymum de ultimis regibus Persarum*, which runs from the death of Hormuzd IV (590) down to the fall of the Sassanid dynasty of Persia (641) and was written about 680; (c) the *Chronicon Maroniticum*, composed at the end of the seventh century by a Maronite, of which the last fragments terminate in 664; (d) a mere fragment relative to the Muslim conquest of Syria fixes the date of the celebrated battle of Yarmuk on August 20, 636; (e) the *Chronicon miscellaneum*, sometimes called the *Liber Chalipharum*, is a compilation made in the reign of Caliph Hisham (724–743), with the aid of four series of documents, the first of which extends to 640, the second to 570, the third to 636, and the last to 529; (f) the *Chronicon anonymum ad annum 846 pertinens*, repeats and completes an anterior chronicle which extended to 795; (g) *Fragmenta chronici anonymi*, which runs from 754 to 813; (h) *Chronicon Jacobi Edesseni*; (i) finally a series of six short notices of inferior interest, of which the titles need not be enumerated. I owe this list to the article of Chabot (n. 1), 75–76.

in a unique manuscript in the Vatican library, extends from the Creation to the year 775 and is divided into four parts. The first, which stops with Constantine, is chiefly based upon the *Chronicle* of Eusebius, to which the unknown writer had added data of a legendary nature borrowed from Syrian writers.<sup>9</sup> The second part extends from Constantine to the end of the reign of Theodosius II (450), and is almost entirely based upon the *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates.<sup>10</sup> The third portion which terminates in 565 is derived from the lost history of John of Asia, supplemented by other material, the most important of which is the *Chronicle* of Joshua the Stylite. The fourth part is particularly valuable for the history of the Mohammedan conquest of the provinces of the Byzantine Empire.<sup>11</sup>

The *Book of the Governors*, by Thomas, bishop of Marga (A.D. 840),<sup>12</sup> and the *Liber Turris* of Mari and Amr,<sup>13</sup> have been long available, as also the volumes of contemporary or almost contemporary biography collected in Bedjan's *Acta Sanctorum Syrorum*. More recently two other sources of Nestorian history have been brought to light. The first and more important of these is the *Synodicon Orientale*.<sup>14</sup> It contains the acts of fourteen councils of the Nestorian Church between 410 and 780. The second work is the *History of Mshikha-Zca*.<sup>15</sup> This is a history in the form of a series of biographies of Nestorian bishops, running from 90 to 550 A.D., when the book was written. Scholars have now gotten back to original and contemporary sources and can now study the history of a Church which, being outside the Roman Empire, was also outside of the interest or knowledge of either Roman or Greek ecclesiastical historians. Its history and its theology have hitherto been known only from its enemies.<sup>16</sup> The tenth century was the golden age

<sup>9</sup> Edited by O. F. Tullberg, *Dionysii Telmahharensis chronici liber primus* (Upsala, 1850); see Karl Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur* (2nd ed., Munich, 1897), 404-05.

<sup>10</sup> Unpublished, but see Fr. Nau, "Analyse des parties inédites de la chronique attribuée à Denys de Tellmahré," in *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, 1897; and the same writer, "Les auteurs des chroniques attribuée à Denys de Tellmahré et à Josué le Stylite," *Bulletin critique d'histoire et de littérature*, XVIII, pt. iii (1897), 54-58.

<sup>11</sup> This portion was edited, with a French translation, by J. B. Chabot, *Chronique de Denys de Tell-Mahré, quatrième partie* (Paris, 1895, 2 v. in 1: Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, no. 112).

<sup>12</sup> *The Book of Governors: the Historia monastica of Thomas, Bishop of Marga A.D. 840*, ed. by E. A. Wallis Budge (London, 1893, 2 v.).

<sup>13</sup> Edited by H. Gismondi, *Maris, Amri et Slibae de patriarchis Nestorianorum commentaria* (Rome, 1899, 2 v.).

<sup>14</sup> Edited and translated by J. B. Chabot in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, etc., XXXVII (Paris, 1902), totalling 695 pp.

<sup>15</sup> Text and translation by A. Mingana (Mosul: Dominican Press, 1907; Leipzig, 1908, in *Sources syriaques*, vol. I). The MS. was discovered in the district of Bewar. It was unknown to Labourt (n. 2 above), who deplored "la lacune."

<sup>16</sup> For information upon Nestorian historiography, besides the work of Labourt (n. 2), see F. C. Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity* (London, 1904); and W. A. Wigram, "The Assyrian Church," *CQR*, LXXI (1910-11), 141-60.

of Armenia—the time of her best historians, John the Catholic and Thomas Ardzrouni.

The most remarkable Syrian historian of the eleventh century was Elias Bar Shinaya. He was born in 975 and was at first a monk in the monastery of St. Michael near Mosul, later archpriest of the abbey of Abba Simeon on the Tigris, then Nestorian bishop of Beit-Nouhadre and in 1008 became metropolitan of Nisibis. His great *Chronographia*,<sup>17</sup> which unfortunately is mutilated at the beginning and the end, is a remarkable work. The work is in two parts. In the first are five chronological tables drawn from the Old Testament, from Adam down to the era of the Seleucids; a list of the patriarchs of Alexandria down to the Council of Chalcedon in 451; a list of the dynasties of Egypt; a list of the Nestorian patriarchs down to John V (905); and finally a summary of events in the East from 25 A.D. to 1018 A.D. The second part opens with a compotus or treatise on the calendar among the Syrians, the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans, which is concluded with a concordance of the years. Finally comes a series of studies upon the solar year, the lunar year, upon the computation of feasts among the Jews and the Christians, and the different methods of calculating Easter. Not the least remarkable feature of this *Chronographia* is the fact that Elias constantly indicates his sources. Eusebius is the authority most often cited among Greek writers. But over thirty Syrian and eight Arabic writers are mentioned. After his time the extension of Mohammedan domination over Syria utterly eclipsed Syrian historiography, and the current did not resume its course until the time of the Crusades.

The *Chronicle* of Michael the Syrian, the work of the patriarch Michael (1166–99), is the greatest historiographical legacy of medieval Syria. This huge work begins with the Creation and extends to 1196. Previous to the author's own time it is a resumé of the works of all his predecessors. But his method is superior to that of previous writers. Michael cites his sources. At first, inspired by the example of Eusebius and James of Edessa, he endeavored to arrange his text in chronological sections. But the length of his chapters compelled him to abandon this device, and as a rule each page is divided into three columns. The middle column deals with "profane" history; the first column is reserved for marvellous events like earthquakes, eclipses, great storms, etc.; the third column is devoted to ecclesiastical history and enumerates the

<sup>17</sup> Edited by E. W. Brooks and J. B. Chabot, *Elie metropolitae nisibeni opus chronologicum* (Paris and Leipzig, 1909–10, 4 v. in 1). This is in the *Corpus scriptorum christianorum* (n. 1), and includes a Latin translation; for a French translation see L. J. Delaporte, *La Chronographie d'Elie bar-Sinaya, métropolitain de Nisibe* (Paris, 1910). In the unique MS. in the British Museum the pages are divided into double columns, of which one contains the Syriac text, and the other an Arabic translation. This may be the original autograph, and the Arabic translation that of Elias himself; cp. *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, XII (1911), 289–91.

patriarchs in their order of succession. This complicated arrangement makes difficult reading for the reader, but the abundance of information compensates for defective method.<sup>18</sup>

In 1899 a unique MS. known as the *Anonymous Chronicle of 1234* was discovered at Constantinople by the patriarch Rahmani who published it in 1904. The unknown author lived in Syria in the thirteenth century. It is divided into two sections—ecclesiastical and “profane” history. At the end of the thirteenth century appeared the *Chronography* of Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286), who was metropolitan of the Jacobite churches in the Baghdad Caliphate. It also consists of two quite different parts: first a universal history or chronicle dealing with secular affairs, followed by an ecclesiastical history of the Church from the time of Aaron, brother of Moses and first high-priest of the Jews. Part of the ecclesiastical portion was continued by the author’s brother and then by an unknown hand down to 1495.<sup>19</sup> Syrian historiography, like Byzantine historiography, expired with the Turkish conquest of the Byzantine Empire.

Armenian historiography began in the fourth century with the conversion of Great Armenia to Christianity—for the Armenian Church’s claim to apostolic foundation is without historical basis. Henceforth the continuity of Armenian historical writing was preserved almost without interruption down to the eighteenth century in spite of the fact that Armenia has not been free since 1375. The last Armenian dynasty reigned from 1080 to 1375 when the country was conquered by the Mamelukes of Egypt, and soon lost to the Mongols under Tamerlane. Since then Armenia has been divided between Russia, Persia, and Turkey, as it still is, except for four months in 1920 after the treaty of Sèvres.

Physically Armenia is an alpine land and from remote antiquity has been a buffer state between rival empires. Politically it was under the rule of this or that neighboring power, or else maintained a precarious independence by playing one off against another, but neither Persian, nor Greek, nor Parthian, nor Roman culture—the last the least to be expected—influenced Armenia until we reach the fifth century, when the schools of Nisibis<sup>20</sup> and Edessa flourished. In addition to being a political and military battle-ground Armenia now became the object

<sup>18</sup> Edited, with a translation, by J. B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien* (Paris, 1899–1910, 4 v.); a later fifth volume (1924) brought the editor’s introduction and indices. An inferior abridged Armenian translation of Michael was published in French translation by Victor Langlois, *Chronique de Michel le Grand* (Paris, 1866). For a long extract of the Armenian text with a French translation beneath, see the *Recueil des historiens des croisades* (n. 1), I, 309–409.

<sup>19</sup> For a fuller account of Bar Hebraeus and editions of his *Chronography*, see below, p. 353, and note 53.

<sup>20</sup> A. Lavignerie, *Essai historique sur l’école chrétienne d’Edesse* (Paris, 1850).

of a *Kulturkampf* at once intellectual and religious. Greek and Syrian thought, both Christian in nature, now combatted Persian thought and pagan Zoroastrianism for supremacy in Armenia.<sup>21</sup> The victory was won by Syrian culture, intellectual and religious. Christian and Syrian culture was established in the schools of Edessa and Nisibis with the consent of the Sassanid kings of Persia, after the rout of the Roman army and the death of the Emperor Julian in 363, as a means of combatting Greek orthodoxy. In the fifth century the schools were Nestorian (i.e., Syrian) strongholds.<sup>22</sup> A study of the Armenian language shows that the Armenians were a combination of Phrygians from Thrace with the ancient Hittites in the seventh century B.C. The Armenians had to manoeuvre first between Persia and Macedon, then between Persia and Rome, then between the Baghdad Khalifate and the Byzantine Empire, for after Persia came the Arabs. In 1021 the Turks appeared and the dispersal of the Armenians followed.

Christianity created Armenian letters and Armenian nationality. For until the middle of the fifth century A.D. the Armenians had no writing, and before the invention of their alphabet, about 404 A.D., songs were their only literature. No document in Armenian from the period of the monarchy is extant. The real converters of Armenia were Gregory the Illuminator and the virgin Hripsime, in spite of the legend which makes Bartholomew and Thaddeus the apostles of Armenia. Owing to its ecclesiastical origin Armenian literature in the beginning was naturally monastic.

Armenian historical writing began under Graeco-Syrian influence.<sup>23</sup> The intellectual history of Armenia was stimulated in the fifth century by the translation of Eusebius' *Chronicon*, of the writings of the church fathers, and even of some of Aristotle into the native tongue. The labors of the patriarchs Sahag and Mesrob, who died in 442, were almost wholly devoted to this kind of work.<sup>24</sup>

The earliest known Armenian historian was Faustus, who lived in the fourth century. But there is extant a fragment of a brief history of Armenia by some writer previous to Faustus, and it has been conjectured that the first two books of Faustus, whose work as we have it begins

<sup>21</sup> This combat is described by Elisaeus, bishop of the Amadunians (d. 480). English translation of his work by C. F. Neumann, *The History of Vartan, and of the Battle of the Armenians: Containing an Account of the Religious Wars between the Persians and the Armenians* (London, 1830); a later French translation in Langlois, *Collection* (n. 1), II, 183-251, pp. 179-82 for introduction.

<sup>22</sup> Labourt (n. 2), chs. vi, vii, and x, esp. 131-32, 164-66, 288-91; Heinrich Kihn, *Theodor von Mopsuestia und Junilius Africanus als Exegeten* (Freiburg i. Br., 1880), 198-212.

<sup>23</sup> For critical literature see GIBBON, I, 456 and II, 563-65.

<sup>24</sup> See Gorioun, "Biographie du bienheureux et saint docteur Mesrob," tr. by J. R. Emine in Langlois, *Collection* (n. 1), II, 3-16. On the Armenian version of Eusebius see JS (1819), 545-60 (1820), 97-112.

with Book III, were borrowed from this First Anonymous.<sup>25</sup> Faustus' work was written in Greek, for the invention of Armenian letters was not made until the fifth century, and is very nationalistic in spirit. He consulted official records and priestly annals and even used old songs as sources.<sup>26</sup> Late in the fourth century, in the reign of the Emperor Theodosius I, an important political change took place in Armenia, when Armenia was partitioned between the Roman Empire and the Persian kingdom. Nearly two-thirds of the kingdom passed to Persia as Persarmenia or Persian Armenia, over which Chosrov, a Christian Armenian noble, was appointed sub-king. But the arrangement did not work successfully and the government was soon placed in the hands of Persian *marzbans*. A double conflict of culture in these years prevailed in Armenia. Christianity and Persian Zoroastrianism were religious rivals for supremacy in Armenia, and in Western (Roman) Armenia the Greek language and characters were used, whereas in Eastern (Persian) Armenia the government forbade the use of Greek. The result was that the prevailing literary language over the whole country was Syriac until in the fifth century the Armenian language developed its own national alphabet and form of writing.<sup>27</sup>

The first Armenian historian who wrote in the native language was Agathangelos, whose *History of the Reign of Tiridates*, in which is embedded a life of Gregory the Illuminator, is preserved both in Armenian and in a Greek translation. Tiridates was the earliest hero of Armenia, and reigned when Diocletian was Roman emperor. After the Persian conquest of the country in the third century he, when a mere child, was spirited away and educated at the imperial court and was restored by imperial assistance in 286. A bitter conflict followed between Rome and Persia, at the end of which Tiridates was restored again.<sup>28</sup> The death of Constantine in 337 was the signal for a new war between the Roman Empire and Persia, which lasted until 360, in the midst of which Tiridates died in 342, after a reign of fifty-six years. The fortune of the Armenian monarchy expired with him. Persian forces overran the land, the Christian priests were expelled. During this tumultuous period Armenia's patriarch, Gregory Lousavoritch, or the Illuminator (d. 332), had been the valiant leader of the people.

<sup>25</sup> GIBBON, II, 565. Another unknown writer later rewrote or adapted the First Anonymous. This work has disappeared, but a long extract from it is embodied in Moses of Chorene (from Bk. I, ch. 8 down through Bk. II, ch. 9), printed in Langlois, *Collection* (n. 1), I, 3-53 under the title, *Mars Apas Catina*.

<sup>26</sup> For later examples of these see E. Dulaurier, "Les chants populaires de l'Arménie," *RDM* (April 15, 1852), 224-55.

<sup>27</sup> GIBBON, III, 392 and note 83. This invention is attributed to Mesrob. The Armenian alphabet originally contained 36 letters; two more were added later. For an explanation of it see *La Grande Encyclopédie*, III, 1018-19.

<sup>28</sup> See GIBBON, I, 366-76 for a graphic account.

Torn by civil and religious strife within and subject to invasion from without, Armenia's fate for three hundred years was a dark and bloody one. History languished until the latter half of the fifth century when the *Chronicle* of Moses of Chorene (Khoren) was written, which begins with Noah and terminates in 430.<sup>29</sup> From the time of Moses of Chorene, Armenian historiography, like Syrian, shrank to a mere trickle until the triple crisis in the first quarter of the tenth century, when Armenia was simultaneously torn by the ferocious feud between the two greatest princely houses, the Bagratids and the Ardzrouni.<sup>30</sup> The patriarch John the Catholic was a churchman, a statesman, and an historian, and wrote a *History of His Own Times* (A.D. 924).<sup>31</sup> His style is verbose; and he was indifferent to dates, but well informed and "the only person capable of action left in Armenia. He had an appallingly difficult part to play, as spiritual adviser-in-chief to a number of eternally quarrelling princes, especially now when his country was overrun by the infidel Arabs and the only help could come from the heretic Greeks."<sup>32</sup> After the repulse of the Muslims and the pacification of the country, John the Catholic's *History* fades out in 924. Uchtanes (Oukhtanes) of Edessa is the obscure successor of the energetic Catholicus.

The creation of the kingdom of Cilicia or Little Armenia during the First Crusade, after the Turks, following their smashing victory over the Byzantine Empire at Manzikert in 1071, had obliterated the original Armenian kingdom, gave a new impulse to Armenian historical writing. The long alliance between the kings of Jerusalem and those of Armenia in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries stimulated Armenian historiography. The greatest of Armenian historians arose in Matthew of Edessa,<sup>33</sup> who wrote in the first quarter of the twelfth century. He was a fervent patriot, and divided his resentment against foreigners among the Greeks, the Turks, and the French crusaders. Matthew's own work covers the years from 952 to 1136, but a continuation by a priest named Gregory extended it to 1162. Immediate successors of Matthew of Edessa were Samuel of Ani,<sup>34</sup> author of a *Chronicle* or rather

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 456; C. R. Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography* (London, 1897-1906, 3 v.), I, 367-69. French translation in Langlois, *Collection* (n. 1), II, 53-175, editor's introduction, 47-52; cp. also above, n. 25. German translation by M. Lauer, *Des Moses von Chorene Geschichte Gross-Armeniens* (Regensburg, 1869).

<sup>30</sup> For an account of this see Steven Runciman, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and His Reign* (Cambridge, 1929), chs. vii-viii.

<sup>31</sup> French translation by A. J. Saint-Martin, *Histoire d'Arménie, par le patriarche Jean VI, dit Jean Catholikos* (Paris, 1841).

<sup>32</sup> Runciman (n. 30), 129.

<sup>33</sup> GIBBON, VI, 530. French translation by Edouard Dulaurier in his *Bibliothèque* (n. 1): *Chronique de Mathieu d'Edesse continuée par Grégoire le Prêtre* (Paris, 1858); long extracts of the Armenian text with French translation beneath in *Recueil des historiens des croisades* (n. 1), I, 1-150 from Matthew, 151-201 from Gregory.

<sup>34</sup> French translation in Brosset, *Collection* (n. 1), II, 340-483 with notes.



chronological tables taken in part from Eusebius, from the beginning of the world to 1179, and through a continuation to 1348; and Cyriac (Guiragos) of Gandzac,<sup>35</sup> who wrote a *History of Armenia* from the time of Gregory the Illuminator to 1270. Somewhat earlier Armenian historians in the tenth and eleventh centuries were Thomas Ardzrouni,<sup>36</sup> Stephen Asoghig of Daron,<sup>37</sup> Arisdages [Aristaces] of Lasdiverd,<sup>38</sup> and Gregory Magistros.

In the second half of the thirteenth century decline is manifest in such writers as Mekhitar of Airivank and Orpelian. Haitum, an Armenian prince who also was count of Clourcy, a fief of the Principality of Antioch—today Corghos or Gorigos—was the author of a *History of the Orient* from 1076 to 1307.<sup>39</sup> He went to Cyprus in 1305 and became a Praemonstratensian monk and visited Pope Clement V in Avignon, where at the pope's request he dictated a *History of the Tartars* in French, which was immediately translated into Latin. Both versions are extant.<sup>40</sup> Haitum's brother Sembat [Sempad], who was constable of the kingdom, was also the author of an *Armenian Chronicle* (952–1274)<sup>41</sup> which later was continued to 1331. He also translated the *Assizes of Antioch* into the Armenian language.

Finally, it may be said that Armenian historiography, in contact with Western Europe through the Crusades, borrowed the rhymed poetical chronicle from France. In the twelfth century Nerses, the famous patriarch, composed an *Elegy on the Fall of Edessa* in 1144,<sup>42</sup> but his correspondence with the Emperor Manuel is historically more valuable. In the next century Vahram, secretary of King Leo III, was the author of a more ambitious rhymed chronicle or *History of Armenia* during the Crusades, which begins with the conquests of the Seljuk Turkish chief-tain Tughril Beg in 1037 and concludes in the year 1280.<sup>43</sup>

The epilogue of Armenian history was written after the fall of Leo

<sup>35</sup> *Histoire d'Arménie*, tr. by M. I. Brosset (St. Petersburg, 1870).

<sup>36</sup> French translation in Brosset, *Collection* (n. 1), I, 1–266.

<sup>37</sup> German translation by Heinrich Gelzer and August Burckhardt, *Des Stephanos von Taron Armenische Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1907: *Scriptores sacri et profani*, IV); French translation by Edouard Dulaurier, *Histoire universelle par Étienne Asogh'ig de Daron* (Paris, 1883, 1917, 2 v.: *Publications de l'École des langues orientales vivantes*, ser. 1, XVIII).

<sup>38</sup> *Histoire d'Arménie, 989–1071*, tr. by Evariste Prud'homme (Paris, 1864).

<sup>39</sup> W. R. Long, ed., *La flor de las Ystorias de Orient*, by Hayton, *Prince of Gorigos* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1934); French and Latin texts in the *Recueil des historiens des croisades* (n. 1), II, 111–363.

<sup>40</sup> *L'Histoire merueilleuse plaisante et recreative du grand empereur de Tartarie*, cp. the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXV (1869), 479–507, esp. 506. The Old French text is printed in L. de Backer, *L'Extrême Orient au moyen âge* (Paris, 1877), 125–255; cp. POTTHAST, I, 572.

<sup>41</sup> Sempad, *Chronique du royaume de la Petite Arménie*, in *Recueil des historiens des croisades* (n. 1), I, 605–80.

<sup>42</sup> Text and translation in the same *Recueil*, I, 223–68.

<sup>43</sup> English translation of Vahram in C. F. Neumann, *Translations from the Chinese and Armenian* (London: for the Oriental Translation Fund, 1831, 3 v. in 1); text and French translation in the *Recueil* (n. 1), I, 491–535.

VI. He had been imprisoned by Constantine IV, who wished to destroy the royal Armenian line, but escaped only to be led captive to Cairo by the Mamelukes (1375). There he commissioned his almoner and confessor, John Dardel, whose *Chronicle* relates the end of the dynasty.<sup>44</sup> Leo VI was released in 1382 and died in Paris in 1393.

<sup>44</sup> Jean Dardel, *Chronique d'Arménie*, in the *Recueil*, II, 1-109.

## CHAPTER XX

### ARABIC, PERSIAN, AND MONGOL HISTORIANS IN THE MIDDLE AGES<sup>1</sup>

PRE-ISLAMIC history, as among so many primitive peoples, was merely ballad or saga, half legend and half history.<sup>2</sup> Poetry was the vehicle of history. The earliest actual history dealt with isolated, important events like the Battle of the Camel, the Battle of Siffin, etc. Muhammed Ben Ishaq (d. 767), whose grandfather was taken prisoner and was one of the captives brought to Medina before the Prophet recovered Mecca in 632, is said to have been the earliest recorder of Mohammed's campaigns. Some of his information was acquired from the Jews and the Christians in Arabia, whom he calls "the people of the former learning." He also wrote a history of the rule of the Umayyad Dynasty of Damascus.

Like all Semitic peoples the Arabs were sticklers for genealogy, the lineage and tradition of their forefathers. Hence the adherence of all

<sup>1</sup> For lists of authors and editions see the *Cambridge Medieval History*, II (1913), 758-62, 766-67, and IV (1923), 293-94, 810-11, 831-36, 842; for Spanish Arabic historians see III (1922), 631-35. Persian historians must be distinguished from other Muslim writers, for although the Persians were Mohammedanized, their historians did not always write in Arabic. In histories of Mohammedan literature this distinction is not always made clear. Reynold A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (2nd ed., Cambridge, 1930), 11-13, 144-47, 241-50, 344-56, 435-41, 452-54; H. A. R. Gibb, *Arabic Literature, an Introduction* (London, 1926); D. S. Margoliouth, *Lectures on Arabic Historians* (Calcutta, 1930); F. Wüstenfeld, "Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber und ihre Werke," *Abhandlungen der kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Hist.-Philol. Klasse, XXVIII (1881), 1-170 and XXIX (1882) [lists the writers in 590 paragraphs, with an index of names at the end, 126-39]; Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* (Weimar: Emil Felber, 1898-1902, 2 v.), the standard work, corrected and brought up to date by two large supplementary volumes (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1936-38); a brief popular account [258 pp.] by the same author and with identically the same title appeared in 1901 bound with Paul Horn, *Geschichte der persischen Literatur*, to form vol. VI of *Die Literaturen des Ostens in Einzeldarstellungen* (Leipzig: C. F. Amelangs Verlag), and was reprinted separately as a 2nd ed. in 1909; Clement Huart, *Littérature arabe* (Paris, 1902), tr. by Lady Mary Loyd as *A History of Arabic Literature* (London, 1903); Gustav Pfannmüller, *Handbuch der Islam-Literatur* (Berlin, 1923); Gustav Richter, *Das Geschichtsbild der arabischen Historiker des Mittelalters* (Tübingen, 1933); Philip K. Hitti, *The Origins of the Islamic State* (New York, 1916), introduction, and his article "History and Historiography: Islam," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, VII, 380-83; GIBBON, VI, 529-30; Claude Cahen, "Les chroniques arabes concernant la Syrie, l'Égypte et la Mésopotamie, de la conquête arabe à la conquête ottomane, dans les bibliothèques d'Istanbul," *Revue des études islamiques*, 1936, pp. 333-62. Consult also the articles on the separate writers in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed. by M. T. Houtsma and others (Leyden and London, 1913-36, 4 v. in 6); and in T. P. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam* (2nd ed., London, 1885). For Persia, besides the work of Horn mentioned above, see Edward G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia* (New York, 1906-24, 4 v.), vols. I-II.

<sup>2</sup> C. J. Lyall, "Ancient Arabian Poetry as a Source of Historical Information," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1914, pp. 61-73.

Muslim historians to *isnad*, i.e., the chain of authorities by which a narration could be checked back to the original eye-witnesses of or participants in an event. This practice carried with it a careful system of dating. Muslim chronology begins with the Hegira or Flight of Mohammed from Mecca in 622 A.D. This made for chronological uniformity and simplicity, in sharp contrast with the bewildering varieties of medieval Christian chronology in which the new year might begin with January 1, or March 1, or the Nativity (December 25), or Easter, which made confusion worse confounded, because Easter is not a fixed, but a movable date.

It was a long time before the Arabs became historical-minded. Historiography was an acquired characteristic in Islam. There was a strong feeling against the writing down of traditions. The decisive influence may have come from conquered Persia.<sup>3</sup> Ibn Hisham wrote the earliest biography of Mohammed, about 828 A.D. Although after the Mohammedan conquest of the East, Arabic was the only vehicle of literary expression, it is important to observe that most of the thinking in Islam and most of the literature was of Persian mind.

The intellectual intolerance of the Byzantine Empire in the fifth and sixth centuries made the Hellenic lands poorer and enriched Sassanian Persia. At the end of the fifth century the Emperor Zeno closed the school in Edessa and the exiled scholars found refuge in Persia and helped to found the famous school in Nisibis. In 529 Justinian closed the schools in Athens and again the exiled scholars were received by the great Persian ruler Chosroes I. The result was that ancient Greek thought was carried on in Persia when it was neglected in the Greek Empire and much of it perished. Under this Greek stimulus the reign of Chosroes I witnessed a revival of interest in history. The king had the annals of the Persian Kingdom collected, appointed an official historiographer, and supervised the production of *The Book of Kings* (*Khudai-Namak*), which begins with the mythical history of the ancient Persians as found in the books of Zoroaster. Since the royal annals of the Achaemenian and Parthian epochs had almost wholly perished, these periods are meagerly dealt with. The sustained record commences with the Sassanid rule (226 A.D.) and was brought down to the time of Chosroes II (526). Under the later Sassanids, Agathias, the Byzantine historian who wrote in the sixth century, mentions "Persian Books" which seem to have been annals of a sort, and Muslim writers mention a *Khudai-Namak* or *Book of Kings* which Ibn El-Mokaffa translated into Arabic in the middle of the eighth century. Masudi says that in

<sup>3</sup> See the comments of Brockelmann in his large work (n. 1), I, 134—but cp. a different approach in his small one, 101-02, and Browne (also n. 1), I, 270-71.

the *early part of the tenth century* he saw an Arabic version of a Pahlavi work which dealt with the history of the Sassanian kings; and a *Book of Kings* called *Khudai Namak*, perhaps after the Chronicle of Kings of the Achaemenians, existed up to the time of Firdausi, who drew information from it. Unfortunately this work is lost.<sup>4</sup>

The Persian language died out. Nevertheless there was an organic relation between the Sassanian culture and the Saracenic,<sup>5</sup> in spite of the huge gap in our knowledge of Sassanid Persia due to the destruction of the archives and literature in the first furious conquest of the country by the Arabs. There was no Alexandrian Library in Alexandria when the Arabs captured it. But according to Ibn Khaldun, Omar ordered his commander to throw all Persian books into the fire or the water. Like Alexander's wanton incendiarism, that of Omar, too, played havoc with the Persian annals. Among these he specifically mentions the *Nama-é-Khusraven* and *Nama-é-Bästän*—whatever they were—the oral traditions of the Dehkans,<sup>6</sup> and other records generally. The Arabs at first had little interest in their Persian predecessors, and destroyed much of the historical material once available. Saad-ibn-i-Wekas, the victorious commander at Nehavend (641), seized the collection of historical materials made by Danishwar, under the orders of the Sassanid sovereigns. The portion dealing with the earliest Persian dynasty, that is the *Peshdayan*, was translated and sent to Omar, who ordered the whole to be translated into Arabic. But when the religion of Zoroaster was perceived to play so large a part in Persian history, the work was stopped and the manuscripts destroyed. Only about one-twentieth of the sacred books of the Sassanian period survive; the *Zend-Avesta*, once "written with gold ink upon prepared ox-hides"; and the remnant of historical records is even less.

The comparative indifference of the Zoroastrian priests, who were practically the sole guardians of the old literature . . . to all books which did not bear immediately on their own interests, led, no doubt, to the loss of the greater part of the profane literature of the Sassanian period.<sup>7</sup>

After the Muslim conquest of Persia, Persian historical tradition was badly preserved by the Persians. The medieval Persians offer the remarkable example of a people which completely forgot its past, and which replaced a great history with a perfectly imaginary one. Neither Cyrus, nor Cambyzes, nor Darius, nor Xerxes were known to medieval

<sup>4</sup> Maneckji Nusservanji Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Civilization from the Earliest Times to the Down-fall of the Last Zoroastrian Empire, 651 A.D.* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1922), 281.

<sup>5</sup> On the Sassanian rule see Theodor Nöldeke in *Deutsche Rundschau*, XVIII (1879), 284–91.

<sup>6</sup> The Dehkans were an order among the high Persian nobles devoted to the preservation of traditions.

<sup>7</sup> Browne (n. 1), I, 108.

Persia except from Greek sources. Instead a mythical dynasty of ancient gods and demons was invented. The Arabic language, both for political and for pious ends, was eagerly studied by the intelligentsia of the country. The people, of course, continued to speak their own vernacular; but only by slow degrees was advantage taken of the practical Arabic alphabet for the writing of Persian, which for centuries had been written in Pahlavi, possibly the most inconvenient alphabetic script ever devised.

Among the captured treasures of Ctesiphon was a copy of the important historical work, the *Khudai-Namak*, which was sent to the khalif in Damascus, where it was kept as a curio. In the middle of the eighth century a great Persian noble named Abdallah went over to Islam and translated this work into Arabic. It opened the eyes of the Arabs to the long and great history of the country which they had conquered, and almost simultaneously the Muslims began to show a double historical interest—in their own past and in the past of the peoples whom they had subjugated. The *Annals* of Tabari (838–923), in the long and interesting account of the reign of Chosroes the Great (531–579), prove that a considerable amount of Sassanid historical sources survived the Mohammedan conquest. There are fragments of the *History of Persia* in the writings of Ibn Kotaiba (d. 889) and the work of the Alexandrian patriarch Eutychius who wrote a world history down to 940. The *Khudai-Namak* is the main historical source of information about Persia for later Arabic historians. Abul Mansur of Tus translated the original Pahlavi version into the later Persian language, and this translation was the basis of the great epic of Firdawsi.

The substance of a certain number of other Pahlavi works which have perished is preserved to some extent by some Muhammadan writers, especially the earlier Arabic historians (that is, Arabic-writing, for most of them were Persians by race), such as Tabari, Mas'udi, Dinawari and the like, who drew for the most part their materials from Arabic translations of Pahlavi books.<sup>8</sup>

Three of these historians all lived and died at about the same time. Ya'qubi died in 900; Dinawari in 895; Tabari in 923; Mas'udi flourished in the middle of the tenth century.

Mohammedan scholarship, other than that of a religious nature, was a continuation or offshoot of Sassanian culture, chiefly promoted at the school of Jundi-Shahpoor, which was founded by Naushirwan or Chosroes the Great in the middle of the sixth century. Sassanian culture was wider and more catholic than that of Byzantium at the same time. Arabian historians were really familiar only with Persian history from the sixth and seventh centuries, and not greatly with even that.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 110.

Of the five eminent Muslim historians in the ninth century—Ibn Qutaibah (d. 889), Al-Baladhuri (d. 892),<sup>9</sup> Ad-Dinawari (d. 895), Al-Waqidi,<sup>10</sup> and Ibn Wadih al-Ya'qubi, who wrote about the same time—four were Persians.

The classical period of Arabian literature extended from ca. 750 to 1000, but though the writings were in the Arabic language, the literature was no longer exclusively of Arab authorship. In the post-classical period (1000–1258) it was prevailingly of Persian authorship, although written in the Arabic language. During the first period of Mohammedan history Medina was the center; in the second it was Damascus; in the third it was Baghdad. The most important event in the history of western Asia since Mohammed's time was the destruction of the Khalifate by the Mongols in 1258. The fall of the Umayyads was the end of the purely Arabian period.

Although the Islamic empire was early broken into separate and sometimes hostile states, the intellectual culture of the Mohammedan world was a singularly uniform one. This was owing to the universality of the Arabic language as a medium of literary expression, even among non-Arabs and non-Muslims. We find many Persians and not a few Christian historians, but each and all wrote in the Arabic tongue. The prevalence and the sacrosanct nature of the Koran gave a uniformity to the written language which prevailed over all other languages current in the Islamic empire, even Greek and Syriac, and also prevented the usage of local dialects.

Muslim historiography was strikingly independent of previous historiographical tradition in the countries which were conquered by the crescent. There is no evidence of any translation of any Greek historian into Arabic. Muslim historiography is without a trace of classical influence. It is as if historiography began with a clean slate. This fact is all the more remarkable when it is considered that Persian and Greek science made a profound impression upon Islamic thought.

The result of the Arab conquests was the gradual absorption of the conquered peoples, who brought with them their experience and tradition which operated to carry Mohammedan civilization beyond what the unaided abilities of the Arabs would have been unable to achieve. Theology, jurisprudence and philology began to be cultivated, and out of them history sprang. An encyclopedic tendency towards vast erudition is apparent from the beginning of the Abassid period onward (750),

<sup>9</sup> Al-Baladhuri's *History of the Muslim Conquests (Kitabu futuḥi'l-buldan)* has preserved for us a detailed account of the institution of the poll tax levied upon non-Muslims. See *ibid.*, I, 201–02.

<sup>10</sup> Al-Waqidi, the great historian of the Muslim conquests, left behind him six hundred boxes of books, each of which required two men to carry it.

and in this period "history was definitely established as an independent branch of the science of tradition."

With the rise of this dynasty which founded Baghdad and established the great Baghdad Khalifate, Muslim historiography displayed a new dignity and magnitude. The Abassids were clement and intelligent rulers of the conquered peoples, whose rights were recognized in formal covenants. Such charters were valuable historical sources to supplement the Muslim sources. The establishment of Baghdad marks the beginning of Arabic literature and historiography on a broad scale, for then Persian literary tradition was brought to bear. The translation into Arabic of the Sassanid *Books of the Kings* gave a new impulse to historical writing. Abu Mikhnaf Lut ibn Yahya, who died in 774, wrote thirty-three treatises on different persons and events, but his most important work was a *History of the Conquest of Iraq*.

The last decades of the eighth century and the early decades of the ninth were a brilliant period in Abassid historiography which answers in the East to the contemporary intellectual renaissance in the West, in the time of Charlemagne and his immediate successors. Waqidi (760-837), a native of Medina, a favorite of the famous Haran al-Rashid, was the author of the *Kitab-al-Maghazi*, a history of the military and missionary expansion of Islam, and of many lesser works. When he travelled, and he was an indefatigable traveller, it required 120 camels to transport his library, which he took with him everywhere. Of more eminence is Al-Mada'ini (d. 830-845), whose name indicates that he was connected with Ctesiphon, author of the *Book of the Conquests from Abu-Bekr to Othman*, the *Book of the Khalifs*, two monographs on India, the *Indian Provinces* and the *Book of the Indian Frontier*, the *Kitab-al-Maghazi*, and his *Ta'rikh al-Khulafa*. His long list of works seems to have covered the whole area of Muslim conquest except North Africa and Spain. While Al-Mada'ini looked chiefly to the East, Al-Baladhuri (d. 892) was principally interested in the westward expansion of Islam. His *History* covers the conquest of Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Egypt, Cyprus, Africa, Spain, and Nubia. The titles of all his works fill five printed pages.

In the ninth century

special attention attaches to the contemporary developments in the scientific study of history. The raw material lay to hand in the early monographs and it remained only to work them up into finished treatises. The first important work, a *History of the Conquests* by Al-Baladhuri (d. 892),<sup>11</sup> is selective in method; it supplies a consecutive narrative of the conquest of each province. . . . Whether this was a natural step in the development of historical writing or due to outside influences is a moot point. About the same time

<sup>11</sup> Cp. Browne (n. 1), I, 201.



Al-Ya'qubi (d. after 891) wrote on similar lines a chronological summary of universal history from the Shi'ite point of view, as well as a work on historical geography, the earliest of its kind in Arabic literature.<sup>12</sup>

In the same century Al Fakhri was "a graphic and picturesque historian."<sup>13</sup>

This new historical-mindedness was due to the growing intellectual ascendancy of Persian thought, which began with the rise of the Abbasids, whose policy was to play the Persians against the Arabs—for it must be remembered that the Persians were Mohammedans, too. Then the Iranian genius began to recover and came practically to rule the Khalifate intellectually. It was the result of the founding of Baghdad and removal of the capital of Islam into the Persian sphere of influence. Before us moves the court of Al-Ma'mun and Haran al-Rashid with its "enlightenment"; the heresies begin to develop and Mohammedan orthodoxy hardens; the great doctrinal parties of Shi'ites and Sunnites are formed. The time was come when the Persians began to avenge themselves upon their conquerors. In the tenth century the Persians roused themselves from the stupor of Arab domination and turned to writing prose and verse in their own language, which was by then largely impregnated with Arabic words, and thus created what was practically a new literary language written in the Arabic alphabet, and laid the foundations of modern Persian literature. In the eleventh century Persian ascendancy reached a climax owing to the paralyzing effect of the power of the Seljuk Turks in Baghdad, who ran the government. This alienated and antagonized Persian sentiment and drove Persia, politically only a province of the Khalifate, in upon herself. The rise of Persian literature began when Persia intellectually became detached from Baghdad. This is not to say, however, that there was an impassable gulf fixed between Arabic and Persian. The Persians in history and literature still stood within the great circle of Mohammedanism politically and religiously, but intellectually they had become self-conscious and felt a pride in the past history of their country, in its past literature, and the Persian language which had never utterly died out.

The difference between Pahlavi and the earliest form of modern Persian—except for the Arabic element in the latter—was a difference of script. The oriental mind has ever associated written characters and religion together. Syrian Christians, who have lost their native tongue and whose language is Arabic, write Arabic in the Syriac characters;

<sup>12</sup> Gibb (n. 1), 56.

<sup>13</sup> See Browne (n. 1), I, 195–200 for an account of the subjugation of Persia which had revolted after the death of the third Umayyad khalif.

Turkish-speaking Armenians and Greeks use Greek characters when they write Turkish; the Persian Jews similarly write in the Persian language, but in Hebrew characters. The Pahlavi script was almost a cryptography, it was so intimately related to the priesthood. In consequence, after the Arab conquest, deprived of state and religious support, it yielded before the more legible and convenient Arabic script. In the tenth century interest in Persian antiquities became very great and poets and annalists exploited the remnant of what was left of the traditions of the Dekhans. It cannot be positively determined when modern Persian literature began to be separated from Arabic literature. Of actual books the Persian translation of Tabari's *Annals*, made about 963, is among the earliest.

This intellectual movement among the medieval Persians is one of the puzzles of Islam, indeed, a puzzle in the general history of culture; for the Persians, although kindred to the Greeks in race and language, were uninfluenced by the conquests of Alexander, and never became Hellenized. No more singular break in cultural history can be found than in the period extending from the time of Alexander's conquest (330 B.C.) to the establishment of the Sassanian monarchy in 226 A.D., and the strangely ineffectual influence of Hellenism upon Iran. In the Middle Ages the Persians succumbed to both the religion—which, however, they transformed before accepting it—and the language of the Arabs. Yet when the Persians some three hundred years after the conquest began to write, their literature, although written in Arabic, was still Persian in genius.

Unlike the historiography of Western Europe which declined in the ninth century, Muslim historiography, under Persian inspiration, grew stronger and sustained its quality as well as quantity. Not until the twelfth century do we begin to observe serious signs of decline in it. The greatest of all Muslim historians in the ninth century—indeed, one of the greatest of all historians—was Tabari (838–923),<sup>14</sup> a native of Tabaristan, whence his surname. He studied in Baghdad and Fustat, was an indefatigable traveller, and assiduous searcher for information. Tabari's *History of the Prophets and Kings* was the first universal history in the Arabic language, at least in intention, for it was so voluminous that he did not live to complete it. Contemporary with Tabari were Ahmad ben Abu-Tahir, author of a *History of Baghdad*, and

<sup>14</sup> French translation of Tabari by H. Zotenberg from the Persian version which Bal'ami made in 963 (Paris, 1867–74, 4 v.); German translation by Theodor Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden* (Leyden, 1879). For reading on Tabari see Browne (n. 1), I, 360–61; G. W. Thatcher's article on him in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th ed., 1911), XXVI, 322; and Silvestre de Sacy in *JS*, 1832, pp. 532–44, 598–611, and 1837, pp. 280–91.

Al-Dinawari, botanist, philologist, mathematician, geographer, and historian in one, whose *Book of Long Narratives* is a sort of outline of universal history. Of unique interest because of its character is Ibn Qutaibah's (834-900) *Book of Sovereignty and Government*, which is a history of the Islamic state. Another Persian chronicler of the tenth century used a Parthian chronicle which he found at Istakhr.

Miskawaihi, who died in 1032, related the history of the wars with the Emperor Nicephorus Phocas (963-969). He was of Persian origin. His work is singularly valuable for matters of taxation and finance, and for economic and social conditions, but he recounted events with vivacity. He had been inspired by the reading of Tabari's *Annals*. For the period before 970 A.D., his main authority was the *Chronicle* of Thabit ben Sinan, which begins where Tabari ends and continues to 993 A.D. From the year 970 Miskawaihi, as he himself claims, is an independent authority.<sup>15</sup> His work is one of the most instructive in the Arabic language. Tabari declines as he approaches his own times. Miskawaihi grows better in proportion as his narrative becomes contemporary.

The chronicler who follows Miskawaihi, Zahir-al-sin Mohammed ben Husain Rudhrawari, vizier of Muqtadi (1038-91), is of a very different sort. His work is mainly an abridgment of the *Chronicle* of Hilal ben Muhassin ben Abraham, which in turn was a continuation of that of Thabit ben Sinan. Of Hilal's *Chronicle* only part has been preserved. He lived from 989 to 1078 and was a convert from Sabianism. Fortunately Hilal's other and more valuable work, the *Book of the Viziers*, has come down to us intact.<sup>16</sup>

The Persian national legend reached its ultimate stage in the famous epic of the Sháhnáma or "Book of Kings" of Firdawsi (ca. 935-1025), the greatest poet of medieval Persia. His work was completed in 1010. It remains to this day the "chief source whence the Persians derive their ideas as to the ancient history of their nation." Only the fourth book, however, is really historical; it deals with the Sassanian period.<sup>17</sup> His expressed purpose was to revive the annals of ancient Persia, a course which drew down upon him the opposition of the Khalifate gov-

<sup>15</sup> *The Concluding Portion of "The Experiences of the Nations" by Miskawaihi* (Oxford, 1920-21, 7 v.: *The Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate, Original Chronicles of the Fourth Islamic Century*). Vols. I-III contain the Arabic text, ed. by H. F. Amedroz, vols. IV-VI, an English translation of the same by D. S. Margoliouth, and vol. VII, a brief preface by Margoliouth and the index.

<sup>16</sup> *The Historical Remains of Hilal al-Sabi, First Part of Kitáb al-Wuzara* (Gotha ms. 1756) and *Fragment of His History 389-393 A. H.* (B. M. Ms. add. 19360), ed. with notes by H. F. Amedroz (Paris and Leyden, 1904).

<sup>17</sup> Browne (n. 1), I, 110-12; Quatremere in *JS*, 1840, pp. 337-53 and 1841, pp. 398-411, 588-601.

ernment.<sup>18</sup> The Arabic historians, as a class, had a contempt for Persian history before the Muslim conquest, and so either ignored it or distorted it. Firdawsi, as a Persian, was interested in the pre-Muslim history of his country, and not in Mohammedan history, which in part may account for his ignorance of Arabic history. His treatment of the Sassanid period tallies fairly well with what we know of it from Byzantine sources. Firdawsi excuses his inability to be more full and more exact about the history of the early Persians on the ground that no records were available.

Even as far east as Turkestan historical writing is found. When, in 899, the Samanids were driven out by the Central Asian Turks, a powerful dynasty was established by Mahmud Yamin ad-Dawla (998-1030), who, though illiterate himself, had almost a mania for acquiring fame as a patron of learning, and either kidnapped scholars or exacted them as tribute from the states which he conquered. In this wise, after the conquest of Khwarazm, he became the patron of al-Biruni (d. 1048), author of *The Surviving Monuments of Past Generations*,<sup>19</sup> a comparative chronology, merely factual in arrangement but valuable in that important particular. He took advantage of Mahmud's campaigns in India to write also a *History of India*, "which in subject and scientific method stands alone in Arabic literature." For this purpose al-Biruni learned Sanskrit and translated several Hindu works into Arabic, and inversely also translated several Arabic translations from the Greek into Sanskrit. A native of the oldest part of ancient Persia, al-Biruni investigated the antiquities of the Ancient East in the true spirit of historical criticism. In his chronological work mentioned above, besides relating what history of ancient Persia he could, he gave specimens of the old dialects of Sughd and Khwarazm. Thus he lists in these dialects the names of the months and of the thirty days in each month, together with the names of the signs of the zodiac, of the seven planets, and of the mansions of the moon. According to Abu Rihan, the solar calendar of Khwarazm (Khiva) was the most perfect scheme for measuring time with which he was acquainted. Al-Biruni says that this calendar dated from an epoch anterior by 980 years to the Seleucid era, or 1304 B.C. He speaks further of the Khwarazmian writing and records, which, he says, were carefully examined by Koteibah Ibn Moslem when he conquered the country; and al-Biruni strengthens the authority of these native documents by citing a single family named Shahiyeh which claimed to be

<sup>18</sup> It must be added that his intention was more laudable than his execution, for he displayed prodigious ignorance of history. For example, he did not know when Baghdad was founded (762); he made Alexander a Christian, and confused Zoroaster with Abraham.

<sup>19</sup> English translation of this *al-Āthār u'l-bāqiyā*, or *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, by C. E. Sachau (London, 1879). Cp. Browne (n. 1), II, 96, 101, and index to his first volume.

derived from Cyrus the Great, and to have ruled from the Achaemenian period down to the time of the Mohammedan invasion.<sup>20</sup> The original fire of King Jem, the eponym of the Iranian race, was supposed to have survived unextinguished until this invasion. Of course fable and legend abounds in this old-world history related by Abu Rihan. The alleged expedition of the Himyarite king from South Arabia who founded Samarkand can hardly be credited; but there was certainly an ancient tablet in an unknown tongue over one of the gates of the city, which was supposed to commemorate this expedition, for Jeyhani, the Samanid vizier, distinctly relates that he saw it in about 920 A.D., and that it was destroyed during a rising of the mob while he was living in the city. Whether this inscription was in Zend or in Greek or in Bactrian Pali is a matter of conjecture. But the fact that we have the record of the preservation of such a tablet in an Arabic historian may justly excite one's curiosity.

During the first three hundred years of Islamic history Egypt hardly did more intellectually than reflect Damascus and Baghdad. Egyptian intellectual independence began with the Fatimite period in the ninth century, when Cairo became the seat of a state seceded from the Khalfate, where a separate school of historical writers arose.

The particular history of the Mohammedan conquest of Egypt is related by Al-Qurashi (802-871) who died at Fustat, in his *Futuh Misr*.<sup>21</sup> It is divided into seven books: (1) Characteristics and excellences of Egypt; Persian and Byzantine occupations; founding of Alexandria; (2) Muslim conquest; (3) Early settlement of the Arabs; history of the fiefs—for Mohammedanism had its own form of feudalism; (4) Administrative system and invasion of the Fayyum, Libya, Tripoli and Nubia; (5) Conquest of North Africa and Spain down to 744; (6) History of the Kadis (judges) of Egypt to 860; (7) Religious traditions derived from companions of the Prophet (52 in number) who came to Egypt. The last is the longest division.

Several of the Fatimite Khalifs of Egypt were men of intellectual culture and patrons of literature and the arts. Among the historians we find El-Kindi (d. 961), historian and topographer, and his continuator Ibn-Zulak (d. 997), who wrote a *History of the Kadis (or Judges) of Egypt*. In the reign of Hakim a civil official named El-Musebbihi (d. 1029) wrote a gigantic work on the history of Egypt in 26,000 pages. In the middle of the eleventh century lived El-Kudai'i (d. 1062), jurist and historian. But Egyptian historiography during the two centuries

<sup>20</sup> See QR, CXX (1866), 490-91.

<sup>21</sup> *The History of the Conquest of Egypt, North Africa and Spain, Known as the Futuh Misr of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam*, ed. by Charles C. Torrey (New Haven, 1922: Yale Oriental Series, III).

of Fatimite rule labored under two adverse conditions: the insecurity of public life owing to the whimsicality or tyranny of the rulers, and the fact that orthodox Muslim scholars shunned Egypt as an heretical country.

Mohammedan historians even were so much interested in Christianity that one of them, Abu-Salith, wrote a work upon *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*.<sup>22</sup> There is a considerable amount of Coptic historiography.<sup>23</sup> The most remarkable example of Christian historical writing in Egypt was a universal chronicle from Adam to 939 A.D., written by Eutychius (Said ben Batrik), a Christianized Arab born in Fustat or Old Cairo, and Melchite patriarch of Alexandria, who died in 940. It was continued to 1027 by Yahia. It traces for this period the history of the Byzantine Empire of the Fatimite rule in Egypt and that of the Abassids in Baghdad. Yahia was the more thorough historian of the two, for he tells us that he worked for a long time in the archives at Antioch in order to ground himself.<sup>24</sup>

When Spain was conquered it was natural that a school of Spanish Arab historians should arise at Cordova. Ibn 'Abd Rabbini of Cordova (d. 940) was equally celebrated as a poet and an historian. The earliest history of Mohammedan Spain known to us was written by Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Razi, who died in 937. This work has not come down to us but is preserved in an early Spanish recension, the *Crónica del Moro Rasis*, the oldest important monument of Spanish prose. Furthermore, an important series of biographical works, commencing in the tenth century and continuing into the thirteenth, have been preserved, which compensate for the loss of other historical works pertaining to Spanish Mohammedanism.<sup>25</sup> Other Spanish Arab historians were Arib ben Sa'd (ca. 996), author of a *History of the Founding of the Fatimite Dynasty*,<sup>26</sup> and Ibn Adhari (d. 1292), who wrote a *History of Africa and Spain* at a time when the crescent was waning in the peninsula. The fullest and most important history of the Arabic domination in Spain, however, was not written until long after the complete Christian recov-

<sup>22</sup> *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighbouring Countries, Attributed to Abu Salih, the Armenian*, ed. and translated by B. T. A. Evetts, with notes by A. J. Butler (Oxford, 1895: *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Semitic Series, pt. VII).

<sup>23</sup> For an account of these works see Silvestre de Sacy in JS, 1831, 499-504.

<sup>24</sup> *Eutychii Patriarchae Alexandrini Annales* (Beirut and Leipzig, 1906-09: *Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium*, Scriptores arabici, 3rd series, V-VI). Cp. Ulysse Chevalier, *Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen âge: bio-bibliographie* (2nd ed., Paris, 1905-07, 2 v.), I, col. 1435; *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, XII (1911), 287-89; and Gustave Schlumberger, *L'Épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle* (Paris, 1896-1905, 3 v.).

<sup>25</sup> Gibb (n. 1), 81.

<sup>26</sup> John Nicholson, ed., *An Account of the Establishment of the Fatemite [sic] Dynasty in Africa* (Tübingen, 1840); R. P. A. Dozy, ed., *Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne intitulée al-Bayano 'l-Mogrib par Ibn-Adhari (de Maroc), et fragments de la chronique d'Arib (de Cordoue)* (Leyden, 1848-51, 2 v.). See Dozy's introduction, I, 31-63.

ery of the peninsula. The author was Ahmed-ibn-Mohammed al Makkari (1581-1632),<sup>27</sup> a native of Morocco, where his first studies were made. In 1632 he made the pilgrimage to Mecca, after which he settled in Cairo, where he died. The work is very valuable.

Gibbon's statement that the Muslim historian was either a dry chronicler or a flowery rhetorician is true in most instances after the time of Miskawaihi (d. 1032), but not before. By the eleventh century the bloom of Muslim culture had been blown off, and in the twelfth century it began to wither. But the process was a very gradual one, and now and then an exception appears to confound the principle. As the heroic epoch of Mohammedanism became more and more remote, as the Mohammedan world inclined to break up more and more into separate political units, politically and religiously hostile to another—the antagonism between Shi'ite and Sunni was fundamental—as wealth and ease of life increased, a tendency grew to write provincial and local history. Countries, provinces, and cities had each its particular history and its particular historian. Much of this local writing savors more of mere antiquarianism than of history in the proper sense.<sup>28</sup> Examples of this kind of historical writing are Ibn Yusuf's *Fada il Misr*, or *The Excellent Qualities of Egypt*, Maqrizi's *History and Antiquities of Cairo*,<sup>29</sup> Al-Khatib's (1022-93) *History of Baghdad*, which is really a series of biographies of eminent citizens of Baghdad, preceded by a description of the city, Ibn ben al-Hasan's (1129-1201) *History of Damascus*, and Kamal ad Din's *History of Aleppo*.<sup>30</sup>

The variety and volume of Muslim historical literature in the Middle Ages were very great. Islamic historiography can match that of Christendom in these respects, and Ibn Khaldun in critical spirit, in depth and penetration of thought, perhaps equals any western historian. We find universal histories of huge dimension; histories of single countries, as of Egypt, Syria, North Africa, Spain, under the Mohammedan domination; dynastic histories like Khazraji's *History of the Rasulids of Yemen*; city chronicles, as those of Aleppo, Damascus, Medina, Nisapur, Hamadhan, Herat; and a rich biographical literature.

One of the fullest and most remarkable kinds of composition produced by the Arabs was travel literature.<sup>31</sup> The far-flung nature of the Islamic

<sup>27</sup> Translated by Pascual de Gayangos, *History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain . . . by Ahmed-ibn-Mohammed al Makkari* (London, 1840-43, 2 v.).

<sup>28</sup> On this see the English version of Huart (n. 1), 177-78, 186-88.

<sup>29</sup> Arabic text edited by Gaston Wiet (Cairo, 1911); French translation by U. Bouriant, *Description topographique et historique de l'Egypte* (Paris, 1895-1900).

<sup>30</sup> English version of Huart (n. 1), 199-200; selected portions edited, with a Latin translation, by G. W. Freytag (Paris, 1819 and Bonn, 1820), reviewed by Silvestre de Sacy in *JS*, 1820, pp. 67-77 and 1821, pp. 45-47; French translation by E. Blochet, *Kamal-ad-din: Histoire d'Alep* (Paris, 1900).

<sup>31</sup> M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (Leyden, 1870-1906, 8 v. in 7).

Empire, the universal practice of pilgrimage to Mecca, the necessities of administration, were influences which stimulated much geographical work in distant lands as Russia, for example.<sup>32</sup> The post of the Abassid Empire was a continuation and extension of the former Persian and Byzantine systems and greatly facilitated communication between countries. The earliest road-book (*The Book of Itineraries*) of which we have knowledge is that by Ibn Khurdadhbih,<sup>33</sup> who was postmaster at Samarra in 844, and province by province listed the stations on the great roads, giving the distance between them and a summary of the resources of each district. Later in the ninth century Yaqubi produced the first descriptive *Geography*, which became the model of many other similar works. The tenth century produced two important geographical writers, Ibn Hawqal<sup>34</sup> and Al Maqdisi.

With these works on geography we may associate a whole body of travel-literature. The missionary and trade expansion of the Arabs, combined with the custom of pilgrimage, prompted an enormous amount of travel books. The earliest which we have is *The Chain of Histories*, a volume of travellers' tales dealing with China, India, and Africa compiled in 851—apparently verbatim oral accounts reduced to written form. A century later appeared *The Wonders of India*, the author of which was a Persian sea captain named Ramhurmuz. The *Voyages of Sindbad the Sailor* in the *Arabian Nights* is the most widely known example of this sort of literature. Diplomatic relations also contributed to this geographical literature, examples of which are Ibn Fozlan's account of his embassy to Russia in 921,<sup>35</sup> and that of the Spanish Jew, Ibn Ya'qub, to the Emperor Otto the Great.

The penetration of Central Africa and the writing of the history of Negroland was solely the achievement of the Arabs. Before their coming nothing was known about Africa south of the Sahara. The chief Muslim writers to whom we owe this knowledge were Masudi, Ibn Hawqal, El Bekri, El Idrisi, Yaqut, El Omari, Ibn Batutta, and Ibn Khaldun.<sup>36</sup>

Masudi<sup>37</sup> was born in Baghdad and died in 956. He spent twenty years in travelling through the countries of the Mohammedan world and

<sup>32</sup> For this geographical and discovery literature of the Arabs, see C. R. Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography* (London, 1897-1906, 3 v.), I, ch. vii and III, ch. vii; Francisco Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico sobre los historiadores y geógrafos árabe-españoles* (Madrid, 1898). For Arabic sources on medieval Russia, see J. B. Bury, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire from the Fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil I, 802-867 A.D.* (London and New York, 1912), 499-500; and Silvestre de Sacy, *JS*, 1824, pp. 515-25.

<sup>33</sup> Beazley (n. 32), I, 425-34.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 451-53.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 435-38.

<sup>36</sup> For an account of these see E. W. Bovill, *Caravans of the Old Sahara* (London, 1933), ch. iv.

<sup>37</sup> *El-Mas'udi's Historical Encyclopaedia, entitled "Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems,"* translated by Aloys Sprenger (London, 1841: Oriental Translation Fund, no. 54). Only the first volume was published.



is believed to have gone as far as Madagascar and China. But his notice of the Sudan is merely an allusion to the "silent trade" in gold. Ibn Hawqal, who died in 966, was also a native of Baghdad and like Masudi spent years in travel and then wrote *The Book of Ways and Provinces*. He visited Audoghast and Ghana, saw the Niger, and believed it to be the upper Nile. Just a hundred years after Ibn Hawqal in 1067 a Spanish Muslim, Abu El-Bekri, who belonged to a distinguished family in Cordova, put forth his great treatise on the geography of the Mohammedan lands entitled *Roads and Realms* (*El Mecalek wa'l Memalek*), which contains a remarkable description of Northern Africa and the Sudan. As the author never visited Africa he must have had at his disposal a large amount of historical information of primary importance; probably his chief sources were found in the archives of Cordova. He died in 1094. In the first half of the twelfth century another Spanish Arab geographer arose. This was El Idrisi whom Roger II, king of Norman Sicily, drew to his court, and for whom he compiled a vast geographical treatise entitled *The Book of Roger*.<sup>38</sup>

This book . . . was based upon the previous labors of twelve geographers, classical and Mussulman. But aiming at greater accuracy than could be obtained by a merely literary compilation, Roger caused pilgrims, travellers, merchants of all countries to be assembled for conference and examination before him. . . . Measurements and distances were carefully compared; and a vast silver disk was constructed on which all the seas, islands, continents, plains, rivers, mountain ranges, cities, roads, and harbors of the known world were delineated. The text supplied an explanatory description of this map, with tables of the products, habits, races, religions and qualities, both physical and moral, of all climates. The precious metal upon which the map was drawn proved its ruin, and the *Geography* remained in the libraries of Arab scholars. Yet this was one of the first great essays of practical exploration and methodical statistic. . . .<sup>39</sup>

Ibn Jubayr (1183-1217) was a Spanish Muslim, and a great traveller who made three journeys to the Orient and each time went to Mecca. As each of these pilgrimages was made by a different route and each consumed several years, his *Travels* forms a valuable source. Ibn Battuta (1304-77)<sup>40</sup> was indubitably the greatest traveller who ever lived, excelling even Marco Polo. He visited Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, Byzantium (from which he made a side excursion into Russia and saw the midnight sun), Persia, Arabia, Turkestan, India, Ceylon, the Malay Peninsula, Borneo, Sumatra, Java, the Philippines, and China, and returned home

<sup>38</sup> Edited, with a French translation, by R. Dozy and M. J. Goeje, *Edrisi: Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne* (Leyden, 1866).

<sup>39</sup> John Addington Symonds, *Sketches and Studies in Italy and Greece* (London, 1900, 3 v.), III, 309-10; Beazley (n. 32), III, 531-33 and consult index; article in *FQR*, XXVII (1841), 265-83.

<sup>40</sup> H. A. R. Gibb, *Ibn Battuta: Travels in Asia and Africa, 1325-1354* (London and New York, 1929); Beazley (n. 32), III, 535-38; J. G. L. Kosegarten, *De Mohammede Ebn-Batuta Arabe Tingitano ejusque itineribus* (Jena, 1818), reviewed in *JS*, 1820, pp. 15-25.

in 1349. Still restless and curious, he crossed to Spain and finally topped off his wanderings by penetrating the Sahara and visiting the Negro Muslim lands on the Niger. The original of this remarkable work was not found until the French occupation of Algeria in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The Seljuk Turkish domination of the Khalifate embracing the reigns (the khalif continued to rule but not to govern) of Tughril (1037-63), of Alp Arslan (1063-72), and Malikshah (1072-92), was the vestibule of the Crusades, and a period too violent to be conducive to the writing of history. Accordingly those historians who wrote Seljuk history composed their works in the twelfth century or later. A monograph on the Seljuks was written by the vizier Anushirwan ben Khalid (d. 1137).<sup>41</sup> But the best histories of the Seljuks were not written until more than a hundred years had elapsed. The *Rahatu-Sudir* was written in 1202-03.<sup>42</sup>

The Crusades stimulated historical writing in the Muslim world as they stimulated it in the West.<sup>43</sup> The *Damascus Chronicle*<sup>44</sup> excellently inaugurated the new period. It is the sole contemporary Arabic record of the First Crusade, and was the work of Hamza ibn al-Qalanisi, an educated Muslim who was a civil official in Damascus in the first half of the twelfth century. It begins with the year 1056, when the *Chronicle* of Hilal ben al-Muhassin al-Sabi terminated, and extends to 1160. The last two-thirds of the work is a year-by-year narrative of the Crusades. It is an indispensable source for the history of the First and Second Crusades, and either supplements or controls the Latin and Byzantine narratives which we have. The account of the siege of Tyre is so vivid that it would seem to be that of an eye-witness. Of equal importance, though of another character, is the *Autobiography* or memoirs of Ousama ibn-Munkidhi (1095-1188), a Syrian emir, a grandee, and a man of culture. This book is a major source for the fixed Muslim and Christian culture of the Holy Land in the twelfth century and a highly interesting document.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>41</sup> These and others in *Recueil de textes relatifs à la histoire des Seljoucides*, ed. by M. Th. Houtsma (Leyden, 1889). For reading on the events see Browne (n. 1), II, 166-84.

<sup>42</sup> Described with copious extracts by E. G. Browne in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1902, pp. 567-610, 849-87.

<sup>43</sup> See MOLINIER, II, nos. 2159-70; M. Goergens, trs. and ed., *Arabische Quellenbeiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Berlin, 1879, v. I), reviewed in *JS*, 1879, p. 723. Translations and extracts in J. Michaud, ed., *Bibliothèque des croisades* (2nd ed., Paris, 1929-30, 4 v.), vol. IV, reviewed by Danou in *JS*, 1830, pp. 211-25.

<sup>44</sup> H. A. R. Gibb, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades, Extracted and Translated from the Chronicle of Ibn al-Qalanisi* (London, 1932). Cp. the reviews in *Speculum*, VII (1932), 432-35, and *LTLS*, 1932, p. 419.

<sup>45</sup> G. R. Potter, *Autobiography of Ousama ibn Munkidh, 1095-1188* (London, 1929); Philip K. Hitti, *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior of the Period of the Crusades* (New York, 1929: Records of Civilization series); H. Derenbourg, *Ousama ibn-Munkidh, un emir au premier siècle des croisades* (Paris, 1889). Cp. *Revue critique*, n. s., XXXVIII (1894), 130-34.

The conquest of Fatimite Egypt by Nur ad-Din in 1171 and its union with Syria by Saladin was the point of departure of a new prosperity for these lands and a new outburst of literary energy. The glorious events under Saladin awakened the enthusiasm of the followers of the prophet. History became popular and its scope was broadened. The authors were usually men of high rank who had participated in some of the events which they described. Ibn al-Athir was the son of an emir and served in the wars under Saladin; his position and prestige gave him access to the documents of the rulers. Imad ad-Din was secretary of state under Nur ad-Din. Baha ad-Din was kadi at Jerusalem and at Aleppo and was sent on diplomatic missions. Kamal ad-Din was a vizier. Abu-l-Fida was a kinsman of Saladin and sultan of Hamah. The historical sources for the career of the great Saladin are very abundant.<sup>46</sup> There are four biographies, two of which are especially valuable. The first is that by Baha ad-Din (1145-1234) of Mosul, who was highly educated and was a professor in the university there when Saladin twice (in 1182 and 1185) laid siege to Mosul. In 1184 Baha ad-Din was sent on an embassy to Damascus where Saladin was so much impressed with his ability that he offered him a judgeship which Baha ad-Din loyally declined. A year later when peace was made between the emir of Mosul and Saladin, Baha ad-Din entered the latter's service and became his secretary and was by the conqueror's side through the stirring campaign which resulted in the Moslem capture of Jerusalem in 1187. In later life Baha ad-Din was a kadi or judge in Aleppo and lived to a venerable old age. He is an incomparable authority for the life of Saladin. At the other pole is Ibn al-Athir's *History of the Atabeg Princes of Mosul* (1084-1211), the dynasty against which Saladin successfully revolted, which is hostile to Saladin but nevertheless an important work as a check on Baha ad-Din.

The history of the terrible Mongol invasions in the thirteenth century is related by several writers. Ibn al-Athir in his universal history based on Tabari opens the account for the year 1220-21 A.D. with an appalling description of their cruelty and havoc.<sup>47</sup> He was writing nearly forty years before the catastrophe in 1258.<sup>48</sup> Yaqut al-Hamawi the geographer (1178-1229), who was another eminent contemporary writer, and a friend of the great historian just mentioned, has also left us a picture

<sup>46</sup> For an account of the *Lives* of Saladin, see Stanley Lane-Poole, *Saladin and the Fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (New York, 1898; new edition, London, 1926), preface; MOLINIER, III, nos. 2341-43.

<sup>47</sup> English translation of this passage in Browne (n. 1), II, 427-31.

<sup>48</sup> On Ibn al-Athir see further Brockelmann's larger work (n. 1), I, 345, no. 10, and his smaller book, 164. Text edited by C. J. Tornberg, *Ibn-el-Athiri Chronicon, quod perfectissimum inscribitur* (Leyden, 1851-76, 14 v.); Swedish translation, likewise by Tornberg, *Ibn-el-Athiri Chrönika: Elfte delen ifrån Arabiskan öfversätt* (Lund, 1851-53, 2 v.).

of the terror inspired by the Mongols, from whose hands he just succeeded in escaping. Besides occasional references in his great *Geographical Dictionary*, there is preserved in the pages of Ibn Khallikan's *Biographies* the text of a letter which he addressed to the vizier of the King of Aleppo from Mosul, which he had finally succeeded in reaching after many hairbreadth escapes in his flight from Merv. Naturally an earth-shaking event such as the invasion of the Mongols exercised the pens of many other historians.

Even during this eclipse of the Baghdad Khalifate, reading, studying, and writing went on. The period was characterized by ponderous erudition, but displayed no creative writing. Celebrated to the ends of the Muslim world was the *Obituaries of Eminent Men* by Ibn Khallikan (1211-82), the earliest general biographical dictionary in the Arabic language and a monument to the author's learning and literary industry.<sup>49</sup> It is strongly anti-Fatimite. A counterpart to this work and composed at nearly the same time is a great geographical encyclopedia by Yaqut (ca. 1179-1229).<sup>50</sup> By birth he was an Anatolian Greek enslaved in boyhood to a merchant of Baghdad who employed him as a travelling clerk through Persia, Syria, etc. When at last liberated Yaqut settled in Merv, whither he was attracted by its magnificent libraries, and began work upon his great *Gazetteer or Geographical Dictionary*. The advance of the Mongols drove him from Merv to Mosul in 1220, and finally to Aleppo. His work is the most important of Arabic geography which is preserved, for Edrisi's, probably as great a work, has reached us only in part. It is "a most precious book of reference for all that concerns the geography and much that touches the history of Western Asia."<sup>51</sup>

Al-Qazwini (1203-83) was born in Persia, but lived for the most of his life in Damascus. Unlike Yaqut he wrote his *Monuments of the Lands* from the works of preceding geographers and travellers. It is a systematic description of the chief cities of the Muslim world arranged alphabetically. Fortunately, however, he included much more than geographical information and even included non-Mohammedan countries in his account. Thus he gives an account of Rome, Ireland, Scandinavia, whale-fishing, trial by ordeal, and trial by battle. Except the *Arabian Nights*, there are few more entertaining works than this.<sup>52</sup>

Unique among historians of this period is an Arabized Jew who turned

<sup>49</sup> English translation by Baron MacGuckin de Slane, *Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary* (Paris, 1842-71, 4 v.: Oriental Translation Fund). See Browne (n. 1), II, 474-75.

<sup>50</sup> Beazley (n. 32), III, 534-35.

<sup>51</sup> Browne (n. 1), II, 482. Cp. Brockelmann's smaller book (n. 1), 168. Text edited by F. Wüstenfeld (1866-71, 6 v.); French translation by C. Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire géographique, historique et littéraire de la Perse et des contrées adjacent, extrait du Modjem el-Bouldan de Yaqout* (Paris, 1861).

<sup>52</sup> Browne (n. 1), II, 482-83.

Christian. This was Abul-Faradji Djordjis (in Latin, Gregorius Bar-Hebraeus) (1226–86) whose father was an Arabized Jewish physician, but who himself was converted to the Jacobite sect of oriental Christianity. He was born at Melitine in Little Armenia and at the time when the Mongols invaded his country took refuge first in Antioch and later at Tripoli in Syria. In 1252 he was made patriarch of Aleppo where he labored to mitigate the fury of the Mongol conquest. He was the author of a great universal history or *Chronography* of which the first part contains the political history of the world from the Creation to 1286 A.D. This is followed by another part covering the history of the Church from Aaron to the author's own time. The *Chronography* was written in Syriac, but in the last year of his life Bar Hebraeus undertook to translate the secular portion into Arabic, so that two versions exist, differing in some important parts.<sup>53</sup>

Of historians who wrote in Persian in this period, the most prominent was Minháj-i-Siráj of Juzjan, the family of whom had long been in the service of the house of Ghur. In 1226 he went to India, where he was a protégé of one of the great Moslem princes. In 1260 he completed a great universal history which began with the patriarchs and ended with the Mongol invasion in 1258. He gives details of this movement not found elsewhere.<sup>54</sup> An Egyptian Christian who wrote in Arabic was al-Makin (1205–73), whose work was translated into Latin under the title *Historia Saracenica*, and published at Leyden in 1625. It was "for a long while the chief Arabic source for the history of Islam accessible to European scholars."<sup>55</sup> Besides these general historical works many special dynastic and provincial historians and biographers are found in this epoch, the enumeration of which would be tedious.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>53</sup> The Syriac text of the ecclesiastical portion was published with a Latin translation by J. A. Abbeloos and T. J. Lamy, *Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon Ecclesiasticum* (Louvain, 1872–77, 3 v.). The Arabic version of the secular chronicle was translated into Latin by Edward Pococke, the first English Arabist: *Historia compendiosa dynastiarum, historiarum universam complectens a mundo condito usque ad auctoris tempora* (Oxford, 1663, 2 v.). Complete English translation of the first or secular part from the Syriac by E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Chronography of Gregory Abu'l Faraj, the Son of Aaron, the Hebrew Physician, Commonly Known as Bar Hebraeus* (Oxford, 1932, 2 v.). On the author and other editions of his work see Budge's introduction, I, v–lxiii, other literature on p. xv; the second volume contains a photographic facsimile of the Syriac text from a MS in the Bodleian Library.

<sup>54</sup> Browne (n. 1), II, 470; *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians: The Muhammedan Period*, ed. from the posthumous papers of Sir H. M. Elliot by John Dawson (London, 1867–77, 8 v.), II, 260–61. It is not the province of this book to enter into the subject of Muslim historiography in the Far East. The reader who is interested may consult Elliot's *Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammedan India* (Calcutta, 1849, only 1 v. published); and JS, 1840, pp. 212–26, 354–72, 392–403, and 1851, pp. 46–63.

<sup>55</sup> Browne (n. 1), II, 471. The Latin version was made by Thomas Erpenius; it was in turn put into English in abridged form by Samuel Purchas in *Purchas His Pilgrimage*, etc. (4th ed., London, 1626: bound uniformly with the author's *Pilgrimes* [London, 1625] and lettered *Purchas's Pilgrims*, vol. V), pp. 1009–47. French translation by Pierre Vattier, *L'histoire mahometane, ou les quarante-neuf Chalifes du Macine* (Paris, 1657).

<sup>56</sup> For these writers see Browne (n. 1), II, 471–81.

Conditions improved in Western Asia when Hulagu Khan's successors embraced Islam, which resulted in an antagonism between them and their wild heathen kinsmen in Far Asia, around Karakorum, for the Mongols then became protectors and promoters of Mohammedan and Persian culture. Accordingly it is not an anomaly when we find three Persian historians court favorites of the Great Khan. These were 'Ata Malik of Juwayn, author of the *Ta'rikh-i-Jahan-gusha* or "History of the Conqueror of the World (Jinghiz Khan)," 'Abdul'llah ben Fadlu'llah of Shiraz, and the vizier Rashidu'd-Din Fadlu'llah. The last two flourished 1295-1304.<sup>57</sup>

An historian of princely rank in the early fourteenth century was Abul-Feda (1273-1331). He was born at Damascus and at the age of twelve followed his father, a brother of the prince of Hama, in the last campaigns against the Crusaders and the first against the Mongols. In spite of a long and active military and civil career, Abul-Feda found time to write a *Universal History* which extends to 1328,<sup>58</sup> and also a work on geography.<sup>59</sup>

The Mongols themselves did not begin the narration of the great deeds of Jinghiz Khan, and his sons and grandsons, until long after the events; even so, all the works of this nature which may once have been in the libraries of Persia and Turkestan have perished. Moreover, when the Mongol Empire went to pieces and a swarm of nomad chieftains succeeded the imperial dynasty founded by Jinghiz Khan, the Mongols reverted to their former half barbaric and nomadic life, so that their own nascent literature ceased to be cultivated. The sole history of the Mongols written in the Mongol language which has survived is that of Sanang Setsen, who was a Mongol convert to Buddhism.<sup>60</sup> The original was discovered in Tibet in 1820. This book, supplemented by some information gleaned from Chinese annals, is the sum total of our knowledge of the history of the Mongols in Far Asia, especially in China. There is nothing in these sources about the achievements of the Mongols in Western Asia.

<sup>57</sup> On these see *JS*, 1824, pp. 718-26 and 1838, pp. 501-14.

<sup>58</sup> Arabic text prepared with a Latin translation by J. J. Reiske, *Abulfedae Annales muslimici*, ed. posthumously by J. G. Adler (Copenhagen, 1789-94, 5 v.). For further information see Wüstenfeld (n. 1), first instalment, p. 167; and S. de Sacy in *JS*, 1832, pp. 410-22.

<sup>59</sup> French translation by J. T. Reinaud and S. Guyard, *Géographie d'Aboulfeda* (Paris, 1848-83, 2 v.).

<sup>60</sup> I. J. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses, verfasst von Ssanang Ssetsen . . . aus dem Mongolischen übersetzt und mit dem Originaltexte* (St. Petersburg, 1829). For a long account of this work by J. P. Abel-Rémusat see *JS*, 1931, pp. 27-41, 115-22, 151-63, and 214-25. Colonel Sir Henry Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither* (rev. ed. by Henri Cordier, London, 1913-16, 4 v.: Hakluyt Society ser. 2, vols. 33, 37, 38, 41) has collected all the medieval notices of China. For western sources of the history of Central and Far Asia, notably the *Relations* of Franciscan missionaries there, see Beazley (n. 32), II, ch. v and vol. III almost throughout.

For a history of the Tartars written in the Tartar language the world had to wait until the seventeenth century when Abul-Gazi Bahador Khan (1605-64), khan of Kwarazm and a direct descendant of Jinghiz Khan wrote a *Genealogical History of the Mongols and Tartars*. Some Swedish officers who were taken prisoner at the battle of Poltava in 1709, where Peter the Great defeated Charles XII, and who were interned in Siberia, came upon a Russian translation of this work which had been made by a merchant of Bokhara, and translated it into German. In this devious way scholarly Europe first acquired knowledge of it.<sup>61</sup>

The tremendous shock given to Western Asian and Mohammedan-Persian culture, by the Mongol invasions, all but ruined the literature. Fortunately as already intimated, that culture was partially rescued from complete destruction by the fortunate fact that the Mongols soon were converted to Islam. But the destruction of Baghdad, Merv, Samarkand, and many other places where there were rich libraries gave a blow to learning in Western Asia from which it has never recovered. Islam never again has had a great metropolis in Western Asia similar to Cairo in Egypt, and until late in the Middle Ages, to Cordova in Spain.

For Western Asia the worst was yet to come. The supreme test of the vitality of Mohammedan culture came when a new Mongol invasion befell late in the fourteenth century with the appearance of Timurlane, who conceived and executed the gigantic project of subduing all the Mongol dynasties which had sprung up after the dismemberment of the empire created by Jinghiz Khan and his immediate successors. By 1398 Timurlane's empire stretched from the confines of China and from the Punjab in India to Hungary. Again Muslim historiography rose to the challenge of recording the history of such gigantic achievements. The *Zafar-Namah* or "Chronicle of Victory" by Sharaf ud-Din Yazdi, a Persian and a close friend of the conqueror's son, Shah Rukh, is a florid narration, but one which has been popular from its appearance and was continued by various hands until as late as 1454.

Ibn 'Arabshah (1392-1450) when a child was carried captive from Damascus to Samarkand by Timurlane, and was the author of a *Life of Timurlane*<sup>62</sup> in rhymed prose, not unnaturally hostile to the great conqueror. Later he became secretary to the Ottoman sultan at Adrianople, the Turkish capital before the fall of Constantinople. His last years were spent in literary pursuits in Damascus and Cairo.

<sup>61</sup> French translation by D. Bentinck (Leyden, 1726, 2 v.); German translation by Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmid, *Geschlechtsbuch der Mungalisch-Mogulischen oder Mogorischen Chanen* (Göttingen, 1780). The original Tartar text was published by Froehne at Kazan in 1825.

<sup>62</sup> Translated into English by J. H. Sanders as *Tamerlane or Timur, the Great Amir* (London, 1936).

The Arabic biographer paints a memorable description of the display which Timur staged to celebrate the wedding of his grandson Ulugh Beg—little dreaming that it was to be his last flash of arrogant magnificence—and reaches one of his finest flights in describing how death overtook the tyrant soon after. Regardless of the sufferings entailed on his hosts by the savagery of Central Asian cold, he insisted on making a winter march across the frozen Jaxartes. Then death addressed him:—"If you are one of the infernal spirits, I am the other. . . . If you have slain souls and frozen men's breath, truly the breaths of my frost are colder than yours . . . therefore mark my warning and by Allah! the heat of piled coals shall not defend you from the frost of Death, nor shall fire blazing in the brazier." The tyrant duly succumbed at Otrar in 1405.

The most astonishing sources, however, of this tremendous movement are Timurlane's own historical works, for Timur was both a conqueror and an author, like Napoleon. These are his *Memoirs*<sup>63</sup> and a treatise on the art of war.<sup>64</sup> This is the place to notice also the *Narrative of the Castillian Embassy to the Court of Timur at Samarkand*, by Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo (1403-06).<sup>65</sup> After the great victory of the Turks at Nikopolis in 1396 over the international European army sent against them, Europe, almost in dismay, made overtures to Timurlane in the hope of effecting an alliance with him against the Ottomans. Accordingly King Henry III of Castile sent Ruy Gonzales to the East where he found the conqueror at Samarkand. He was sumptuously received, lavishly entertained, and loaded with presents upon his return. Timur's death in the year after his departure removed all possibility of forming the eccentric alliance, and the only substantial reminder of this episode is this remarkable memorial, which is as good to read as any chapter in Marco Polo.<sup>66</sup>

A work written in the fifteenth century was the *Rauzat-us-sufa* or "Garden of Purity," which, in spite of its high-sounding title, is a universal history extending from Creation to the death of Hussein

<sup>63</sup> *The Mulfuzāt Timūry, or Autobiographical Memoirs of the Moghul Emperor Timur, Written in Jagaty Turkey Language, Turned into Persian by Abu-Talib-Hussyny, and Translated into English by Major Charles Stewart* (London, 1830). For a review of this see S. de Sacy in *JS*, 1831, 449-62.

<sup>64</sup> *Institutes Political and Military Written Originally in the Mogul Language by the Great Timour, Translated into Persian by Abu-Talib Alhousseini, and into English by Major Davy, with the Original Persian* (Oxford, 1783).

<sup>65</sup> English translation with notes by Clements R. Markham, *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzales to the Court of Timour at Samarcand*, etc. (London, 1859: Hakluyt Society, no. 26). For a graphic account of Timurlane and especially of this embassy, see James Wylie, *History of England under Henry IV* (London, 1884-98, 4 v.), I, ch. xxi.

<sup>66</sup> Another very different sort of source in which the reader is brought face to face with Timur is Johannes Schildberger's *Adventures*. He was a German boy of nineteen when captured by the Turks in the battle of Nikopolis (1396), was spared on that terrible day and entered the service of Bajazet, by the defeat of whom at Angora (1403) he fell into the hands of Timur. After Timur's death he made his way back to Nuremberg, where he wrote his astonishing memoirs. *The Bondage and Travels of J. Schillberger . . . in Europe, Asia, and Africa, 1396-1427*, translated . . . by J. B. Telfer, with notes by P. Brunn (London, 1879: Hakluyt Society). See the account in Beazley (n. 32), III, 356-76, list of editions on p. 555.



Baiqara, Timur's last surviving son. The author was the Persian Mirkhondi, who died at Herat in Afghanistan in 1498.<sup>67</sup>

Mirkhondi's son (1475-1535) was also an historian. He was born at Herat and died at the court of the Great Mogul, Baber. He was the author of several historical works, among them a sort of "Persian Plutarch" and a *Geography*. His most important work is a *Universal History* from the Creation to his own times. It contains much information upon the Mongols, Timurlane, and the Turks.

The history of the Great Moguls from Timurlane to Akbar was related by Abul-Fazl i Allami (1551-1602), a friend, minister, and historiographer of the great Akbar. The second volume deals entirely with the reign of Akbar. The third volume is a valuable collection of documents pertaining to the history of the Mogul Empire.<sup>68</sup>

It has been remarked that the Mongol conquests shattered Muslim culture, and that Western Asia has never recovered from the destruction of Baghdad in 1258. Henceforth in Asia Muslim culture though not extinguished labored under enormous difficulty, owing to the superimposed stratum of Mongol barbarism inflicted upon it.

For independent Muslim historiography after the middle of the thirteenth century one must look to the West, to Egypt and Africa and Spain, to Cairo, Tunis, and Cordova. From Mameluke Egypt, which emerged from the double struggle with the Mongols and the Crusaders after 1291, we have a prodigious amount of encyclopedic material such as cadastral surveys, manuals for various branches of the administration, road-books, etc.

The most brilliant period of Mameluke historiography was in the fifteenth century when three distinguished historical writers arose: Al-Makrizi, Baer ad-Din Mahmud al-'Aini, and Ibn Taghri Birdi, of whom the last was greatest. Takiy-al-Din Ahmed Makrizi (1365-1442) was born in Cairo, but his family originally came from Baalbek in Syria. His chief work is an historical and topographical description of Egypt, and especially of Cairo.<sup>69</sup> But Makrizi was an assiduous and voluminous author of many other important works, as a *History of the Musulman Kings of Abyssinia*, a treatise on Muslim coins and another on Muslim weights and measures, a *History of the Expeditions of the Greeks and French against Damietta*,—a primary source for St. Louis'

<sup>67</sup> *The Rauzat-us-Sufa, or Garden of Purity*, etc. (London, 1891-94: Oriental Translation Fund, new series, 1-5). For reviews of an older edition see S. de Sacy in *JS*, 1834, pp. 717-25; 1837, pp. 719-29; and Quatremère, *ibid.*, 1843, pp. 170-85, 385-403, and 1847, pp. 162-80.

<sup>68</sup> An English translation was made by Francis Gladwyn in the late eighteenth century and dedicated to Warren Hastings: *Ayeen Akbery, or the Institutes of the Emperor Akber* (Calcutta, 1783-86, 3 v.; reprinted in London, 1800, 2 v.).

<sup>69</sup> For a French translation of this see above, n. 29; and cp. Brockelmann's smaller work (n. 1), 195.

ill-starred crusade—a *History of the Copts*, of which only Latin translations are yet available.<sup>70</sup>

The Egyptian historian 'Aini flourished under the Sultan Bars Bay (1455–71). His work is full of errors and misstatements, although Ibn Taghri Birdi relates that he was inspired to the writing of history by hearing 'Aini reading to the sultan and realized the immense interest and importance of history. Forthwith he resolved to continue the work of Makrizi, which he did in two works under the titles *Hawadith ad-Duhur* or "Events of the Times," and the *Nujum az-Zahira* or "Brilliant Stars." The latter is a series of historical biographies of the greatest figures in Islam. The former was originally intended to conclude with the year 1453, when the Turks captured Constantinople, but actually was continued down to the author's death in 1468.<sup>71</sup>

Political events bulk largest in Ibn Taghri Birdi's *Annals*, such as changes in office, civil insurrections, foreign wars, notably the campaigns against Timurlane and the Egyptian expeditions upon Cyprus and Rhodes, relations with the rising power of the Ottoman Turks in Asia Minor and the Balkan peninsula. All these subjects are treated with careful objectivity. In other parts Ibn Taghri Birdi manifests a philosophic type of mind like that of Ibn Khaldun and an astonishingly broad perception of what is of value in history together with unusual interpretative power. Long pages are devoted to an account of the Black Death which devastated Egypt in 1348. These pages are as yet an unutilized source of this great event. It is true that it happened before his own time, but men were still alive in his day who had lived through it and remembered it. Other and later occurrences of the plague in his own time are checked up by official statistics from the registers. Ibn Taghri Birdi cautions his readers against popular exaggerations, as to either the alleged mortality during the Black Death, or the number of slain on many battlefields. He gives statistics of the Nile for each year derived from the official river-gauge. Of especial importance are the economic data. There are many mentions of the price of commodities in the markets, of fluctuations of the coinage, of the ratio between gold, silver, and copper coins; he comments upon the effects of altering the amount of pure metal in coins and relates how a proclamation that

<sup>70</sup> French translation by E. Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mamelouks de l'Égypte* (Paris, 1837–45, 2 v.), see preface; *Histoire d'Égypte de Makrizi*, translated by E. Blochet (Paris, 1908: extract from the *Revue de l'Orient latin*, vols. VI, VIII, IX, X, and XI). Cp. Quatremère in *J.S.* 1856, pp. 321–37; and the English version of Huart (n. 1), 360–61.

<sup>71</sup> The edition of the text of the *Nujum* was begun by T. G. J. Juynbol and B. F. Matthes (Leyden, 1852–61, 2 v. in 4). They completed only the first volume and a half, covering the first 365 years of the Mohammedan era. The publication of the original has been continued by the University of California Press, through the labors of Professor William Popper (Berkeley, 1909–36, 4 v. in 5: University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, II, V–VII), to whose introduction in vol. VII I am indebted for the information in these paragraphs.

a certain debased currency would be retired on a certain day led to the rise not only of necessities but also of articles of luxury because merchants withheld from sale even necessities in order to avoid accepting the debased coins, while the public tried to get rid of the coins which they had and to convert their wealth into anything of comparatively permanent value. When high taxes and excessive assessments ruined the peasantry, he points out the folly of the tax authorities who gained by injustice for the time being what was really a small amount, whereas over a period of years when taxation was just and the stable welfare of the peasantry was kept in mind much larger sums were collected. He marks, for example, the number of looms in Alexandria which became idle between two dates of respectively just and unjust government, and similarly the number of villages throughout Egypt at one date, contrasted with the number at another date in similarly differing areas. A law which regulated street begging and compelled the police to send all who were able to work, but who would not, to the irrigating ditches and canals, has his hearty approval. But he condemns attempts to regulate morality by laws of repression; when, for instance, all women were forbidden to leave the house at night, he writes: "Any intelligent police officer ought to be able to tell a respectable woman, even in a wine-shop, from a hussy even in a place of worship." In discussing men's character, he distinguishes between personal vice and ethical wrong or social injustice.

The star of all medieval Moslem historians was Ibn Khaldun (1322-1406) who stands out in almost lonely splendor. He was born in Tunis and died at Cairo. What Thucydides was to Greece, Tacitus to Rome, Otto of Freising to the Middle Ages, that Ibn Khaldun was to Mohammedan historiography—its greatest historian.

The great work by which he is known is a "Universal History," but it deals more particularly with the history of the Arabs of Spain and Africa. . . . It consists of three books, an introduction, and an autobiography. Book I treats of the influence of civilization upon man; Book II of the history of the Arabs and other peoples from the remotest antiquity until the author's own times; Book III of the history of the Berber tribes and of the kingdoms founded by that race in North Africa. The introduction is an elaborate treatise on the science of history and the development of society, and the autobiography contains the history, not only of the author himself, but of his family and of the dynasties which ruled in Fez, Tunis, and Tlemcen during his lifetime.<sup>72</sup>

His *History of the Berbers and the Musulman Dynasties of North Africa* for critical interpretation, profundity of thought, breadth of view and admirable style realized that "dignity of history" which was not attained in Europe until Machiavelli and Guicciardini in the sixteenth

<sup>72</sup> G. W. Thatcher, "Ibn Khaldun," *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th ed.), XIV, 222.

century. Ibn Khaldun was at once historian, political theorist, economist, sociologist, and philosopher, so original that only the word "genius" can describe him. The *Prolegomena* to his great work is an introduction to historical criticism so deep and ample that Von Kremer claims that Ibn Khaldun deserves to be recognized as "der erste kritische Kulturhistoriker." Sociologists have hailed him as the founder of the social and economic interpretation of history. Political scientists have ranked his writing with Aristotle's *Politics*. Certain it is that Ibn Khaldun first enunciated the proposition that history has for its object all the social phenomena of man's life. Yet not until late in the nineteenth century was the name of Ibn Khaldun known to European scholarship.<sup>73</sup>

In the same fourteenth century, farther west than Ibn Khaldun, in Mauretania, lived and wrote Ibn-abi-Zera, author of the *Annals of Mauretania*.<sup>74</sup> It contains the history of the rulers of the Maghreb and the history of Fez. The author begins with the romantic history of the flight of Edris, a descendant of Ali, son-in-law of Muhammed, who was driven from Arabia ca. 788, fled to Morocco, and founded the dynasty of the Edrissites at Fez, which ruled for two centuries. The annals are factual, and include astronomical and meteorological observations. The work extends to 1325 A.D. and is very important for the history of North Africa during the Almoravid and Almohad periods.

<sup>73</sup> *Kitāb ul-'Ibar, wa-Diwān al-Mubtada wal-Khabr fī-ayyām al-'arab* (Bulak, 1867, 7 v.); Prolegomena and text of the history also published, with a French translation, in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale* (Paris, 1847-68), vols. XVI-XXI, the edition of the Prolegomena by Quatremère was also published separately in 3 v.; part of the history was published in translation by [Baron] William MacGuckin de Slane as *Histoire des Berbères* (Algiers, 1852-56, 4 v.). The part referring to the expedition of the Franks into Moslem lands was published earlier by C. J. Tornberg, *Ibn Khalduni narratio de expeditionibus Francorum in terras islamismo subjectas* (Upsala, 1840). By 1900 most of Ibn Khaldun's works had been printed and translated. Robert Flint first made him known to English readers in his *History of the Philosophy of History* (Edinburgh, 1893), 157-70. See R. Dozy, in *Journal asiatique*, ser. 6, XIV (1869), 133-218; A. v. Kremer, *Ibn Khaldun als Kulturhistoriker der islamischen Völker* (1879); Erwin Rosenthal, *Ibn Khalduns Gedanken über den Staat, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der mittelalterlichen Staatslehre* (Berlin, 1932: Beiheft XXV of the *Hist. Zeitschrift*), cp. the review in *Speculum*, VIII (1933), 109-13; Nathaniel Schmidt, *Ibn Khaldun, Historian, Sociologist, and Philosopher* (New York, 1932); Gaston Bouthal, *Ibn Khaldun, sa philosophie sociale* (Paris, 1930); M. Kamil Ayad, *Die Geschichts- und Gesellschaftslehre Ibn Khalduns* (Berlin, 1930); *JS*, 1844, p. 193 and 1847, p. 474; G. Ferrero, "Ibn Khaldun, an Arabian Sociologist," *La reforme sociale*, July 10, 1896; Sobhi Mahmassani, *Les idées économiques d'Ibn Khaldun* (Lyons, 1932); Muhammad 'Abdullah Unan, *Ibn Khaldun, His Life and His Intellectual Legacy* [in Arabic] (Cairo: National Library, 1352-1933).

<sup>74</sup> *Annales regum Mauritaniae*, Arabic text with a Latin translation by Carl J. Tornberg (Upsala, 1843-46, 2 v.).

BOOK IV

*THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES*



## CHAPTER XXI

### FRENCH HISTORIOGRAPHY FROM 1329 TO 1453<sup>1</sup>

THE first part of this period, from 1328 to 1360, is poor in sources of a general nature. Some of the record is found in local histories, which had nearly vanished but reappeared with the semi-anarchy and the re-erection of feudal principalities. Such a source is the excellent *Chronique normand du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, covering the Anglo-French wars from 1336 to 1372.

Another type of history cultivated with zeal was official history. The monastery of Saint-Denis had been the repository of the official annals of the French kings since the twelfth century, when Abbot Suger (d. 1151), the minister of Louis VI (1108-37), wrote the life of the king, and a monk, Rigord, seems to have been Philip Augustus' official historiographer. The monks wrote Latin annals of the reigns of the last Capetians and then, with the development of the vernacular, kept their account in French. With the writing in French the *Grandes Chroniques de Saint-Denis* emerge. In the fourteenth century the Saint-Denis annals diverge, the Latin text stopping at 1340 and the French versions varying in terminal points. These annals with their precise notes are very similar to the Latin history (1300-40) of the continuators of Guillaume de Nangis and the French *Chronique* (1328-44) of Richard Lescot.

Other chronicles that should be mentioned are: the *Chronique des quatre premiers Valois* (1327-93), for its good chronology, interest in the people and clergy, and its account of the wars in Normandy; and the Latin chronicle (1340-68) of Jean de Venette, because it differs from the principal chroniclers of the time in presenting the viewpoint of the common people.

Another type of historical writing, extended works on the capital city, appears for the first time in the fourteenth century. The historians of Paris in this period, as edited by MM. de Lincy and Tisserand,<sup>2</sup> are

<sup>1</sup> MOLINIER, IV, the entire volume; Arthur Tilley, ed., *Medieval France: a Companion to French Studies* (Cambridge, 1922), 312-30; Gaston Paris, *La littérature française au moyen âge, XI<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (5th ed., Paris, 1914), also translated by Hannah Lynch as *Medieval French Literature* (London, 1903: The Temple Primers); Ernest Lavisse, ed., *Histoire de France depuis les origines jusqu'à la révolution* (Paris, 1900-11, 9 v.), IV, pt. i, 412-16, pt. ii, 442-49 with bibliography.

<sup>2</sup> *Paris et ses historiens aux XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles*, ed. by le Roux de Lincy and L. M. Tisserand (Paris, 1867); cp. G. de Beaucourt, "Les historiens de Paris," *RQH*, V (1868), 584-87.

writers of prose and poetry. Jean of Jandun, whose name is associated with Marsiglio of Padua, wrote a eulogy on Paris in 1323 (*Tractatus de Laudibus Parisius*) in which he described the civilization, arts, and manners of the city. Guillebert de Metz added details in his *Description de la Ville de Paris sous Charles VI*. His impressions of the city, which had completely changed since the time of Jean of Jandun, are exceedingly interesting; the last half of the work is especially valuable for a picture of Parisian society at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

There is a great dearth of historical writing during the reign of Philip VI. This is illustrated by the *Manuel d'histoire*, written probably for Philip himself between the years 1326 and 1330.<sup>3</sup> Covering the span of history from creation to the year 1328, it follows the old medieval tradition in dividing the world into six ages. It is a work of no historical value, devoted to miracles, prodigies, and visions.

In order to supplement French historians it is necessary to refer to chronicles of the other nations which played so important a part in the Hundred Years' War. Above all, we must turn to the Low Countries. This is the region of Europe in which a great number of vivid historical narratives were written in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The principal chroniclers of the fourteenth century were two Flemings whose works have the universality which the broadened political field demanded.

The fourteenth century has long been viewed through the eyes of Froissart, who really borrowed much of his fame from another writer, Jehan le Bel.<sup>4</sup> It has been Froissart's name that has been most renowned because the manuscript of Jehan le Bel was not found until the middle of the nineteenth century. M. Polain found fragments of it in 1847 and Paul Meyer discovered the complete manuscript in 1861. A comparison of the works of the two has diminished the reputation of Froissart, not only because of his slavish use of Jehan le Bel, but also because of certain superior traits of the earlier writer.

From the texts of three fourteenth-century writers we learn the few facts we have concerning Jehan le Bel (1280-90 to 1370). He belonged to an ancient family of Liège; his father and brother both held the position of *échevin* in Liège, and another brother was canon of Saint

<sup>3</sup> M. C. Couderc, "Le Manuel d'histoire de Philippe VI de Valois," in *Études d'histoire du moyen âge dédiées à Gabriel Monod* (Paris, 1896), 415-44.

<sup>4</sup> *Les Vrayes Chroniques de messire Jehan le Bel: Histoire vraie et notable des nouvelles guerres et choses avenues de l'an 1326 jusques à l'an 1361, en France, en Angleterre, en Escocce, en Bretagne, et ailleurs, et principalement des haults faitz du roy Edouart d'Angleterre et des deux roys Philippe et Jehan de France*. Edited by L. Polain (Brussels, 1863, 2 v.). See POTTHAST, I, 642-43 and MOLINIER, IV, no. 3093, V, cxxxvii-cxl. Paul Meyer, "Les Vrayes Chroniques," *BEC*, XXV (1864), 370-76; Arthur Dinaux, *Trouvères, jongleurs et ménestrels du nord de la France et du midi de la Belgique* (Paris, 1837-63, 4 v.), IV, *Les trouvères Brabançons, Hainuyers, Liégeois et Namurois*, 543-48.



Jehan. Attached to the house of Jehan of Hainaut, he campaigned in England and fought in King Edward II's expedition against the Scots (1327). Although he received a prebend as canon of Saint-Lambert of Liège, he led a worldly rather than a religious life on his return. The often cited eulogy written by Jacques de Hemricourt <sup>5</sup> gives a picture of a layman rather than a cleric. Jehan le Bel liked a full life. Living richly, entertaining lavishly, and associating with princes, he went to church like a bishop, always accompanied by fifty friends or servants. He kept his youthful fondness for tournaments and could compose chansons and *vierlais*; a good companion, he liked the society of women. He was evidently an important figure in the city, where he spent his life.

In 1357 Jehan began his *Vrayes Chroniques*, a "True and notable history of the new wars and events happening from the year 1326 to the year 1361, in France, England, Scotland, Brittany, and elsewhere." It intended to give the deeds of Edward III of England, and of Philip VI and John II of France; since it stops at 1361, it is probably incomplete. It was planned as a universal history, but it has somewhat the character of memoirs, the memoirs of a man with political understanding and experience on the battlefield and at court. Although a cleric, this canon who liked chansons was as interested in gallant deeds and feats of war as any chivalric knight of his day and his history is chiefly a chronicle of military events.

Jehan began his history at the request of Jehan, Sire de Beaumont, to refute the errors (*bourdes*) occurring in a rhymed chronicle on the wars of the fourteenth century. He was extremely critical of the minstrels who added words to embellish the rhyme, believed too implicitly in heroic tales recounted by others, and tried men's reason and understanding. He himself intended to write, in prose as concise as possible, only the deeds which he had seen or which others who had seen related to him. Part of his information came from his patron. On the whole Jehan achieved his purpose of writing truthfully. Despite his connection with the uncle of Queen Philippa of England, he is not too sympathetic for the English; although he wrote in French, his chronicle is not a national chronicle. He criticized Philip VI severely for allowing his land to be devastated, and justified his use of the term "*noble king*" for Edward by indicating the conditions of both countries. Like Froissart, he uses chivalry as a touchstone for judgment, but although admiring excessively the chivalric John of Bohemia, he is generally fair in his judgments. His presentation of the ten years after Crécy is pro-French because the Sire de Beaumont, his informant, had served the French cause at that time. As in memoirs based on oral information,

<sup>5</sup> *Miroir des nobles de Hasbaye* (Brussels, 1673), 158, cited in Dinaux (n. 4), IV, 544.

the value of the history rests on the accuracy of the testimony. Jehan le Bel inevitably makes mistakes in chronology and geography, but his own experience had given him much precise information and he had independence of judgment. He has the aristocratic prejudice of his class, and writes of that class alone, expressing little concern for the common people.

Froissart borrowed some of his most telling pictures from Jehan le Bel. Several scenes which have made Froissart popular are from the pen of this worldly cleric who used the Walloon dialect to tell vigorously and straightforwardly the noble deeds of the day. He has Froissart's sense of the picturesque and is an excellent narrator. A chronicle of the first order, his *True Histories* are the most trustworthy source for the early period of the wars in France. What he had done poorly, he said, he left to another, whom God might help to do better.

Jean Froissart<sup>6</sup> was similar to his predecessor in many ways, a Fleming, clerk, traveller, poet, and chronicler. Unlike Jehan he was bourgeois in origin, and a social climber if ever there was one, rising above his lowly station to become the servant of princes and the companion of the nobles whom he so revered. He had a facility for gaining noble patrons and for changing protectors to his advantage. The few facts about his early life to be gleaned from his writings are that he was born in Valenciennes about 1337 of a bourgeois family and that he received good instruction. In 1361 he was in England and presented to his countrywoman, Queen Philippa of Hainaut, wife of Edward III, an historical account, probably in verse, of the events on the Continent from the battle of Poitiers in 1356 to the year 1360. Under the patronage of the queen he remained in England until about 1367, perhaps as historiographer. He assisted at the court festivals which so fascinated him, made numerous friends among the nobles, and travelled with the son of Hugues Spencer to visit the court of the Scottish king David Bruce. Froissart returned to the Continent with his head full of interest-

<sup>6</sup> There are many editions of the works of Froissart. Those which should be mentioned here are by Antoine Vêrard (Paris, 1495, 4 v.), Denis Sauvage (Lyon, 1559-61, 2 v.), and Kervyn de Lettenhove (Brussels, 1867-77, 29 v. of prose and poetry). The definitive edition is that of Simeon Luce, *Chroniques de Jean Froissart*, continued by Gaston Raynaud and Léon Mirot (Paris, 1869-1931, 12 v.: Société de l'histoire de France, no. 49). There are various translations; in English the most famous is that of Lord Berners (London, 1523-25, 4 v. in 2; various modern reprints). For editions, translations, and critical literature consult POTTHAST, I, 472-75 and MOLINIER, IV, no. 3094 (pp. 5-18). The preface to Luce's edition is indispensable. See also Alfred Maury, "Chroniques de J. Froissart," *JS*, 1889, pp. 95-106, 353-62; Gaston Boissier, "Froissart restitué," *RDM*, 1875, pp. 678-96; H. Boos, "Jean Froissart," *Preussische Jahrbücher*, 1889, 221-242; MOLINIER, V, pp. cxxxvii-cxl; Leonard Manyon, "An Examination of the Historical Reliability of Froissart's Account of the Campaign and Battle of Crécy," *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters*, VII (1927), 207-24; Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, *Horae Sabbaticae* (London, 1892, 3 v.), I, second essay; and *LTLS*, 1929, pp. 369-70, 1937, pp. 933-34 (excellent).

ing anecdotes as material for his chronicles. He was at Bordeaux with the Black Prince when Richard II was born (1367). After a return trip to England, Froissart left for Italy in 1368 with Lionel, Duke of Clarence, who was en route to Milan to marry a Visconti. He visited Ferrara, Bologna, and Rome, and was still in Italy when his patroness, Queen Philippa, died (1369). But for the remainder of his life he was amply provided with patrons. By 1370 he had received definite proof of the favor of the Duchess of Brabant, to whom he had given a book, and soon her husband, Duke Wenceslas of Luxembourg, became interested in him. For the duke he wrote *Meliador*, a long poem modelled on the cycle of the Round Table, and he was assured of the duke's encouragement until his death (December 1383). At the same time Froissart formed an important connection with Robert of Namur, pensioner of Edward III, crusader in Prussia and Palestine, and brother-in-law of the Queen of England. Possibly a cleric before this time, Froissart obtained from a new patron the cure of Estinnes-au-Mont where he lived for nearly ten years. His new patron was Guy II of Châtillon, the son of a man who had fallen fighting for the French at Crécy and who was himself a staunch opponent of the English. From 1384 to 1391 Froissart was closely attached to Guy, serving him as chaplain and accompanying him on his voyages. He left Guy's court for many interesting trips, on which he questioned all whom he encountered about the noble deeds which they had seen. In 1388 he travelled to the court of Gaston-Phébus, Count of Foix, for as he says,<sup>7</sup> "it greatly annoyed me to be idle," and he knew that he would find there "all manner of knights and strange squires" who would tell him all that they knew. Well received by the count, Froissart enjoyed the court life and learned many things about the wars in Spain and southern France. On the trip Froissart travelled with a knight of Gaston, returned by way of Avignon and Riom, visited Enguerrand de Coucy in his chateau, and returned to Guy in Holland. His inquiring spirit led him to Bruges and Middelbourg to learn about the Castilian wars. Gradually breaking away from the house of Blois, Froissart attached himself to Guillaume d'Ostrevant, governor of Hainaut, and there came in touch with Burgundian influence. After being present at the congress of Abbeville, he sailed for England in 1394, but found the situation changed: a new sovereign, Richard II, his old friends gone, and altered political conditions. Returning with much information on the English and Irish wars and the conditions in England, he continued his writing. The last years of his life are obscure; he probably spent them at Chimay, where he died at some date between 1404 and 1410.

<sup>7</sup> Bk. III, ch. 1.

The task to which Froissart devoted his whole life was the writing of his *Chroniques de France, d'Angleterre, d'Ecosse et d'Espagne*. The result is a chronicle embracing the history of 73 years, beginning with 1326 and concluding at the time of the coronation of Henry IV in 1399. It is almost wholly a history of wars, between England and France, England and Scotland, France and Flanders, and France and Navarre. For Froissart recorded "les grans merveilles et li biau fait d'armes" of the great wars and chivalrous deeds, in order that the glory of his age might be remembered.<sup>8</sup> As he says in his prologue, he wished to found and order his chronicle on that of Jehan le Bel but to augment it with as complete information as he could gain by ceaseless "enquête."<sup>9</sup> To add to his store of information he questioned knights, squires, kings of arms, always trying to obtain the "truth of the matter." On his travels he acquired a host of anecdotes and broadened the scope of the *True Histories* in breadth as well as time.

His dependence for information on the various nobles whom he met and his constant rewriting as he increased his store of tales led to many errors. We find no ordered record of events, but repetitions, errors in chronology, and inaccurate geography. These mistakes perhaps are inevitable, and his chronicle can be corrected by reference to documentary evidence. It is also pointed out in his defense that he was no worse in this respect than other chroniclers of his day, with the exception of the author of the *Chronicles of the First Four Valois*. A more serious criticism is that he was a time-server, changing his point of view to curry favor with his various patrons, and falsifying facts to excuse or blame.<sup>10</sup>

The difficulty of estimating his work fairly is increased by the fact that there are a number of varying manuscripts of his chronicle. Instead of one definitive text, we have fifty manuscripts. Froissart made several redactions of the first of his four books. The first redaction of the work covers the period from 1326 to 1369 or 1372. It was put into definitive form between 1369 and 1373 and was written at the instigation of an English sympathizer, Robert de Namur, shortly after Froissart's return from England, where he had heard the tales of Crécy and Poitiers from Chandos and the Black Prince. It is the work of an English partisan. This version was most popular with contemporaries and has the direct touch of a contemporary. However, in this part which contains some of his most picturesque writing, he is most indebted

<sup>8</sup> Bk. I, ch. i.

<sup>9</sup> The fact that he wished to add to the insufficient information of Jehan le Bel occurs in a later manuscript found at Amiens, cp. the edition of Luce (n. 6), I, 210.

<sup>10</sup> A strong defense against "wilful and irresponsible perversion of truth" on the part of Froissart is made by L. Manyon in his study of the account of Crécy (n. 6 above).

to Jehan le Bel. After 1376, when the wisdom of Charles V and the valor of Du Guesclin increased French prestige, and Froissart was chaplain of the French knight, Guy of Châtillon, Froissart wrote a second redaction of this book (= Amiens MS.). This version is more favorable to the French, adding facts that are favorable to Kings Philip and John. The best known example of this is his changed presentation of the battle of Crécy. For the years between the battles of Crécy and Poitiers, Froissart could turn to Jehan le Bel, whose pro-French version of these years he had suppressed before. In other respects, however, he substitutes his own version for that of the Chronicler of Liège. In a third version (= Vatican MS.), written after Froissart's disheartening trip to England and the dethronement and death of Richard II (1400), he broke away completely from his early sympathy for the English cause. His judgments, though grave and sometimes profound, are severe: the English prefer evil to good and war to peace and are the most presumptuous people on earth.

In his third version he keeps only the substance of Jehan le Bel and exercises independence of thought. If he gains something in gravity and produces such fine writing as shown in his comment on the English, at the same time he loses much in relinquishing such dramatic scenes as the last moments of Robert Bruce. This story, taken over almost verbatim in the first version and forming, according to Simeon Luce, one of the finest pages in the early chapters of Froissart, was reduced in the third version to only a few lines.<sup>11</sup>

Though some of the most famous passages in Froissart were taken almost word for word from Jehan le Bel, Froissart's additions to the earlier work are entertaining and he too has vigor and color suitable to his subject. He is more imaginative than Jehan. His embellishments, if not always accurate, as the speeches which he puts into the mouths of his heroes, give a vivid picture of the life of his time.

The chief merit of Froissart's work is that it is typical of his age; a chivalry which was decaying found its echo in a chronicler who appreciated it for the grandeur of its trappings and overlooked its selfishness and emptiness. Froissart's work is the guide to the chivalry of the fourteenth century. Abounding in pictures of tournaments, battles, ransoms, and knight errantry, the chronicle presents excellent accounts of court life such as that of Gaston-Phébus, Count of Foix. Froissart judges by the standards of the class which he aped; loyalty and valor and love of adventure are the measure of man. This leads him to do justice to the knightly virtues of fighters on both sides, as John Chandos or King John, but at the same time it results in a certain callousness.

<sup>11</sup> Luce's edition (n. 6), I, pp. xix and lxxiv.

A brigand, a leader of the *grands compagnies*, because of prowess, is praised as highly as a noble knight; Gaston-Phébus is an eminent prince despite his cruelty to his own child. Froissart does not idealize nor condemn his age; he is merely an observer with the decadent social conscience of his time.

His social prejudice appears in his treatment of the lower classes. When he writes of them at all he does so because they, like the knights, have done something dramatic, as Jacques d'Arteveld. He has a long description of Wat Tyler's rebellion in England (1381) and an account of the Jacquerie in France (1357), detailed sources but in tone indifferent to the sufferings of the people, who were "ungracious" or "foolish." His code of values is shallow; he records cruelties such as the sack of Limoges by the Black Prince with a callousness that would be astounding in another age, and the fact which most impresses him in the sack of Durham by the Scots is that "no one was spared," not even the privileged classes.

No more than Jehan le Bel was Froissart a national historian. The heroes of the time are judged by their heroic qualities, and the *Chroniques* are free from personal hatreds induced by patriotism. However, Froissart was prejudiced against certain races, especially so as he became more French in sympathy. He tolerated Romance peoples, but disliked the Germans, who placed material goods ahead of adventure. His opinion of the English changed as the century grew older, the Scots he found "all wicked and all thieves," and the Irish mere savages.

Despite his prejudices and changing opinions, his mistakes in chronology and geography, and his lack of order, Froissart's chronicle has a definite value as a source for the fourteenth century. Michelet rejected Froissart's chronicle as "putrescent iridescence," but the critical reaction to the early popularity may have gone too far in considering the history worthless. By careful use of the documentary material which Froissart neglected his work can be controlled. If we find in his work no historical criticism or attempt at analysis, we do find an excellent mirror of the age of chivalry. The most critical editor of Froissart, Simeon Luce, recognizes Froissart's value as a writer and painter of manners, but says that only parts of his chronicle will remain as history, because "the progress of erudition tends . . . to diminish the purely historical value of the work of Froissart."<sup>12</sup>

Under the scholarly Charles V, historiography assumed a new tone which continued to the end of his reign. In the middle of the century the *Grandes Chroniques de Saint-Denis* changed completely in nature. Although following the same plan of an annalistic record of events,

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. lxxxiv, cp. pp. cvii-cxxvi.

they become more extensive and official. The authorship of the portion covering the years from 1350 to 1378 has been attributed to Pierre d'Orgemont,<sup>13</sup> a Burgundian living in Paris. He was counsellor to the king when he was still duke of Normandy, later first president of the Parlement of Paris, and appointed chancellor in 1373. When Charles V died, he retired from public life. His portion of the *Grandes Chroniques* is much like an official document, and certainly written under the supervision of the king himself. From time to time it includes authentic documents, and is generally exact and a work of the first order. An exposition of the government of Charles V, it is a veritable political treatise, a work of propaganda which presents the French crown in a favorable light. This is true especially of the accounts of the Paris revolution of 1356-58 and of the breaking of the treaty of Brétigny (1369).

The influence of the Italian Renaissance crept over the Alps by way of the papal court at Avignon, by means of Italian visitors such as Petrarch, and through the medium of French translations. Occasionally an Italian writer settled in France. The most prominent of these was Christine de Pisan,<sup>14</sup> the author of *Le livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles le Quint*. This talented woman was the daughter of an Italian astrologer and physician who had been enticed to France by that patron of scientists, Charles the Wise. Born in Venice in 1364, Christine was brought to Paris by her father and lived in France the remainder of her life despite the efforts of foreign patrons to draw her away. She received a good education from her father, learning French, Latin, sciences, and belles-lettres. Although the family prospered under the kindness of the king, its fortunes fell with his death in 1380. The death of her father and of her husband, Etienne de Castel, then left Christine alone to support the family, and having struggled fruitlessly to better her financial position, she turned to her pen as a means of support. Since at that time patronage was the sole means of a writer's livelihood, Christine sought patrons by means of dedicatory notes and handsomely prepared editions. Among them were John, the Duke of Berry,

<sup>13</sup> Text in *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, etc., ed. by Paulin Paris (Paris, 1836-40, 6 v.), vols. V-VI, see especially V, 389 and VI, 483-504. There is a new edition of the *Grandes Chroniques* in progress, by Jules Viard (Paris, 1920-37, 9 v. to date: Société de l'histoire de la France), but this does not yet include anything after 1348. See MOLINIER, IV, no. 3099 and V, pp. cxxxiii-cxxxiv; Simeon Luce in *RH*, XVI (1881), 91-102; Lavissee (n. 1), IV, pt. i, 413.

<sup>14</sup> Most recent edition by S. Solente, *Le livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles IV par Christine de Pisan* (Paris, 1936-, 2 v.: Société de l'histoire de France, no. 127); also in C. B. Petitot, ed., *Collection complète des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France* (Paris, 1819-29), V, 201-428, VI, 1-146; and in J. F. Michaud and B. Poujoulat, eds., *Nouvelle collection des mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France depuis le XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu'à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1836-39, 32 v.), I, 591-637, II, 1-145. On Christine see the biographical literature in POTTHAST, I, 222; MOLINIER, IV, no. 3327; Petitot, V, 203-44; Michaud and Poujoulat, I, 583-90; and Solente's introduction, I, p. i, n. 1.

the Duke of Orleans, and, when the Orleans fortunes fell, Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. One of her last works was devoted to Charles VI, who had recompensed her father's services. Wearing of the world and the France in which she was never happy, although she refused to leave it, Christine retired to a cloister, where she died about 1429.

Throughout these years she produced many works in verse, some of which contain considerable historical material.<sup>15</sup> *Le livre de la mutation de fortune* so impressed the Duke of Burgundy in 1403 that he commissioned her to write a treatise on Charles V. The poem traces the success and reverses which fortune wrought, in Christine's own family, and in past history and the contemporary world to the first few years of Charles VI's reign. Although difficult to follow, the poem is useful for a knowledge of fourteenth-century ideas on science and art. In *Le chemin de long estude* we find a discussion of the qualities necessary for a king who governs in peace and equity, again the Aristotelian ideal of an intelligent ruler. Several of Christine's prose works are good indices to the events of Charles VI's pathetic reign. Among them are *Le livre des faits d'armes et de chevalerie* (1404-07), *Le traité de la paix* (1412-13), and *Lamentations sur les maux de la guerre civile* (1410). Although the first treatise, dealing with the details of war as seen through the eyes of a woman, is of little interest, the third part which treats of the rights of peoples is more important. In the treatises on peace and on the evils of the war, Christine departed from her usual aloofness from political turmoils to plead the cause of a suffering people and to describe the benefits of uninterrupted peace. The *Traité de la paix* was dedicated to the Dauphin Louis, whom she advised how to govern, drawing exemplary lessons from the reign of Charles V.

Her fame as an historian rests on her biography of Charles V. Commissioned by Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, to compose this work, Christine was given every possible aid in gathering information. Despite time spent in industrious research, the book was finished in remarkably short order; begun in January 1404, it was completed in less than a year, although not before the death of her patron.

The biography is the only direct study of Charles himself, since a life written by a cleric has been lost, and parts are the best the modern historian has on certain activities in Charles' reign. Although the

<sup>15</sup> For Christine's works in verse and other writings see MOLINIER, IV, 63-64; *Oeuvres poétiques de Christine de Pisan*, published by Maurice Roy (Paris, 1886-96, 3 v.); Alice Kemp Welch, "A Fifteenth-Century Feministe, Chr. d. P.," in her book *Of Six Mediaeval Women* (London, 1913). Christine's poem "Le Dittie de Jeanne d'Arc" is inserted in Jules Quicherat, ed., *Procès de condamnation et de réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc dite la Pucelle* (Paris, 1841-49, 5 v.: Société de l'histoire de France, no. 15), V, 1-21.



author of a treatise on warfare, Christine does not give a detailed history of the course of the wars in this period. It is not surprising that her own clerical education should cause her to emphasize the studious, devout, and prudent qualities of a cleric king. This characteristic of her work is shown by its organization into three books, entitled respectively *Noblesse de courage*, *Noblesse de chevalerie*, and *Noblesse de sagesse*. The first describes the king's education, regular life, orderly palace, his virtues of humility and sobriety, etc. The second book describes the principal military events and several well-known figures of the time. In the third book we find a record of some of Charles' most memorable words, his scientific and artistic tastes, and of a number of historical events such as the election of Pope Clement and the visit of Emperor Charles IV at Paris. The plan of the book lends itself readily to panegyric, and Christine was not inclined to view critically the benefactor of her family. This is its chief fault, in addition to its pedantry and affectation, although it must be added that many of Christine's descriptions find corroboration in contemporary notices. Also the arrangement would be more convenient for the average reader if it were chronological rather than topical.

Christine's work, although eulogistic, is more modern in conception than most of the historical writing of her age. In common with the political theorists and others at the court, she had a sincere devotion to her adopted country, that nationalistic feeling which was to replace, in the fifteenth century, the "international" chivalrous ideal. From Froissart, who does homage to chivalry without considering the purpose of the knightly feats of the long war, Christine advances a step in attempting to see beneath the surface and in giving many politico-moral reflections, in fact, a surfeit of moral sentiments. Christine stands midway between the mere recorder of the fourteenth century and the reflective historian of the fifteenth, Commynes.

The chief narrative source for the reign of Charles V is a poetical account of the life of one of Charles' most renowned military leaders, the Breton Bertrand du Guesclin.<sup>16</sup> Born about 1320, Bertrand won renown in Brittany through his valiant deeds in the strife against John of Montfort and the English, and was finally knighted in 1354. At the siege of Rennes he so distinguished himself that he attracted the attention of the king and was made captain of Pontorson in 1357. His re-

<sup>16</sup> MOLINIER, IV, nos. 3347-49; Simeon Luce, *Histoire de Bertrand du Guesclin et de son époque* (2nd ed., Paris, 1882); M. Avenal, "Chronique de Bertrand du Guesclin par Cuvelier," *JS*, 1844, pp. 672-93 and 1845, pp. 479-502. Cuvelier's poetical account was published for the first time by E. Charrière in the *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France* (Paris, 1835 ff.), ser. I, no. X (1839, 2 v.). For prose memoirs on Du Guesclin see Petitot (n. 14), IV, 165-467 and V, 2-199; and Michaud and Poujoulat (also n. 14), I, 431-579.

noun was so heightened by his prominent part in the siege of Melun (1359) that he was given the lieutenancy of the Norman, Angevin, Maine, and Alençon possessions of the three princes of the blood serving as hostages in England. Given forces to combat the *grandes compagnies* which were pillaging France, he chased the brigands out of much of western France. He was leader of the French forces at the battle of Cocherel in Normandy, when the proud Captal de Buch was captured, but he himself had to surrender to Chandos at the battle of Auray (1364). He was ransomed from captivity to lead the free companies out of France and to direct them in support of Henry of Trastámara against Pedro the Cruel. Again taken prisoner, he had to be ransomed once more; and the tale of his ransom bears witness to his popularity with the French people and to his own self-esteem. Made Constable of France in 1370, he soon recovered Poitou and Saintonge, worsted the English in Brittany, and died during the campaign against the grand companies in Languedoc in 1380.

The poem which vaunts the mighty deeds of this popular French hero is nearly contemporary, being written shortly after Du Guesclin's death. The author gives us his name, Cuvelier. He is described by a contemporary as a poor trouvère, writing pious poetry as a means of livelihood, but little else is known of him. The poem is very long, and although the number of manuscripts surviving attests its success in its original form, it was abridged and put into prose (ca. 1387) for Jehannet d'Estouteville, captain of Vernon. M. Lemoine has shown that the poet had at his disposal notes used by some continuators of the *Chroniques de Saint-Denis*, and that possibly Cuvelier used a written source on the first wars in Brittany.<sup>17</sup> Of little historical value, the poem serves to celebrate the renown of Du Guesclin, around whose name gathered many legends, and to give an understanding of contemporary ideas and manners. An example of this is the belief in astrology and prophecy as shown in the religious who prophesies the future glory of the young Du Guesclin, and the wise woman of Rennes who foretold the outcome of the single combat, and who later married its victor, Du Guesclin. Cuvelier's belief in the miraculous is illustrated by his description of the miracles at the tomb of Charles of Blois.

The poet has been called the last of the trouvères and his verse is linked to the Romance epics. He borrows many epic inventions, especially from the Carolingian cycles, but does not know how to put them into motion. His style has been criticized for prolixity, monotony, and repetition. The poem is a transition form. It stands midway between

<sup>17</sup> On the historicity of the poem see Simeon Luce, *BEC*, LII (1891), 615-18; and J. Lemoine, *ibid.*, LVI (1895), 84-89 and in *RH*, LXI (1896), 45-61.

chronicles in verse and the poetry of Villon, between the medieval chanson and the modern memoir. Not a military memoir by the strictest definition, yet an indication of the trend toward them, it stands as a landmark because it is the oldest memoir of the century; the authors of the Petitot edition found that memoirs were lacking for the period from Philip the Bold to John II.

Historical writing in the time of Charles VI (1380–1422) reflected the conditions of the time. Not only are there fewer works of merit in France itself, but the histories reflect the political passions of the time. Most of the writers are Burgundian in sentiment, so influential was the duke's prestige and the growing brilliance of his court, and for sources of general value we must turn to the chroniclers writing under the direct protection of the Burgundian court.

The chief sources for the period are two chronicles, several memoirs, and the account of a clerk of the court at Paris. The two general chronicles must be linked together, for one follows the other closely. The first is a Latin chronicle by an anonymous monk of Saint-Denis; the second a French account by Jouvenal des Ursins.

Very little is known of the life of the Religieux de Saint-Denis<sup>18</sup> and his identity is still in doubt. Two men suggested to fill the role of the anonymous were a doctor of theology and delegate to the council of Constance, Benoit Gentien, and a man of many travels and adventures, Pierre Salmon. The few facts known of his life are that he was born before 1350 and still living in 1414, when he was in the royal camp before Compiègne. He was at Saint-Denis in October 1368, and in England in 1381. Charged to write the official annals of the French kingdom, in 1393 he was ordered by the Duke of Berry to record the conferences at Leulinghem. There is record of his having been in other places: Mans, 1392, Rheims, 1398, and at the Paris assembly held in 1408 for the condemnation of Benedict XIII. He was with Charles VI in the campaign of Berry and again with him in 1414.

As official historiographer the Religieux wrote a history of Charles VI (1380–1422) comprising 43 books, one for each year of the reign. Unfortunately the part after 1416 has been lost. Probably begun early, sometime before 1392, it was composed from notes taken during the cleric's trips with the king and follows the activities of the French court from year to year. In historical precision and chronological accuracy the work is a model; the chronicler's official position gave him access

<sup>18</sup> MOLINIER, IV, no. 3572; POTTHAST, I, 313–14. A French version of the Latin original, to 1416, was published by J. le Laboureur (Paris, 1663); the Latin text with a French translation was first edited by L. Bellaguet, *Chronique du Religieux de Saint Denys* (Paris, 1839–52, 6 v.), with an introduction by M. de Barante. These volumes also form part of the *Collection de documents inédits* (n. 16), ser. 1, no. VII.

to documents, which he enclosed or mentioned. According to the evidence of a contemporary this monk was well versed in the ancient as well as the contemporary history of the French kingdom. Certainly the chronicle is that of a well-educated man who knew French history, had the best sources at hand, and worked carefully, but the Religieux used his history, as did so many of his fellow savants, as an exercise in rhetoric and dulled the point by redundancy.

The *History of Charles VI* evidently is a continuation and conclusion of the vast Latin annals written at Saint-Denis. The author says that he wrote a Latin history of Charles V, although the manuscript is lost. As historiographer and continuator of the official record of the royal monastery, the Religieux is a good loyalist. He seems genuinely attached to Charles and expresses his regret at the unhappy state of the king. He dislikes the disorder in France, the debauchery, selfishness, and inefficiency of the princely governors surrounding the king. Although he is moderate in sentiment and discreet in expressing prejudices, he cannot conceal his fondness for the Burgundian cause and John the Fearless, with whom seemed to rest the possibility of order. The Religieux expressed his regret at the assassination of the Duke of Orleans (1407) by the Duke of Burgundy, but after this murder he allows his Burgundian sentiments to appear, and favors the house whose duke was later killed by the Dauphin in 1419.

For the Orleanist point of view we turn to a French chronicle, that of Jean Jouvenal des Ursins. Jean Jouvenal des Ursins<sup>19</sup> was a cleric who played an important part in the reigns of Charles VII and Louis XI. Born in Paris in 1388, he found the way paved for him by family influence and became *maître des requêtes de l'hôtel* at the age of twenty-eight (1415). His father, former provost of merchants and general advocate of Parlement, held the important office of *conciërge* of the palace, but after Agincourt (1415) and the triumph of the Burgundian faction, as an Armagnac, he had to leave Paris.

From about 1410 the family adopted the name of *Ursin*, claiming relationship with the famous Orsini of Italy and receiving as a relative Berthold des Ursins, grand count of Hungary. To prove this noble lineage the Jouvenals produced documents which have long been held

<sup>19</sup> MOLINIER, IV, no. 3574. Complete text in Denys Godefroy, *Histoire de Charles VI* (Paris, 1653), 1-398, cp. preface; more modern editions in Michaud and Poujoulat (n. 14), II, 335-569, and J. A. Buchon, ed., *Choix de chroniques et mémoires sur l'histoire de France* (Paris, 1836-38, 17 v.: this collection formed part of Buchon's *Panthéon littéraire*), vol. IV. P. L. Pechenard, *Jean Jouvenal des Ursins* (Paris, 1876), cp. the review by Simeon Luce, *RH*, V (1877), 186-89; Vallet de Viriville, "Jean Jouvenal des Ursins," in *Nouvelle biographie générale* (Paris, 1863), XLV, 803-09.

spurious. One scholar, M. P. Currie, believes there is some truth to the thesis, although most scholars disagree.<sup>20</sup>

In 1418 the Jouvenal family fled to Poitiers. Jean Jouvenal the younger became general advocate to the Parlement of Paris, then at Poitiers. For some reason he left civil life for the Church and was made Bishop of Beauvais (1431-44), Bishop of Laon (1444-49), and Archbishop of Rheims from 1449 to his death on July 14, 1473. He consecrated Louis XI (1461), and has earned the esteem of modern scholars for the part he took in the rehabilitation of Jeanne d'Arc; he presided in 1456 at the assembly of prelates revising the process of condemnation and declaring Jeanne d'Arc innocent of heresy.

Although Jouvenal left memoirs on the affairs of the reigns of Charles VII and Louis XI, his principal work is a chronicle in French which covers the forty-two years of the earlier reign of Charles VI (1380-1422).<sup>21</sup> The first part is little more than a translation of the work of the Religieux of Saint-Denis, but from 1416 Jouvenal is an independent source, relying on his own memory and the information given him by his father. A French version complete for the whole of Charles VI's reign, it is especially valuable for the king's last years, since the extant chronicle of the Religieux stops at 1416. For these six years there are a number of curious facts known only through him, although some of his additions to the original source are scarcely to be believed and he wrote some time (1431) after the events he describes, completing a revision after 1442.

As compared to other writers of his time, Jouvenal seems more akin to the fourteenth than to the fifteenth century. He recorded without affectation in a simple narrative style the events as the average Frenchman might see them. Although a substantial chronicle, the work has the medieval superstition concerning prodigies of nature, great winds, and violent storms.

In the reign of Charles VI we find a continuation of that type of historical writing, the military memoir, which was exemplified in the poem on Bertrand du Guesclin. *Le livre des faicts du mareschal Bouccicaut*, a biography of Jean le Meingre (1368-1421), is the greatest of these several memoirs.<sup>22</sup> The author is unknown. He was certainly a contemporary. He made use of many documents and letters and was well informed. Exceptionally familiar with Italian affairs, he knew

<sup>20</sup> *Annuaire bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France*, 1892, pp. 193-221.

<sup>21</sup> Michaud and Poujoulat (n. 14), II, 338. Cp. POTTHAST, I, 693.

<sup>22</sup> MOLINIER, IV, no. 3578. Published in Petitot (n. 14), vols. VI-VII, and in Michaud and Poujoulat (also n. 14), II, 215-332. Cp. the introductions of the editors, Petitot, VI, 362-72 and Michaud, II, 205-14; and the article in the *Nouvelle biographie générale*, VI, 874-75.

details about Bouccicaut's rule in Genoa that one might expect the marshal alone to know.

As its title indicates, the biography is a book of the deeds of one man and not a chronicle of France. Yet its adventurous hero was an important figure, and a history of his life is a picture of the education, customs, and spirit of the chivalrous society at the turn of the century. Most of the account deals with Bouccicaut's adventures outside the realm of France. Like the political adventurer, Pierre Salmon (d. 1427), and Jean de Béthencourt, the conqueror of the Canary Islands (1402), Bouccicaut acted on the whole European stage. In the first part we follow Bouccicaut from his birth in 1368, and his education with the Dauphin, through his first feats of arms in the Flemish campaign (he was at Rosebeck, 1382), his campaign in Poitou (1385), his appointment as second marshal at Tours (1391), and his campaigns as marshal. Restless and fond of adventure, he was not content to remain at home in the disordered kingdom and travelled to Spain; he was three times in Prussia, where he fought for the Teutonic Knights; twice, with brother adventurers, to the East, where he visited the Holy Land and fought for the emperor at Constantinople. In 1396 he was with John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy, in the disastrous battle of Nikopolis and was imprisoned and ransomed with him. The second and third parts give an exact description of Bouccicaut's governorship of Genoa (1401-09). The last date mentioned is April 9, 1409. Bouccicaut was made first marshal in 1412, and fought in the battle of Agincourt (1415). There he was captured and remained an English prisoner until his death in 1421.

A generally excellent picture of chivalry in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries is contained in another memoir: *La Chronique de bon duc Loys de Bourbon*.<sup>23</sup> Louis II, uncle to King Charles VI, lived from 1337 to 1410. He led a fairly adventurous life, serving as hostage in England for King John the Good, campaigning in Bourbonnais, in Normandy under the Duke of Burgundy, in Guyenne under Du Guesclin, in Brittany and Auvergne, and participating in a number of the important battles of the time. He led the French expedition to Tunis in 1390. He lived through many battles and died a peaceful death.

The period of the composition of these memoirs, from March 29 to the middle of May 1429, coincides almost exactly with Jeanne d'Arc's victorious raising of the siege of Orleans. At the request of Charles, Count of Clermont, who was in Bourbonnais at the time, "Jehan d'Orre-ville, picard, nommé Cabaret, pouvre pèlerin," undertook the work of

<sup>23</sup> Edited by A. M. Chazaud, *La Chronique du bon duc Loys de Bourbon* (Paris, 1876: Société de l'histoire de France, no. 56), cp. introduction, pp. i-xxix; MOLINIER, IV, no. 3579 and V, p. cxxxv.

describing the knightly deeds and virtues of Louis II. Feeling himself unequal to the task, he received the aid of a companion of arms of the duke, Jehan de Châteaumorand. Cabaret was the scribe, Châteaumorand the narrator.

Châteaumorand had been knighted in 1380 and from that time onward played an active part on the military and political stage: he was present at the siege of Nantes and that of Châteauneuf-de-Randon, where Du Guesclin died (1380). He was at Genoa with Bouccicaut, took part in the negotiation in the East to free the prisoners of the battle of Nikopolis, and defended Constantinople against the sultan Bajazet.

The work is a memoir of the Duke Louis and of Châteauneuf-de-Randon, and himself. He had accompanied Louis on many adventures and his head was full of tales of the duke with whom he had been so intimate. Hence, the work is an authoritative source for the career of Louis, but it has the faults of most memoirs. The old knight wished to do honor to the prince whose life he admired and wrote a panegyric, somewhat justified by the excellence of good Duke Louis. When he was relating the stories of his youth he was seventy-five years old and might well have forgotten many details. He depended on his own memory and the information of others, mentioning only one chronicle, that of Froissart. Hence there are inevitable mistakes, confusions in dates, persons, and places, especially in the part of the narrative anterior to 1380, the date of his knighting. This portion has been most seriously criticized.

His memoirs are more nearly personal than others of the same period. He not only shared the adventures of his master, but sometimes sought "honor by arms" away from the duke. Although he speaks modestly enough of his own part in affairs, he describes a number of his own experiences and several events in which Louis had not taken part.

His point of view in his reminiscences is that of the knightly class which felt that the true honor of the kingdom lay in chivalry. Like Froissart, he loved to record knightly deeds. The common people had no value, and since they were useless in war they should be kept in their proper places. There is a note of genuine feeling, however, as shown in the vivid picture of the grief of the people when Louis died and the description of the wretched condition of the kingdom. In this picture of the woes of France there appears national sentiment: the evils are caused by foreign invaders, especially the "ancient enemies," the English.

Of exceptional interest for the first sixteen years of the fifteenth century is the *Journal de Nicolas de Baye*,<sup>24</sup> greffier to the Parlement

<sup>24</sup> *Journal de Nicolas de Baye*, ed. by Alex. Tuetey (Paris, 1885-88, 2 v.: Société de l'hist. de France, no. 73), see the introduction in the second volume, pp. i-ciii; MOLINIER, IV, no. 3583.

from November 19, 1400, to January 17, 1417. Nicolas Crante was born in Champagne, of a servile family. When enfranchised he took the name of his birthplace Baye. He studied law in Orleans, and became clerk of the Parlement in 1400. During his sixteen years at this post he did an enormous amount of work, writing the court registers with his own hand from 1401, except for a few interruptions, and performed his duties admirably. He followed the debates with interest, intervening occasionally, and showed independence against the president of the court, the chancellor, and even the powerful Duke of Burgundy. He played a political role as well, was often entrusted with confidential missions, and knew many leading figures at court.

His role as a churchman, too, is important. He was canon of Soissons, curé of Montigny-Lencoup, held most important positions in Paris, was a member of the chapter of Notre Dame, etc. As a cleric he performed conscientiously his many duties. Because of failing eyesight he gave up his trying position as clerk and became councillor in 1417. The year of the Burgundian triumph (1418) he lost his place at court and lived only a year longer.

The *Journal* is a combination of the notes which Nicolas jotted down from time to time on the registers of the court, and comments which he wrote for himself. From the two sources we receive an interesting narrative useful to control and complete other accounts of the period. The journal is the comment of an intelligent bourgeois and a well-educated man.<sup>25</sup> In addition to the bare record of political events, Nicolas gives piquant details on members of Parlement, ironic comments on their letters, and judgments on leading figures, such as the Duke of Orleans. The journal describes with the detail and color of an eye-witness the miseries in Paris during the Armagnac-Burgundian feuds, the weather conditions, the disorder and ruin into which public buildings were falling. In sympathies a zealous royalist and moderate Armagnac, he expresses the impatience of the bourgeois class which resented the excesses of the court and the selfishness of the nobles and longed for the re-establishment of peace and order.

The first half of the fifteenth century is portrayed best by Burgundian historians who continue throughout the century, forming a veritable literary dynasty. Molinier remarks that "certain of the writers of that faction produced works of exceptional literary value," more attractive to the reader than writings of their opponents. For a continuous narrative the reader may well turn to the works of this school. The Burgundian court was a literary and artistic center, the focal point of

<sup>25</sup> Nicolas had a remarkably complete library, comprising books on canon and civil law, theology, and classical and contemporary writers.



intrigues and counter plots, and the last refuge for medieval chivalry. The dukes of Burgundy became powerful rulers after a fortunate marriage of Philip the Bold with the heiress of Flanders added greatly to their territory. They were stronger than the king during the first years of the century and were a thorn in the flesh of the French monarch until the death of Charles the Bold in 1477. From their court came many contributions to the culture of the period.

The founder and model of the school of Burgundian chroniclers was Enguerrand de Monstrelet.<sup>26</sup> Little is known of his early life. He was born late in the fourteenth century in Boulogne or Ponthieu. He was probably of noble family, as he is called *noble homme* and *écuyer*. He received a good education and must have known Latin because he cites a certain number of ancient authors, among them Livy, Vegetius, and Sallust. One of the meager bits of information on his life is found in letters of remission<sup>27</sup> granted in 1424 by Henry VI, King of France and England, to a squire named Enguerrand de Monstrelet, captain of the Frevent, serving under Jean of Luxembourg, count of St. Pol. If the remission was granted to the historian, as is now believed, Monstrelet had aided in robbing four Abbéville merchants on the road from Tournay. He says that it was done to injure the Armagnacs rather than for private spoil. He was pardoned because of his services to the Duke of Burgundy and the English.

Other facts that we know of him from his chronicle are that he was witness of the interview between Jeanne d'Arc and Philip the Good, after she had been taken prisoner near Compiègne. Probably present at the congress of Arras (1435), in 1436 he became lieutenant of the *gave*<sup>28</sup> at Cambrai. He was *bailli* of the cathedral chapter, provost of Cambrai (1444) and of Walincourt (1445), and died in 1453.<sup>29</sup>

Not before 1422 and perhaps much later Monstrelet wrote his chronicle in two books, which he intended to be a continuation of Froissart, to include Spain, Brittany, England, and other places. He began his

<sup>26</sup> Early very popular, Monstrelet's chronicle has enjoyed a number of editions. Antoine Vêrard published it in the fifteenth, and Denis Sauvage in the sixteenth century. It was edited by J. A. Buchon in his *Collection des chroniques nationales françaises, écrites en langue vulgaire du XIII<sup>e</sup> au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1824-29, 47 v. in 3 series), sér. 3, XXVI-XXXII. A later but not wholly satisfactory edition was prepared by L. Douet d'Arcq (Paris, 1857-62, 6 v.: Société de l'hist. de France, no. 30). English translation by Thomas Johnes, *The Chronicles of Enguerrand de Monstrelet, Containing an Account of the Cruel Civil Wars between the Houses of Orleans and Burgundy* (London and New York, 1877, 2 v.). See MOLINIER, IV, no. 3946; Vallet de Viriville's article in *Nouvelle biographie générale*, XXXVI, 29-31; the introduction in D'Arcq, I, pp. i-xxiii; and G. du Fresne Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII* (Paris, 1881-91, 6 v.), I, pp. liii-lv.

<sup>27</sup> D'Arcq (n. 26), I, 405-09.

<sup>28</sup> The *gave* was the money paid to the Duke of Burgundy for protection, levied on church goods.

<sup>29</sup> For disagreements with this summary of Monstrelet's life, see D'Arcq (n. 26), I, p. iii.

history at the year 1400, Froissart's terminal date; the first book extended to 1422, the second to 1444.<sup>30</sup> This historian whom Rabelais called "baveux comme un pot a moutarde," has been judged variously. Buchon considered Monstrelet's work real history because he discussed causes as searchingly as possible and inserted documents: letters, edicts, treaties, etc., as proofs and illustrations. He was well informed on Burgundian affairs, profiting by his relations with people at court. In his prologue Monstrelet says that he has consulted noble people whose honor would forbid lying, and officials whose duties make them diligent inquirers, so that he may present a narrative which will render justice to each party; he wishes to write the truth as it has been told to him. Although he was sincere to the point of correcting himself on occasion, his sympathies were for the party which he served; but in general he shows noteworthy fairness, except for his treatment of John of Luxembourg. On the assassination of the Duke of Orleans at the instigation of John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy, Monstrelet adds the comment that if murders of princes of the blood are not treated differently there may be more murders. He relates in detail the Burgundian plot of 1415 to capture the royal family.

The history has its faults and its merits. Monstrelet imitated Froissart in recording valiant feats of arms and brilliant campaigns; but he also included events of political and ecclesiastical significance, such as the Councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basel. Although his style has been criticized for lack of grace and for monotony, it is clear and at times colorful. At any rate, his straight narrative is preferable to the rhetorical accounts of Froissart. There are occasional reflections on the events he chronicles: observations on the evils of human nature, pictures of the excesses of both the Armagnac and Burgundian parties, contrasts between the *abaissement* of the French court and the prosperity of the English court. There is no medieval superstition; sorcery and astrology find no part in his work. He is accurate in distinguishing between things of which he is sure and those of which he is doubtful, sometimes omitting details which he says that he has forgotten. This is a favorable way of regarding his omission of the interview between Jeanne d'Arc and the Duke of Burgundy. He had witnessed the meeting and it is to be regretted that he did not record it. His omission may be regarded as a suppression of facts that would hurt the Burgundian reputation. Whatever the final conclusion on Monstrelet's attempt at impartiality, it must be recognized that his long popular history gives a Burgundian cast to the early history of the century. Beaucourt, in considering the

<sup>30</sup> A third book was long attributed to Monstrelet and printed with his own books, but it is from the pen of Mathew de Coucy, one of his continuators.

sources for his *Histoire de Charles VII*, decided that the history, if used with care, was one of the best sources for this reign.

To indicate all the sources of importance for the period (1422-61) would result in confusion, for the rise of French fortunes and the consolidation of her government were accompanied by an increase in diplomatic documents and detailed texts. A long and important period, it had many chroniclers. It is necessary to select from this mass of material.

For the first half of the century, the most significant events for France were the activity of Jeanne d'Arc and the expulsion of the English from the country. Although much has been written on Jeanne, the edition by Jules Quicherat of the *Procès de condamnation* and the *Procès de réhabilitation* contains all the source material.<sup>31</sup> In the first volume is a Latin record of the trial (January-May 1431), kept by the notary Guillaume Manchon, and supplementary records. The second volume follows the course of the investigations of 1450 through to the inquest at Domremy, and the third gives the witness of various doctors and other contemporaries and the work of the commission of 1456. The fourth volume gives all that the fifteenth-century chroniclers, French and foreign, have to relate of the career of Jeanne d'Arc; the fifth contains a miscellaneous assortment of letters, acts, etc., on Jeanne and her feast day (May 8). The documents in Quicherat are illuminating for a study of canon law and legal processes and for fifteenth-century beliefs, as well as for the character, person, and activities of the Maid of Orleans. The accuracy of the testimony varies with the credulity, knowledge, and truthfulness of each witness; some knew Jeanne d'Arc only slightly, or have reported unimportant items.

For the effects of the war around Paris, the focal point, we turn to one of the most curious and the most valuable sources for the first fifty years of the fifteenth century. The author of the *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*<sup>32</sup> (1405-49) still remains unknown despite numerous ingenious arguments and investigations of modern scholars. From his work it is evident that he was a clerk, enjoying some post in the University of Paris, and fairly well supplied in material goods. His knowledge of vineyards and wines leads M. Tuetey to assume that he owned a vineyard. He has the independence of Nicholas de Baye, although he was not so familiar with affairs of state as the clerk of the Parlement. Throughout the forty-five years which his journal records he is always in opposition to the persons in authority, although his sentiments change

<sup>31</sup> For full title see above, n. 15; cp. MOLINIER, IV, no. 4476.

<sup>32</sup> MOLINIER, IV, no. 4149; text in Buchon, *Collection* (n. 26), sér. 3, vol. XL, and Michaud and Poujoulat (n. 14), III, 237-300. Best edition by A. Tuetey, *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris, 1409-1449* (Paris, 1881: Société de l'hist. de Paris).

from time to time. A Burgundian until about 1420, the time of the Treaty of Troyes, he gradually loses his zeal for the Duke of Burgundy. During the English domination in Paris, still hostile to the Armagnacs, he continually attacks the Anglo-Burgundians, calling the Bishop of Théroutanne, chancellor of France for the English, a "very cruel man, hated by the people." Finding the English yoke hard, the writer reconciles himself to the return of Charles VII, although he does not cease to complain. When he disapproves he criticizes, calling the rulers, especially the Constable of Richemont, "faulx gouverneurs."

He recorded exactly the happenings of the day, commenting frankly on the people, great and small, whom he knew. Abrupt but forceful, the journal gives a picture quite different from that of most of the chroniclers of his day, and paints graphically the miseries of all kinds, notably the loss in material goods, which the Parisian bourgeois had to suffer. Not caring for the judgment of posterity, protected by his obscurity, this bourgeois wrote for himself alone and expressed the true sentiments of his class. Sometimes he attributes the evils of the time to abuse of power by royal officials and the excesses of the nobles at court, sometimes to climatic conditions and meteors. Interested in everything that passed in review, he left a record of a variety of things, the funeral of Isabeau of Bavaria, the prices of wine, species of plants, and the siege of Meaux by the English. In short, an obscure bourgeois wrote one of the best descriptions of his time.

An account by the famous bishop of Lisieux, Thomas Basin, gives the seamy side of the war as well as its triumphant outcome. He wrote twelve books on the deeds of Charles VII and Louis XI.<sup>33</sup> Although ranked below Commines and Chastellain by his editor, Basin's history is perhaps the most personal of the fifteenth century.

Although connected with the French court, Thomas Basin had experiences which made his point of view different from the other memoir writers of his age. He began his wandering life early. His bourgeois family lived at Caudebec when he was born (1412) but the English invasion drove it to Nantes, and he was unable to return until the Treaty of Troyes (1420). He studied first at the University of Paris, and then, because a subject of the king of England could not study in the territory of Charles VII, he went to Louvain in order to study

<sup>33</sup> *De rebus gestis Caroli VII et Ludovici historiarum libri XII*, cp. MOLINIER, IV, nos. 4137 and 4657. Excerpts were edited as the work of Amelgard of Liège in Edmund Martène and Ursin Durand, eds., *Veterum scriptorum . . . amplissima collectio* (Paris, 1724-33, 9 v.), IV, 741-836. Jules Quicherat edited Basin's work as *Histoire des règnes de Charles VII et de Louis XI*, etc. (Paris, 1855-59, 4 v.: Société de l'hist. de France, no. 29), and included his *Apologia* and *Breviloquium*. Text with a modern French translation by Charles Samaran, *Thomas Basin: Histoire de Charles VII* (Paris, 1933-, 1 v. to date). See Quicherat, I, pp. iii-cxiv and his article in *BEC*, III (1841-42), 313-76.

civil law, returning there later for canon law. He was in Rome for a time at the court of Eugenius IV; he returned home but found conditions in Rouen, the home of his parents at that time, so disheartening and his health so injured that he returned to Italy.

About 1439 he accompanied the Archbishop of Otranto to Hungary, was named canon of Rouen, and then became professor of canon law at the University of Caen. From that time he advanced rapidly, becoming bishop of Lisieux in 1447. In declaring for the French against the English, to whose rule he attributed the evils of Normandy, he influenced many of the clergy. In 1449 he signed the capitulation of Lisieux, and took the oath of fidelity to Charles VII. He was named councillor and accompanied Charles on his Norman expedition, then returned to his charge at Lisieux.

Throughout the reign of Louis XI the bishop had to suffer a persecution extraordinarily capricious and vicious. Although Louis favored Basin at first, the bishop joined the opposition which resulted in the War of the Public Weal and the treaty of Conflans (1465). While he was busy in negotiations at the Burgundian court, Basin learned that Louis XI had appropriated his bishopric. Remaining in the states of the Duke of Burgundy, the bishop settled in the place of his former studies, Louvain, returning in 1466 at the request of the king only to meet a cold reception and exile to Roussillon. Finally, after many troubles he fled to Savoy, Basel, then Ghent, and at last resigned the rich bishopric which had been one of the sources of trouble. He was granted an archbishopric *in partibus infidelium* as recompense by the Pope. Settling at Trèves, Basin wrote there the beginning of his history, interrupting it to write his apology. He went to Utrecht in 1475, where he became coadjutor of his old friend Archbishop David, natural son of Duke Philip the Good. There Basin stayed until his death in 1491, devoting his last years to the completion of his history and to theological treatises.

Before his *History of Charles VII and Louis XI* left his hands in 1487 he had carefully revised it. Basin did not put his name to his work, and although Jacques Meyer, who used it in the *Annales de Flandres*, knew the author's name, later centuries did not. Amelgard, a priest of Liège, was long thought the author.

It is scarcely to be expected that a man who had suffered so at the hands of the king would be able to judge him without rancor. Basin is severe in his estimate of Charles VII; he flays Louis XI. He condones those practices of the Duke of Burgundy which he censures in Louis, and when he discovers imperfections in the character of Charles the Bold he attributes them to the bad example of the king of France.

His chronicle is truly interesting, because of its excellent picture of the conditions in Normandy, and the sufferings and sentiments of the Normans during the expulsion of the English from their lands. Caught between armies, between the attackers and their masters, they faced many hardships. His picture of the ravages of marauding bands and the miseries they caused, and of the conditions in Rouen, where starving bands roamed the streets and sank exhausted, are valuable bits of social history. Time and again he laments sincerely the disorders of war and the need for relieving the miseries of the people, a picture which by its very monotony is an eloquent testimonial to the ruin left by the long war.

Another of his works which should be mentioned is his defense of Jeanne d'Arc. As one of the savants consulted by Charles VII when he resolved to clear the memory of Jeanne d'Arc, Basin wrote in her favor. On the basis of extracts given him he reasoned that Jeanne's conduct and words showed her divinely inspired rather than heretical. When consulted later, at the Paris conference, he criticized as a doctor of laws the legal procedure.<sup>34</sup>

The chronicle which best presents the last French campaigns, resulting in defeat of the English in Normandy, is the work of Robert Blondel.<sup>35</sup> He was born of a noble family of Cotentin, sometime between 1380 and 1400. When Henry V invaded Normandy about 1417-18 he took refuge in Brittany. From 1449 on he spent most of his life at the court of France. He lived to see the realization of his cherished design, the successful campaign against the English, and was still living in 1460 or 1461.

Robert Blondel wrote a number of works of great interest for the history of the crystallization of French sentiment against the English, and the final reduction of Normandy. In the earliest, *De complanctu bonorum Gallicorum*, he urged the Dauphin to take up arms against the English. It was written in Latin verse but was soon translated into French, and presented to Charles. When he was in Brittany Blondel again took up his pen for a stronger plea. The *Oratio historialis* was composed between August and October 1449, just before the Norman campaign. The work seemingly had direct effect in rousing Charles to action. Describing at some length the sufferings which the English had inflicted, Blondel urged the king to deliver France.

<sup>34</sup> He was interested in procedure, writing a memoir for its reform in Normandy (*Libellus de optimo ordine forenses lites audiendi et diffiniendi*).

<sup>35</sup> His works were gathered by Heron for the Société de l'histoire de Normandie (Rouen, 1891-93, 2 v.). The *De reductione Normanniae*, in four books, is printed in Joseph Stevenson, ed., *Narratives of the Expulsion of the English from Normandy, 1449-1450* (London, 1863: Rolls series, no. 32), 1-238. See MOLINIER, IV, no. 4135; POTTHAST, I, 159-60; and Stevenson's introduction, pp. x-xii.

Blondel's *De reductione Normanniae* forms a fitting conclusion to his trilogy. One year after the truce had been broken, the French armies had swept over Normandy, defeated six thousand men under Thomas Kyriel, and captured Cherbourg, the last defense of the English in Normandy. Blondel has left the most important narrative which we possess of the campaign of 1449-50 in Normandy and Brittany. Imitating ancient histories, with which he was familiar, Blondel wrote with care. He was acquainted with the locale of battles, and followed events with precision and considerable detail, probably gaining necessary information from the important figures whom he knew. His chronicle is of great value.

A worthy successor to Monstrelet was Georges Chastellain,<sup>36</sup> called the Adventurous, chronicler to the Burgundian court. He lived through an eventful period which numbered among its actors Henry V and Henry VI of England, Jeanne d'Arc, Charles VII, Louis XI, and Philip and Charles of Burgundy. He belonged to a family of chatelains of Alost. He was a student at Louvain in 1430, and joined the court of Philip the Good of Burgundy in 1434 at the time he was making his first trial of arms. Perhaps he had already taken the long journeys indicated by his nickname when the peace of Arras drew him into civil rather than military life.

It is difficult to trace his activities for the next ten years, but we know that he left Burgundy for long periods. In France he was received at the court, knew leading men such as Georges de la Tremouille, and stayed with Pierre de Brezé, seneschal of Poitou, accompanying him on at least one mission, to Bruxelles (1445). From 1446 he was attached exclusively to Philip the Good. His duties at the court were threefold: diplomatic, social, and literary. A poet and director of mystery plays, he was entrusted with important missions to France, Trèves, Cologne, and Brittany. From 1455 until his death in 1475 he lived in a house given him by Philip at Valenciennes, enjoying a liberal pension.

Chastellain was a writer appreciated in his own time, yet the poetical works on which his popular vogue rested are inferior to his prose and have little historical value. His *Chronicle*, written from 1453 on, is one of the most important chronicles of the fifteenth century. It must have been of immense proportions, a universal chronicle covering the years from 1418-74, bridging the gap between Froissart and Com-

<sup>36</sup> MOLINIER, IV, no. 3957 and cp. the index in VI, p. 47. His *Chronique* after appearing in fragments in various collections was finally published entire in Kervyn de Lettenhove, ed., *Oeuvres de Georges Chastellain* (Brussels, 1863-66, 8 v.). On the author see MOLINIER, V, pp. cxlvi-cxlvii; Vallet de Viriville's article in *Nouvelle biographie générale*, X (1868), 56-64; Jules Quicherat in *BEC*, XXIV (1863), 341-49 and XXV (1864), 571-73; Daunou in *JS*, 1837, pp. 332-40; and *ibid.*, 1867, pp. 49-63, 183-99, 385-93; Putnam in *AHR*, XVI (1910-11), 114-15.

mines and encompassing Monstrelet. Unfortunately, despite earnest search by nineteenth-century scholars, only fragments of it have been discovered, and there remain several short gaps and a long one from 1431 to 1451 which omits much of the reign of Charles VII.

Chastellain had been employed (1455) by Philip for the task "de mettre en escript choses nouvelles et moralles, en quoy il est espert et congnoissant," and "mettre en fourme, par manière de cronicque, faits notables, dignes de mémoire," past and to come. In 1473 Charles the Bold, then Duke of Burgundy, made him a knight of the Golden Fleece. As a means to truth he says that he gathered the histories of his time, compared their information with his own, and made a "concordance of truth." It is significant that he never dared publish his chronicle.

In one field of writing Chastellain possessed a skill which heralded the school of modern artists, that of portrait painting. He devoted one chapter to a description of all the historical persons he had known. Here most of the important actors in the period are portrayed with deft strokes that have the shade of truth because they are not adulatory but occasionally even satirical. Although Chastellain had the faults common to fifteenth-century erudition, such as a pompous and confused style, and long phrases imitating Latin periods, he wrote at times with clarity and vigor. He left reflections which still interest posterity and merit consideration even at the present. When unable to corroborate evidence by his own testimony, he inserts documents, letters, etc., to show the basis of his judgment. He used written sources as partial material only, which he controlled by means of his own experiences and intelligent criticism.

Before returning again to the Burgundian historians we should note that the French king whose reign saw the final defeat of the English had several good annalists.<sup>37</sup> One was Jean Chartier, monk at Saint-Denis, who continued the Religieux's chronicle in Latin for a few chapters, then turned to the vernacular. His French history of Charles VII forms part of the *Grandes Chroniques*. Gilles le Bouvier, called the Heraut Berry, wrote a panegyric but precise account of Charles VII, as well as the *Recouvrement de Normandie* and several other works. In several personal memoirs such as *Le Jouvencal*, a military romance, military details abound. For more celebrated historians, however, we turn to the Burgundian court, where the literary dynasty continued the narrative begun by the Flemings.

Olivier de la Marche<sup>38</sup> was Chastellain's successor in point of time

<sup>37</sup> For purely French works on this reign, see MOLINIER, IV, pp. 240-76.

<sup>38</sup> First published by Denis Sauvage, Lyon, 1562; republished at Ghent, 1566; Brussels, 1616; Louvain, 1645. Nineteenth-century editions in Petitot (n. 14), vols. IX-X, and in Michaud and Poujoulat (n. 14), III, 303-577. Best edition by Henri Beaufort and J. d'Arbaumont.



and was like him historian, warrior, and diplomat. He was born between 1420 and 1428, probably near Pontarlier, where he was placed in a pension. Soon after his father's death, he was sent to the Burgundian court, where he became a page. Olivier made his first campaign in 1443. Thereafter he journeyed to Namur, Bruxelles, and Cologne; took part in the subjugation of Ghent when it rebelled in 1453; was a witness to the Dauphin's visit to the Burgundian court and to his coronation as Louis XI; fought in the battle of Montlhery (1465); and followed Charles the Bold in his military expeditions (Gueldre, 1473; Neuss, 1474-75), although illness kept him from the field at Granson, and a mission to Italy from Morat. Olivier was made prisoner at the battle of Nancy (January 1477), where Charles was killed. The devoted servant continued to serve the Burgundian house, and became the *maître d'hôtel* of Archduke Maximilian of Austria, Marie of Burgundy's new husband, and later Holy Roman Emperor. Olivier received distinctions, served in diplomatic missions and military expeditions in various cities, and finally (1484) retired from public affairs to take charge of the education of Philip the Good. He died in 1502.

Though he also essayed verse, Olivier's prose is better than his poetry. His *État de la maison du duc Charles de Bourgogne* (1474) is valuable for the history of the administration of Charles the Bold. His *Mémoires*, in two books covering the period from 1435 to 1488, are inferior to Chastellain's in spirit and style. In the introduction he traces the Burgundian house back to Priam of Troy. Like Froissart he liked best to describe the tournaments and feasts at the brilliant court of the Duke of Burgundy. As *maître d'hôtel* he was interested in the ceremonies and banquets at court, and his descriptions of these often reach a wearisome length. The memoirs are frankly official chronicles of the Burgundian house and pass over in silence some injurious matters.

mont, *Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche, maître de l'hôtel et capitaine des gardes de Charles le Téméraire* (Paris, 1883-88, 4 v.: Société de l'histoire de France, no. 70). For reading, see MOLINIER, IV, no. 3961 and V, pp. cxlvii-cxlviii; J. Vaesen, *BEC*, L (1889), 587-91; A. Le Vasseur, *RQH*, XLVI (1889), 590-600.

## CHAPTER XXII

### ENGLISH HISTORIOGRAPHY IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES <sup>1</sup>

IN THE fourteenth century monastic annals still formed the bulk of historical literature. Already in the last quarter of the preceding century, however, a decline in the quality of cloistral historiography is discernible. The great southern group of writers, the "St. Albans school," which had replaced the twelfth-century northern historians, such as William of Newburgh and Roger of Hoveden, reached its highest achievement in the work of Matthew Paris, who died in 1259. Dimmed in color and detail, the chronicles of the succeeding period are with few exceptions mere collections of facts, uninspired by any true sense of history or literary art. By the fifteenth century there were few monasteries either on the Continent or in England which continued their annals either at all or in anything like the same spirit and diligence as before. The monastic chronicle all but died out. The reasons for this suspension are to be found in the social and economic turbulence of the times, the Black Death, the oligarchic selfishness of the noble class, the stringent guild regulations, the degradation of the Church into a colossal landlord, and the mental torpor which followed the wonderful intellectuality of the thirteenth century.

Not only had monastic life fallen into decadence within, but a significant shift of cultural centers was taking place with the development of the universities. The growth of Oxford and Cambridge was one of the signs that showed how the wind was blowing, away from the secluded abbeys towards the busy universities, and closer to the court and the city of London with its important municipal and commercial interests—thus, inevitably, away from the clerical to the secular life. "As the universities grew, so the monasteries declined in lustre." <sup>2</sup> Throughout the fourteenth century the decline was visible; in the fifteenth it grew even more pronounced, and "monks ceased to be scholars, whatever else they may have been." Even in the fourteenth century, writes Miss Power, the best chronicler was "a secular, a wanderer, and a

<sup>1</sup> GARDINER AND MULLINGER, pt. ii, chs. iv-v; GROSS, sec. 48, pp. 326-99. For authors and works of importance for the history of the Hundred Years' War see also MOLINIER, IV entire (index in vol. VI).

<sup>2</sup> Eileen Power, *Medieval English Nunneries, c. 1275 to 1535* (Cambridge, 1922), 240.

hanger-on of princes." The two great literary figures of this time in England, Chaucer and Gower, were laymen.

The widening of horizons and the trend away from monastic life was hastened and strengthened by two powerful stimulants—the growth of trade, especially in London, and the Hundred Years' War. These two forces in combination were among the chief factors in creating, before the end of the fourteenth century, an intense national consciousness. Both provided scope for talents which might otherwise have been buried in the cloister, and diverted many from the profession of regular vows. The Hundred Years' War strongly colored the contemporary historical narratives. The early Scottish wars also played their part in developing pride of country. The growing municipal and commercial life of London supplied records which form valuable sources for the history of the period, such as the civic chronicles of London collected in the unrivalled Guildhall Records. Of increasing importance from the early thirteenth century on are the documentary sources, the chief groups of which had nearly all commenced before the close of Henry III's reign. For the fourteenth century the public records are full and continuous.<sup>3</sup>

The early reign of Edward I marks the conclusion of a number of the older compilations of annals,<sup>4</sup> a circumstance prophetic of the passing of the great monastic tradition in historiography, and the transition into an era when more modern conditions were beginning to develop. In 1277 the Winchester *Annals*<sup>5</sup> came to a close. They are probably the work of Richard of Devizes, of whom little is known.<sup>6</sup> From internal evidence we learn that the author in any case must have been a resident at the monastery of Winchester. Up to 1266 the materials were derived chiefly from William of Malmesbury and Matthew Paris, but from that date until 1277 events were recorded by a contemporary. It is for this latter portion that the annals are of importance. Information concerning the city and cathedral of Winchester and a full account of events following the battle of Evesham mark the historical value of the work. Similar in style and matter to other chronicles of the time, it is detailed but contains many inaccuracies.

One of the most interesting and trustworthy of the writers of the period, Thomas Wykes, finished his *Chronicle*<sup>7</sup> in 1289. He wrote at Oseney abbey and was productive from 1258 until his death in 1293. His work, which bears a special relationship to the *Annals of Oseney*,<sup>8</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See T. F. Tout, *The History of England from the Accession of Henry III to the Death of Edward III, 1216-1377* (London, 1905: *The Political History of England*, ed. by W. Hunt and R. L. Poole, III), 443-51 for a discussion of the documentary authorities.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 451-61; and GROSS, pp. 327-29.

<sup>5</sup> GARDINER AND MULLINGER, 274.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 1693. These stopped in 1347.

<sup>7</sup> GROSS, no. 1696.

<sup>8</sup> GROSS, no. 1868.

is contemporary after 1256 and is of first importance for the campaigns of Lewes and Evesham, as well as for the events immediately preceding and following. Wykes became a canon regular at Oseney in 1282 and chronicler of the abbey in 1285. An ardent royalist, he stands in striking contrast to the general rule that chroniclers were partisan to Simon de Montfort. Employing a rhetorical style, he showed himself more of an historian than a mere annalist. Another important authority for events before and after Evesham is the *Annals of Waverley*,<sup>9</sup> concluded in 1291. The author is unknown, but the work became original after 1157 and contemporaneous from 1219 to 1266. Although the part from 1266 to 1277 is merely a transcription from the *Winchester Annals*, the final portion, left incomplete in 1291, is valuable for the beginning of Edward I's reign. Since Waverley was the earliest Cistercian house in England, we expect and find considerable detail concerning the abbey and the progress of the order. Frequent mention of foreign affairs is also made, however, giving the chronicle a broader general interest. Its style is somewhat above the average of contemporary monastic productions.

To John of Oxnead (d. 1293?) is generally attributed a *Chronicle*<sup>10</sup> bearing his name, although Tout<sup>11</sup> questioned the authorship. The writer seems certainly to have been a monk of St. Benet, a Benedictine monastery near Oxnead, in Norfolk. His work was principally a compilation drawn from William of Malmesbury, Roger of Wendover, and Matthew Paris; but it has value for certain special accounts, relating chiefly to coinage and local history. A summary of events concerning the abbey to 1275 precedes the general narrative. In 1293 the chronicle ends in the middle of a sentence. Two years later the *Peterborough Chronicle*,<sup>12</sup> compiled by an unknown monk of Peterborough abbey, in Northamptonshire, likewise came to a close. This work is notable for its relation of the lawsuits in which the monastery became involved, but it includes also passages of general historical interest. The appendix contains the *Liber Niger monasterii S. Petri de Burgo*, a valuable survey of the abbey manors.

Few other chronicles of the end of the thirteenth century throw such light upon the general history of the country and foreign affairs of England as do the *Annals of Dunstable*,<sup>13</sup> ending in 1297. Richard de

<sup>9</sup> *Annales monasterii de Waverleia, 1-1291 A.D.*, printed in H. R. Luard, ed., *Annales Monastici* (London, 1864-69, 5 v.: Rolls series no. 36), II, 127-411; cp. GROSS, no. 1695.

<sup>10</sup> *Chronica Johannis de Oxenedes*, ed. by Henry Ellis (London, 1859: Rolls series no. 13); GROSS, no. 1828.

<sup>11</sup> T. F. Tout, "John de Oxnead," *DNB*, XLIII (1895), 12.

<sup>12</sup> *Chronicon Petroborgense*, ed. by Thomas Stapleton (London, 1849: Camden Society, XLVII); GROSS, no. 2549.

<sup>13</sup> *Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia, A.D. 1-1297*, printed in Luard (n. 9), III, 1-420; GROSS, no. 1821.

Morins, the author of the largest and best portion, became prior of the Augustinian abbey in 1202 and died in 1242. It seems probable that the continuation to 1297 was also written at Dunstable, contemporarily with events. Morins was a person of considerable importance, having visited Rome several times upon official errands; but nothing is known of the writers who followed him. Many historical facts are known solely from the Dunstable annals, and Luard believes them to be "probably the most accurate record extant of the ordinary secular proceedings of a monastery in the thirteenth century." Their errors are minor and few; they can hardly be estimated too highly.

Bartholomew Cotton, a monk of the cathedral church of Norwich, was the author of an *English History*,<sup>14</sup> which becomes original in 1285 and is notable for its collection of documents for the period 1291-98. Nothing is known of Cotton save that he was a monastic canon of the cathedral and that he did not survive the year 1298. He commenced his work about 1292, copying or abridging from Geoffrey of Monmouth, Henry of Huntingdon, Roger of Wendover, and the *Annals of Norwich*. These latter annals were based chiefly upon Matthew Paris and John of Wallingford to 1263; from that point on they constitute an important authority. Cotton was mainly a compiler. Part of the work was written by himself, other parts were recorded by scribes from his dictation, and certain sections were copied by scribes from an outside source, with alterations as indicated by Cotton. Despite numerous instances of omissions and errors, the *History* is extremely valuable for the first twenty-five years of Edward I's reign.

William Rishanger, who became a monk of St. Albans in 1271, and died early in the reign of Edward II, restored to some extent the reputation of his abbey as a school of historiography. It is evident from Rishanger's words that the writing of history had fallen considerably into desuetude since the time of Matthew Paris. In 1312 a memorandum of his own shows that he held the title of "Chronigraphus" at St. Albans. He stated that he had been forty-one years a monk and was sixty-two years old; thus, he was writing at some distance from the events he narrated. His chief work, the *Chronicle*,<sup>15</sup> is a continuation, from 1259 to 1306, of Paris' *Chronica majora*, and may even be wrongly attributed to him. Since the portion from 1272 to 1306 was not compiled until 1327 (when Rishanger, if alive, would have been seventy-seven years old), his authorship of that part is doubted. Henry Riley, editor of the work, believes he lived until that date. It is quite probable, however,

<sup>14</sup> *Bartholomaei de Cotton, Monachi Norwicensis, Historia Anglicana, A.D. 449-1298*, ed. by H. R. Luard (London, 1859: Rolls series no. 16); Gross, no. 1760.

<sup>15</sup> *Chronica*, printed in *Willelmi Rishanger et quorundam anonymorum Chronica et annales*, ed. by Henry T. Riley (London, 1865: Rolls series no. 28, pt. ii), 1-230; Gross, no. 1836.

that Rishanger has wrongly been given credit for certain portions. Whoever composed it borrowed freely from Trevet, whose work concluded in the same year. Tout characterizes the production as being frigid and unequal. Soon after 1307 Rishanger compiled his brief and unimportant *Life of Edward I*,<sup>16</sup> a poor compendium of facts in confused chronology. More noteworthy is his *Chronicle of the Barons' War*,<sup>17</sup> one of the fullest accounts that has survived, but hardly to be commended.

Thomas Hog, editor of the *Annals of Nicholas Trevet*, shows that the name is rightfully Trevet, rather than Trivet.<sup>18</sup> Son of an itinerant justice of a well-known family in Norfolk, the writer was born about 1258 and died in 1328. While very young he joined the Dominicans, and after studying at Oxford and Paris, became one of the few English historians produced by that order. His annals embrace the period of the six Angevin kings of England, an era of 170 years. They stop suddenly in 1307 with the death of Edward I. Although the early part is largely a compilation of William of Newburgh, Robert of Torigny, and Ralph de Diceto, the account of Edward's reign is contemporary and valuable. It is especially notable for the careful attention given to chronology and was frequently drawn upon by later writers at St. Albans. In addition, Trevet wrote numerous commentaries and some unpublished minor works. He was an accurate, precise scholar; and as an historian he showed himself judicious, moderate, and objective.

Another important chronicle for Edward I's time, one highly significant of the literary trend, was written in French verse by Peter Langtoft.<sup>19</sup> He was once generally believed to have been French; but although little is known of him, the Anglicized nature of his writing proves him to be English. It has been established that he was a canon of the priory of Bridlington in Yorkshire; he manifests a strong interest in northern ecclesiastical affairs. The work itself consists of three parts, each based upon a different period and a different set of materials. The first section constitutes a fair abridgment of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Britonum*. The second part, comprising the era of Anglo-Saxon and Norman kings to Henry III, is based on various authorities including William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon. In the third portion, covering Edward I's reign, it becomes a contemporary record of great value. Langtoft designed to write a popular history for the aris-

<sup>16</sup> *Gesta Edwardi Primi*, also in Riley (n. 15), 411-33.

<sup>17</sup> *Chronicon de duobus bellis apud Lewes et Evesham* [1263-67], in Thomas Walsingham, *Ypodigma Neustrie*, also ed. by H. T. Riley (London, 1876: Rolls series no. 28, pt. vii); GROSS, no. 1836.

<sup>18</sup> *Annales sex regum Angliæ, 1135-1307*, ed. by Thomas Hog (London, 1845: English Historical Society); GROSS, no. 1849.

<sup>19</sup> *Pierre de Langtoft, Chronicle in French Verse, from the Earliest Period to the Death of King Edward I*, ed. by Thomas Wright (London, 1866-68, 2 v.: Rolls series no. 47); GROSS, no. 1808.

tocracy and for that reason used French, which was preferred by the educated. General demand for the work was so great, however, that it was soon translated into English.<sup>20</sup> As an historical work it exhibits strong anti-Scotch bias, due perhaps to the writer's natural north-of-England antipathy toward his border neighbors. As literature it represents the transition from the older rhymers like Wace and Benoit to the picturesque chroniclers of the school of Froissart.

The graver annals of the monastic scriptorium now begin to be supplanted by those chivalrous chronicles in prose and poetry which in themselves constitute a valuable part of the history of their time. "They reflect for us vividly and picturesquely the whole temper of what were in fact the ruling classes of their day; they let us look on events as they occur through the spectacles of the men who wrought them . . . and to catch all the chatting and jesting of the baronial hall." These chronicles also reflect the social arrogance and pride, the contempt for the lower classes which characterized the decadent chivalry of the day. Langtoft jests about the massacre of the burghers of Berwick as Froissart jokes about the massacre of Limoges by the Black Prince later in the same century. Peace was a vulgar, prosaic thing to fourteenth-century knighthood, which batted on warfare.<sup>21</sup>

For Edward II we have two more chronicles from St. Albans. John of Trokelowe (fl. 1330), a monk of Tynemouth who was transferred to St. Albans, wrote there after 1329 a chronicle<sup>22</sup> of value because the author was an eye-witness of much that he relates. Hardly anything is known of the life of Trokelowe. His work, extending from 1307 to 1323, shows occasional want of chronological accuracy, which indicates that it may have been composed from a mass of notes lacking in chronological detail. Otherwise, the account is useful and serves as the basis for Walsingham's later writings on this period. Although at times inflated and grandiloquent, Trokelowe's style was generally good. Another year (1324-25) was added to these annals by Henry of Blanford, a St. Albans' monk of whom little is known. His short chronicle<sup>23</sup> appears to be the fragment of a larger work written soon after 1330 and intended as a continuation of Trokelowe. After these two authors the writing of history at St. Albans seems to have ceased altogether until resumed by Walsingham, whose work belongs to the fifteenth century.

<sup>20</sup> Much of it was translated thus by Robert Mannyng (fl. 1388), cp. GROSS, no. 1816. He is sometimes called Robert of Brunne.

<sup>21</sup> This paragraph summarizes J. R. Green, *Historical Studies* (London and New York, 1903), 226-28.

<sup>22</sup> *Johannis de Trokelowe et Henrici de Blanford, monachorum S. Albani, etc.*, ed. by H. T. Riley (London, 1866: Rolls series no. 28, pt. iii), 63-127; GROSS, no. 1851.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 131-52.

A *Life of Edward II*,<sup>24</sup> attributed on insufficient grounds to a monk of Malmesbury,<sup>25</sup> is the best of the three contemporary biographies of Edward edited by Bishop Stubbs. Written probably toward the end of the king's reign (about 1325), the *Vita* gives special attention to the local history of Gloucester and Bristol, and displays marked hostility to the Roman curia. A continuation, taken from Higden's *Polychronicon*, extends from 1326 to 1348. There has been much speculation as to the authorship of the original work. By internal evidence it appears that whoever he was, the writer was best informed on matters of local concern. He was an erudite moralist, unfriendly to the court and its sycophants. He may have been a teacher, but not a monk. Mullinger<sup>26</sup> ranks him above Trokelowe in style and authority, while Tout<sup>27</sup> calls him the "most human of the annalists" of Edward II's reign. Another life of Edward II, also by a nameless writer, is entitled *Gesta Edwardi de Carnarvan*.<sup>28</sup> Although this chronicle was not put together until 1377, when it was included with a continuation reaching to that date, the portion covering Edward II's reign seems to rest upon contemporary materials. The author, an unidentified canon of Bridlington, probably wrote the continuation also, but this latter part is of little value after 1339. For lack of better sources the *Gesta* is useful for north country history and Anglo-Scottish relations; Stubbs rates it high among second class authorities for a period in which first class works are deficient. A *Life and Death of Edward II*,<sup>29</sup> ascribed to Thomas de la More, is one of the chief sources for certain portions of the reign. This account is unique in that the original, composed in French, has never been found. We draw our information concerning it from an abridged extract from a chronicle of Geoffrey le Baker, who had taken most of his materials from More's narrative. Since Geoffrey also used Adam of Murimuth as a base, the picture of what More's original must have been is further confused. Stubbs assures us, however, that the picture is in the main trustworthy. In it we observe sympathy for Edward II and frequent exaggeration due to the author's lack of personal knowledge of the facts. The exact date of authorship has not been ascertained.

The well-known *Flores Historiarum*,<sup>30</sup> from the Creation to 1326, once

<sup>24</sup> *Monachi cujusdam Malmesberiensis Vita Edwardi II*, printed in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, ed. by William Stubbs (London, 1882-83, 2 v.: Rolls series no. 76), II, 155-294.

<sup>25</sup> GROSS, no. 1857.

<sup>26</sup> GARDINER AND MULLINGER, 275.

<sup>27</sup> *The History of England* (n. 3), 457.

<sup>28</sup> *Gesta Edwardi de Carnarvan auctore canonico Bridlingtoniensi*, in Stubbs' *Chronicles*, etc. (n. 24), II, 25-92; GROSS, no. 1779.

<sup>29</sup> *Vita et mors Edwardi Secundi Regis Angliæ*, in Stubbs' *Chronicles*, etc. (n. 24), II, 297-319; on the authorship cp. GROSS, no. 1820.

<sup>30</sup> *Flores Historiarum*, ed. by Henry R. Luard (London, 1890, 3 v.: Rolls series, no. 95). The introduction contains a critical discussion of the complicated relations between the various annals which make up the *Flores*. Cp. GROSS, no. 1774.



attributed to an entirely imaginary person, "Matthew of Westminster," covers the reigns of the first two Edwards. The earliest part of the work was taken from Matthew Paris' *Chronica majora*; and this, combined with the fact that the oldest manuscript belonged at one time to Westminster Abbey, gave rise to the fictitious name of the supposed author. Henry Luard, the editor, shows by evidence of handwriting and contents that the *Flores* was the production of several people and thinks that its authorship will ever remain in doubt. An original continuation of Matthew Paris to 1265 was attempted at St. Albans, after which date it was carried on by various scribes at Westminster until 1306. Most of the manuscripts end in this year; Robert of Reading (d. 1325), a monk of Westminster, continued the work to 1325 in a spirit hostile to Edward II. Entries for the next and concluding year were made by another member of the same abbey. If we may judge by the number of extant manuscripts and the use made of it by subsequent compilers, the *Flores Historiarum* was the most popular English chronicle. From 1259 to 1326 it was mainly contemporaneous. While it is partial to the barons when written at St. Albans and to the royalists when written at Westminster, it is valuable for Edward II's reign in the absence of more dependable contemporary chronicles.

The long period from the accession of Edward III in 1327 to the death of Richard III in 1485 is marked by a "general decline of literary spirit."<sup>31</sup> Productions on the whole became defective both as historical works and artistic specimens. In the early years of this era three interesting town chronicles came to an end. The *London Annals*<sup>32</sup> (1194-1330) is in large part an abridgment of the *Flores Historiarum* to 1301, but for the fifteen years following contains a good account of general history. From 1316 to 1330 it relates mainly to local civic history. The author was a citizen of London, having easy access to the corporation records; and Andrew Horn (d. 1328) has usually been credited with the work. An incomplete repertory of dates and documents, these annals can claim no rank as an original composition. The compilation is imperfect in the beginning and has a grievous lacuna in the middle; Stubbs declares that it is unequal in proportion. Another similar compilation is the *Pauline Annals*<sup>33</sup> (Creation to 1341), an abridgment of the *Flores* to 1307, with a useful continuation to 1341. The writer, one of the clergy of St. Paul's other than Adam of Murimuth,<sup>34</sup> had much

<sup>31</sup> GARDINER AND MULLINGER, 284.

<sup>32</sup> *Annales Londonienses*, printed in Stubbs, *Chronicles*, etc. (n. 24), I, 3-251; cp. GROSS, no. 1690.

<sup>33</sup> *Annales Paulini*, printed in Stubbs, *Chronicles*, etc. (n. 24), I, 255-370; cp. GROSS, no. 1697.

<sup>34</sup> Tout (n. 3), 457.

the same career as Adam, who was at first believed to have been the author. He knew the cathedral and London well and recorded interesting notices of civic history. Finally, we should consider the *French Chronicle of London* (1259-1343),<sup>35</sup> compiled near the middle of the century by an unidentified author. Written in old Norman French, it appears to be a London city or mayor's chronicle, dealing chiefly with affairs of the kingdom. The record is especially important, however, for its description of London during the wars of Henry III and the barons, and for its account of the important city guilds.

The church of Durham, which had produced such writers as Bede, Symeon, Symeon's Continuator, and Galfrid de Coldingham, was represented at this time by the moderately able Robert de Graystones. His work<sup>36</sup> extended from 1214 and was finished in 1336, the probable year of his death. He was a cleric of Durham and although elected bishop in 1333, he was prevented by intrigue from taking possession of the see. He speaks of himself in connection with his election in tones of modesty and forbearance. The chronicle itself is chiefly concerned with ecclesiastical matters, but devotes some attention to public affairs.

The *Chronicle of Lanercost*<sup>37</sup> (1201-1346), important for Scotch and north English history, was written as a direct continuation of the *Annals of Roger of Hoveden*. Although it was later recast, internal evidence indicates that most of the original work was composed during the reign of Edward I. The recasting was performed by an unknown Franciscan friar of Carlisle, who added a continuation based mainly upon the testimony of eye-witnesses. The appellation, Lanercost, has been given because the affairs of that district are frequently mentioned. In spite of the reshaping and a few borrowings from the *Chronicle of Melrose*, many original elements have been retained. Joseph Stevenson, the editor, pronounced it a minute and authentic record of Scotch history.

In the same year, 1346, concludes "one of the most favorable specimens of our early chronicles," attributed wholly or in part to Walter of Hemingburgh (fl. 1330).<sup>38</sup> The first portion runs from 1066 to 1297, but the authorship after that date is uncertain.<sup>39</sup> Hemingburgh was a canon of the priory of Gisborough, near Clive, a small district of York-

<sup>35</sup> *Croniques de London, depuis l'an 44 Henri III jusqu'à l'an 17 Edward III*, ed. by George J. Aungier (London, 1844: Camden Society, XXVIII). For English translations of this see GROSS, no. 1763.

<sup>36</sup> *Historia de statu ecclesie Dunelmensis*, printed in *Historie Dunelmensis scriptores tres, Gaufridus de Coldingham, Robertus de Graystones, et Willelmus de Chambre*, ed. by James Raine (London, 1839: Surtees Society, IX), 33-123; GROSS, no. 2343.

<sup>37</sup> *Chronicon de Lanercost, 1201-1346*, ed. by Joseph Stevenson (Edinburgh, 1839: Maitland Club, no. 46); GROSS, no. 1749.

<sup>38</sup> *Chronicon Walteri de Hemingburgh, vulgo Hemingford nuncupati, de gestis regum Angliæ*, ed. by H. C. Hamilton (London, 1848-49, 2 v.: English Historical Society).

<sup>39</sup> See GROSS, no. 1788.

shire. Born of an influential family, he was able to study widely and gained much credit with his contemporaries. He drew upon Henry of Huntingdon and William of Newburgh for the early part of his chronicle, but his account of the reigns of the three Edwards appears to be contemporary. The history of Edward III stops abruptly on the eve of the battle of Crécy. Hemingburgh incorporated in the body of his writing numerous important documents, some of which are not to be found elsewhere. Among them are royal letters, papal bulls, the Great Charter of Edward I, and the most satisfactory text of the so-called *De Tallagio non concedendo*.<sup>40</sup> Stirring battle scenes enliven the narrative, and the author deserves the high praise he has won from critics. His style is pleasing; his mind judicious, moderate, and clear.

Adam of Murimuth, proctor of Oxford University, completed his *Continuatio* <sup>41</sup> in 1347, the probable year of his death. He was born about 1275 of an Oxfordshire family and undoubtedly received his education at the university. He frequently travelled abroad as envoy of the king or the archbishop to the papal court. About 1325 Adam began his chronicle, which dates from 1303. It becomes original after 1305, but the entries up to 1337 are meager. The final part to 1347 is valuable for the English campaigns in France, and a continuation to 1377 by a seemingly well-informed contemporary is useful for the latter years of Edward III's reign. Mullinger <sup>42</sup> calls Adam of Murimuth the principal historical witness between 1327 and 1346 and characterizes him as honest, but lacking in descriptive and literary power.

There are epochs in history in which the human mind displays a marked tendency to digest all historical material into a compact and encyclopaedic form. It has a crude voracity for many facts, but slight inclination towards criticism and reflection. The fourteenth century was such a period. Higden's *Polychronicon* <sup>43</sup> was to Englishmen for more than two hundred years what William Camden was to the Tudor period, and H. G. Wells' *Outline of History* to the present generation. Of Higden himself, scarcely anything may be ascertained. He was born in the west of England about 1280, took monastic vows in 1299, and became a member of the wealthy and powerful abbey of St. Werburg, a Benedictine community at Chester. We know further that he died in old age in the latter half of the fourteenth century, about 1363.

<sup>40</sup> GARDINER AND MULLINGER, 277.

<sup>41</sup> *Adae Murimuth, Continuatio chronicarum. Robertus de Avesbury, De gestis mirabilibus regis Edwardi Tertii*, ed. by E. M. Thompson (London, 1889: Rolls series no. 93); GROSS, no. 1822.

<sup>42</sup> GARDINER AND MULLINGER, 284.

<sup>43</sup> *Ranulphi Higden, monachi Cestrensis, Polychronicon: Together with the English Translation of John Trevisa and of an Unknown Writer of the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by Churchill Babington and Joseph R. Lumby (London, 1865-86, 9 v.: Rolls series no. 41); GROSS, no. 1793.

He is the author of a few minor works, but his name is remembered for the popular *Polychronicon*, copies of which were dispersed widely in great numbers. It is in large part a compilation, perhaps the best of its kind; only a small portion is contemporary and that is not very original. Higden names about forty writers as his authorities. He divided his work into seven books, the first of which treated geography, while the remaining were concerned with universal history (from Creation to 1352). James Gairdner has said that the real interest of Higden's work lies in "the view it affords of the historical, geographic, and scientific knowledge of the age in which it appeared."<sup>44</sup> John of Trevisa, who translated it into English, incorporated new information. The most instructive instance of this is a famous passage upon national idioms. Higden, who probably wrote in the early part of the reign of Edward III, says that "the present corruption of our native tongue comes from two causes: that forsooth since the coming of the Normans, boys at school, in opposition to the custom of other nations, are compelled to renounce their own tongue and construe in French; moreover, that the sons of noblemen are trained in the French idiom from the very cradle." But Trevisa, who wrote in 1385, qualifies this statement with the words (modernized English): "This manner was much used at first and is now somewhat changed, for John Cornwaile, a master of grammar, changed the lore in grammar school and construction of French into English, and Richard Pencriche learned the manner of teaching from him, and other men of Pencriche, so that now . . . in all the grammar schools of England children leave French and construe and learn English." An interesting passage in *Piers Ploughman* (XV, 1, 368) shows that this change was already a matter of comment eight years earlier. It is probable that Trevisa exaggerates the importance of a single school-master, when he credits him with a change which was really due to the strong national feeling which sprang from the English wars in France.

Geoffrey le Baker (fl. 1350) wrote a *Chronicle*<sup>45</sup> of much narrower scope, which he concluded in 1356. Probably a native of Swinbrook, in Oxfordshire, he became a secular clerk there. In 1347, upon the request of Thomas de la More, he composed at Oseney a short and worthless *Chroniculum*. About 1345 he began the larger work, which opens in 1303, relying mainly upon Adam of Murimuth to 1341. Although following closely the work of Adam, who was his neighbor, Baker made some important additions derived from living sources.

<sup>44</sup> GAIRDNER, 279.

<sup>45</sup> *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swynebroke*, ed. by E. M. Thompson (Oxford, 1889); GROSS, no. 1717.

The most valuable part is the account of the battle of Poitiers which accurately fixes the site of the battlefield. Baker wrote at irregular intervals, and his chronology is poor. Another scribe of moderate talent, Robert of Avesbury (d. ca. 1356), a registrar of the archiepiscopal court of Canterbury, wrote what was chiefly a military history of Edward III's reign, entitled *De gestis mirabilibus Edwardi Tertii* (1339-56).<sup>46</sup> The particulars of his life are unknown, save that his will was enrolled in 1359. In his narrative he has inserted some valuable documents, but Mullinger asserts that he deserves no higher rank than that of a pains-taking chronicler.<sup>47</sup>

A commendable work, which contrasts with the productions of "religious" writers, is Sir Thomas Gray's *Scalacronica*.<sup>48</sup> The author, a Northumbrian warrior captured by the Scotch in 1355, wrote mainly to relieve the tediousness of imprisonment. Although released in 1358, Sir Thomas continued the chronicle, which was written in French. He was lord of Heaton manor, very active in military engagements, and died in the year 1369. His own eye-witness accounts render the record distinctive; it stands out among the works designed for the aristocracy, such as that of Peter Langtoft. The title, *Scalacronica*, points to the ladder in the Gray coat of arms. A large portion of the work is based upon Bede, Hoveden, and Higden, but it becomes original with Edward I. Composed in good style, and especially useful for the Scottish wars of Edward II and Edward III, it is regarded as a high authority.

The *Eulogium Historiarum*,<sup>49</sup> which might be described as a new edition of Higden's *Polychronicon*, likewise begins with Creation and extends to 1366. It was probably compiled by a Malmesbury monk, named Thomas, who appears to have been a man of considerable learning and modest simplicity. He finished his work about 1367, having used Geoffrey of Monmouth, Higden, and other undetermined sources. The part after 1356 is contemporary; and there is a continuation from 1366 to 1413, added by an unknown hand, which is valuable particularly for parliamentary proceedings in Richard II's time. The *Eulogium*, though full of inaccuracies, is of equal credibility with its main contemporaries. It disclosed indirectly the general state of knowledge in a large and important religious foundation.

Hardly anything has been learned of Henry Knighton (fl. 1363), who

<sup>46</sup> Printed in Thompson, *Adae Murimuth*, etc. (n. 41), 279-471; GROSS, no. 1716.

<sup>47</sup> GARDINER AND MULLINGER, 284.

<sup>48</sup> *Scalacronica*, by Sir Thomas Gray of Heton, Knight. *A Chronicle of England and Scotland from A.D. 1066 to A.D. 1362*, ed. by Joseph Stevenson (Edinburgh, 1936: Maitland Club, no. 40); for English translation see GROSS, no. 1784.

<sup>49</sup> *Eulogium (historiarum sive temporis): Chronicon a monacho quodam Malmesburiensi exaratum*, ed. by F. S. Haydon (London, 1858-63, 3 v.: Rolls series no. 9); GROSS, no. 1770.

has given us a compilation called the *History of England*.<sup>50</sup> We know that he was a canon regular of St. Mary's, Leicester, and a contemporary of John of Trevisa. His work, which begins in 959, was based upon Higden and Hemingburgh to 1336, but the original portion from that year until 1367 adds considerable to our information. An unidentified scribe commenced a continuation, which covers the years 1377 to 1395. The writer, whoever he was, seems to have known a great deal about his abbey and the surrounding territory. Although this part shows a powerful anti-Wyclif prejudice, it is of special value for the light cast upon social and economic conditions of the time. We learn from it important details of the Black Death, the rising of 1381, current price fluctuations, wage rates, and the regulation of labor.

The great dearth of historical materials for the period 1356-67 has given importance to the clumsy *Chronicle* <sup>51</sup> of John of Reading. James Tait claims that historiography at this time reached its lowest ebb previous to the fifteenth century. What we know of John of Reading is derived from his own writing. Whether he was born at or descended from a native of Reading, or whether he was related to Robert of Reading, has not been determined. It seems likely, however, that he commenced to write in 1364 and that he died about 1369. He showed keen interest in the affairs of his convent, Westminster, where he held a high position and had opportunities for acquiring information. Reading's work forms the concluding part of a chronicle carried on at the abbey for over a century. Beginning in 1346, it is based for the first ten years upon Avesbury and later draws from Higden and his continuator. John does not compare favorably with his predecessor, Robert of Reading, who wrote the *Flores Historiarum* at Westminster for the period 1307-25, or with John Malvern, who wrote Higden's continuation to 1381. His *Chronicle* has some historical but no literary value. It is poorly organized and lacks discrimination. It is sprinkled with superstitious references—to marvels, portents, and the like—which are excessive even for the age. Finally, Reading was handicapped by an "uncouth and labored" style.

For the closing years of Edward III's reign, the *Worcester Annals* <sup>52</sup> give some important notices. Except for a few years these were transcribed from an anonymous manuscript of Westminster Abbey, which served as the basis for the *Winchester* and *Waverley Annals*. They

<sup>50</sup> *Chronicon Henrici Knighton, vel Cnithon, monachi Leycestrensis*, ed. by J. R. Lumby (London, 1889-95, 2 v.: Rolls series no. 92); GROSS, no. 1807; James Tait, review of Lumby in *EHR*, XI (1896), 568-69.

<sup>51</sup> *Chronica Johannis de Reading et Anonymi Cantuariensis, 1346-67*, ed. by James Tait (Manchester, 1914: Univ. of Manchester Publications, XX); GROSS, no. 1832a.

<sup>52</sup> *Annales prioratus de Wigornia, A.D. 1-1377*, printed in Luard, *Annales monastici* (n. 9), IV, 355-64; GROSS, no. 1698.

resemble but do not equal the *Dunstable Annals*. Although inferior in details of general interest, they are rich for local history. The chronology is often confused; several years were left blank and later filled in with the wrong event.

Contemporary biographies of Edward III are rare. The only noticeable work is an unsatisfactory *Gesta*,<sup>53</sup> appended as a continuation of the *Gesta Edwardi de Carnarvan* (II). Although starting ambitiously and proposing to cover the entire reign (1327-77), the significant part ended in 1339. Except for one or two minor items the remainder consists of a mere compilation or abridgment of commonly known material. The author was probably the same unknown canon of Bridlington who was responsible for the *Life* of Edward II.

A curious and mystifying work, called the *Anonymous Chronicle*,<sup>54</sup> contains details for the end of Edward III's reign and for the first years of Richard II. The original manuscript was at first supposed to have been written in North England; but from internal evidence, George Kriehn<sup>55</sup> concludes that it was more likely composed near London, soon after 1382, by one of the king's following. From 1333, where the chronicle begins, the source to 1346 was either the lost Minorite chronicle which formed the basis of the *Chronicle of Lanercost*, or some other recension of it. What we have appears to be a literal translation of a Latin original. After 1346 to the end in 1381, the source remains unsolved. The scale of this anonymous record rises to about the level of the *Chronicon Angliae*, to which it is similar. For the period 1376-81, it becomes very detailed and includes numerous official letters and documents, but they are so woven together that the determination of the text presents a baffling problem. A great deal of new and useful matter is related, especially as regards the uprising of 1381 in Kent and Essex.<sup>56</sup> The outlook of the author is that of a typical Benedictine monk, who views everything from his abbey. The work is not very accurate and possesses its chief value in the fresh information on certain events. An anonymous chronicler of St. Mary's, York, is important for an account of the peasant revolt in 1381 in Yorkshire.

An unknown monk of St. Albans is given chief credit for another *Chronicle of England*<sup>57</sup> which fills the historical gap comprising the last

<sup>53</sup> *Gesta Edwardi Terti*, printed in Stubbs' *Chronicles*, etc. (n. 24), II, 93-151; GROSS, no. 1779.

<sup>54</sup> *The Anonimale Chronicle, 1333 to 1381*, ed. by V. H. Galbraith (London and New York, 1927: Univ. of Manchester Publications, XLV). For English translation of the French original, see GROSS, no. 1714.

<sup>55</sup> See *AHR*, VII (1901-02), 266-68.

<sup>56</sup> For a special discussion of this part see G. M. Trevelyan, "An Account of the Rising of 1381," *EHR*, XIII (1898), 509-22.

<sup>57</sup> *Chronicon Angliae, 1328-88, auctore monacho quodam Sancti Albani*, ed. by E. M. Thompson (London, 1874: Rolls series no. 64); GROSS, no. 1745.

years of Edward III. It was written toward the close of the fourteenth century and contains much of the same matter as found in Walsingham. In addition to the notices found on Edward III's reign, it is important for the light cast upon the methods used in the compilation known as Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana*. Much material is devoted to the life of John of Gaunt. The author, in a personal, incisive style, shows himself bitter against his foes, in particular the Duke of Lancaster and the Lollards, whom, because of their support of Wyclif, he attacked as enemies of the Church.

The *Chronicle of Melsa* (1150-1396), by Thomas Burton, is "a faithful and often minute record of the establishment of a religious community, its progress . . . and its relations to the governing institutions of the country."<sup>58</sup> The name of the author, abbot of the Cistercian abbey of Melsa (Meaux), has been given us by his continuator, who extended the work to 1406. Little is known of Burton before 1396, the date of his election. He was undoubtedly native to the region and had probably been the "House Scholar," which fact enabled him to study at Oxford and Paris. As abbot he had a difficult rule, and in face of a factional struggle against him, he resigned in 1399. Burton died in 1437, at the age of about seventy-three. The foreign history contained in his chronicle was derived chiefly from Higden and the *Cronica summorum pontificum et imperatorum* of Martinus Polonus, which was popular in the fourteenth century. For local affairs Burton had access to abbey records and made use of some of the obscure earlier chronicles of his own convent. In addition to its outstanding importance for the details of monastic life, the production contributes useful information on Scotch-English relations. Another work dealing mainly with abbey affairs was concluded by William Thorne (fl. 1397), monk of St. Augustine's, Canterbury. His *Chronicle*,<sup>59</sup> derived principally from Sprott to 1228, deals also with general history, but is hardly comparable to Burton.

Toward the end of the century a monk of Westminster Abbey, Richard of Cirencester (d. ca. 1401), wrote a *Speculum historiale*,<sup>60</sup> which is typical of the general trend in historiography—the tendency toward encyclopedic works. Composed in three books, covering the period

<sup>58</sup> *Chronica monasterii de Melsa, auctore Thoma de Burton, abbate*, ed. by Edward A. Bond (London, 1866-68, 3 v.: Rolls series no. 43); GROSS, no. 1729.

<sup>59</sup> *De rebus gestis abbatum Sancti Augustini Cantuariæ*, only Latin edition almost three hundred years ago in Roger Twysden, *Historiæ Anglicanæ scriptores decem* (London, 1652, 2 v. folio), II, 1757-2202; GROSS, no. 1845. Recent English translation by A. H. Davis, *William Thorne's Chronicle of Saint Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury* (Oxford, 1934), cp. introduction, pp. xx-lx.

<sup>60</sup> *Ricardi de Cirencestria Speculum historiale de gestis regum Angliæ*, ed. by John E. Mayor (London, 1863-69, 2 v.: Rolls series no. 30); GROSS, nos. 1360 and 1271a.



from 447 to 1066, this work is a compendium based upon Bede, Roger of Hoveden, Geoffrey of Monmouth, William of Malmesbury, Higden, Henry of Huntingdon, and many others. Richard made a practice of citing his sources in the margins throughout. He often compared testimonies, but contributed nothing new. The movement of the times was definitely toward this sort of accumulated store of facts, having no independent value. During the course of the fourteenth century the polish and what may be called a critical acumen of the twelfth century were gradually replaced by a crude voracity for facts; and in Higden—still more in Richard of Cirencester—we find a marked inclination to digest all records into a compact and encyclopedic narrative. It may be said that history would have sustained no loss if Richard's work had perished.

The turn of the century (1400) did nothing to arrest the continued decline of historical writing. By the opening of the reign of Henry IV (1399-1413) even the meager existing annals were almost entirely closed. Thomas Walsingham's *English History* is practically the only account for domestic affairs during the first twenty years of the fifteenth century. After the end of his work in 1422, while there are still abundant sources for the wars in France, we have only the scantiest materials on England until the time of the Wars of the Roses. It is difficult to explain the meagerness and badness of English historiography in this period, but it is manifest that there was a gradual decline from the thirteenth century in the matter and style of the chroniclers. Among the causes of this falling off must be included the growth of a native literature under Chaucer, Lydgate, and Gower, as well as the reaction against freedom of thought which accompanied the suppression of Wyclif's teachings.

Charles Kingsford has analyzed the situation.<sup>61</sup> He observes that the writing of the period presents neither the richness of achievement of the thirteenth century, nor the chivalrous glamor of the fourteenth. At the same time it hardly foreshadows the new enterprises and developments of the sixteenth century. It is a period of transition and for that reason is apparently lacking in unity and concentration. The conditions of the age—the breaking down of the old order in both Church and State—are reflected in the historical materials. "Formerly," wrote Gascoigne, "kings had in the monasteries founded by them illustrious writers of the books of great doctors and of chronicles. But, alas, now books are rather destroyed and lost among the religious than written afresh. . . . The Council of Basel sought throughout the world for one book, very

<sup>61</sup> Charles L. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1913), 1-11.

necessary for their purposes concerning the doings in the time of the Apostles, and there could not be found one perfect copy in the monasteries." <sup>62</sup>

In spite of the seeming decadence of literary art the period was one of interest and learning. Henry V, as well as Humphrey of Gloucester, the Earls of Warwick and Salisbury, Lord Hungerford, James Butler, and Cardinal Beaufort were outstanding patrons of literature. Nor was their interest artificial; educational revival was in the air. Although immediate results were not forthcoming, the period was pregnant with promise of the future. It is in this spirit that we must study the historical works of this century.

We should notice that the chroniclers at the beginning of the period preserve in decayed form the characteristics of the medieval past—monastic Latin is the principal medium. At the close of the century we approach the threshold of a new era. Authors write more in English and for a broader audience, from a wider national point of view. This development was the product of the century; and viewed in this light, the period shows unity. By 1485 the close of the medieval period in England and the fall of the house of York may be marked. This date coincides nearly with the invention of printing and the first activity of the literary renaissance. The age of transition had closed. The fruits of this development were borne in the sixteenth century.

Soon after 1400 two works on the reign of Richard II appeared. One of these, a *History of the Life of Richard II* <sup>63</sup> (1377–1402), while purporting to be a biography, is simply a chronicle of the period. It commences not with Richard's birth, but with his accession; it ends not on his death (1400), but two years later in 1402. While ignoring the life of the king in particular, this work treats affairs of the realm in general. It was undoubtedly written by a monk of Evesham although his identity remains unknown. The text follows Walsingham to 1390 and changes to an independent source thereafter, giving rise to the suggestion of dual authorship. Sir E. Maunde Thompson <sup>64</sup> describes the work as one which grew by accumulation. George Kriehn, <sup>65</sup> however, claims that the same man, writing from memory after 1390, wrote the entire account. It is hostile to Richard; its chief value lies in a description of the parliament of 1397. The other work, *Annals of Richard II and Henry IV*

<sup>62</sup> Cited in *CQR*, XX (1885), 135 from Gascoigne's *Theological Dictionary*. He died in 1458.

<sup>63</sup> *Historia vitae et regni Ricardi II, a monacho quodam de Evesham consignata*, ed. by Thomas Hearne (Oxford, 1729).

<sup>64</sup> See Kingsford (n. 61), 23–25.

<sup>65</sup> George Kriehn, "Studies in the Sources of the Social Revolt of 1381," *AHR*, VII (1901–02), 268–74.

(1392-1406),<sup>66</sup> is called by H. T. Riley "the most valuable memorial of the period that we possess." It was probably written by, or under the direction of, William Wyntershyll, a monk of St. Albans who was at one time almoner of the abbey church. He was a man of extensive learning with Lancastrian sympathies who died in 1424. The work represents in fullest form the product of the St. Albans scriptorium at the time of Walsingham's superintendence.

A short *History*<sup>67</sup> of the monastery of St. Peter of Gloucester, extending from 681, ends in the year 1412. It is a brief chronicle, preceding the chartulary, and gives an account of the abbey from the time of its foundation to the death of Walter Froucester, the last abbot mentioned. In addition to numerous charters of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the work contains information on manorial rules and regulations. There are no certain evidences concerning its authorship, although it is often ascribed without proof to the above mentioned Walter Froucester. It was probably compiled from time to time by various inmates of the monastery, and a scribe under Froucester's direction very likely took the materials at his disposal, rearranged them, carried the narrative to date, and so left the present work.

A *Continuation*<sup>68</sup> of the *Eulogium Historiarum*, which terminated in 1366, carries the account to the year 1413. Nothing is known of the author except that he was at least partly contemporary with the period about which he wrote. He apparently wrote at Canterbury, and not at Malmesbury, where the main *Eulogium* was put together. Kingsford<sup>69</sup> asserts that the continuation is a composite, not an original production, and that the component parts were finished at different times. The account itself is full and accurate, with fewer errors than in most other works of the period. It is written in good style and is generally free from grammatical mistakes. Objectivity so marks the treatment that the personality of the author has been almost entirely disguised. Sources of the work have not been determined, but where checked, it appears to be trustworthy. Many parts are strictly original, and the *Continuation* therefore is regarded as the most valuable contemporary authority on certain historical details, especially in connection with the parliamentary proceedings of Richard II's time.

For the reigns of Henry V and Henry VI reliable materials are scarce indeed. Walsingham's account closes in 1422, and after that date we

<sup>66</sup> *Annales Ricardi Secundi et Henrici Quarti, regum Angliae*, printed in Riley, *Johannis de Trokelowe*, etc. (n. 22), 153-420; GROSS, no. 1700.

<sup>67</sup> *Historia et cartularium monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae*, ed. by William H. Hart (London, 1863-67, 3 v.: Rolls series no. 33); GROSS, no. 2384.

<sup>68</sup> See Haydon, *Eulogium*, etc. (n. 49), vol. III; GROSS, no. 1770.

<sup>69</sup> *English Historical Literature* (n. 61), 28-31.

must rely almost completely upon inferior works that acquire value mainly because they fill what would otherwise be an historical hiatus. But John Capgrave (1393–1464) appears to have been above the average of the authors of this period. He was born in Lynn, Norfolk, and spent his early years there in diligent study. Excelling in zeal and proficiency, John later attended either Oxford or Cambridge and was afterwards connected with both. Little else is known of his life, save that he entered the priesthood at the age of twenty-four, took the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and became recognized as one of the most learned men of his time. He was a prolific writer and produced many works, mainly in Latin; but his only important historical composition is the *Chronicle of England* (from Creation to 1417).<sup>70</sup> This was written in English and was universal in scope to 1216—after which it narrows to a treatment of England alone. The early portions, based on the *Chronicle of the Brute*, Higden, Bede, and Walsingham, are scanty and chronologically confused. The latter part, however, seems to be quite accurate. Aside from being abusive of heretics, such as Wyclif and Sir John Oldcastle, Capgrave seems to have been straightforward and honest. His writing has additional value as a specimen of the Norfolk dialect of the period. It is necessary to mention as a sample of his other work the *Book of the Noble Henries*,<sup>71</sup> which was completed many years later. It is a collection of lives of the German emperors of this name from 918 to 1198, of English kings named Henry from 1100 to 1446, and other illustrious men named Henry in various parts of the world in the period 1031–1406. The portion relating to Henry VI is contemporary but consists chiefly of “pious ejaculations” in praise of the king. Capgrave borrowed materials on the other Henries from well-known chroniclers, such as Higden and Huntingdon.

A vivid picture of the inner life of a great monastery is contained in the *Evesham Chronicle*<sup>72</sup> from 714 to 1418. Prior Dominic (fl. 1125) wrote the first two of the three books into which the work is divided; he described the life and miracles of St. Egwin, Bishop of Worcester (d. 717). The third book sets forth the history of the abbey and was written as far as 1214 by Thomas of Marlborough, abbot of Evesham (1230–36). From that point the account was resumed by an unknown continuator who ended the work in 1418. The *Chronicle* is concerned largely with abbey affairs, but for that reason offers much of great in-

<sup>70</sup> *John Capgrave, The Chronicle of England*, ed. by Francis C. Hingeston (London, 1858: Rolls series no. 1). Not well edited. GROSS, no. 1731.

<sup>71</sup> *Johannis Capgrave Liber de illustribus Henricis*, ed. by F. C. Hingeston (London, 1858: Rolls series no. 7); GROSS, no. 1731.

<sup>72</sup> *Chronicon abbatiæ de Evesham, auctoribus Dominico priore Eveshamiæ et Thoma de Marleberge abbate*, ed. by W. D. Macray (London, 1863: Rolls series, no. 29); GROSS, no. 2700.

terest to the student of monastic manners and history. As an historical source the last book is on the whole creditable.

Thomas Otterbourne is the recognized name of the author of a volume entitled *Chronica regum Angliae*<sup>73</sup> (from Brutus to 1420), but his identity is in question. Hearne believed the writer to have been a Franciscan friar, but A. G. Little<sup>74</sup> argues from internal evidence that the work could hardly have been done by a member of the order and shows that in point of time, the Franciscan doctor named by Hearne could not have composed it. He suggests, rather, that the Thomas Otterbourne who became rector of Klingford in 1393 may have been the true author. Whoever he was, the writer drew mainly from Walsingham or sources common to both. Nearly half of the work is devoted to the reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V, for whose periods it is in some sense contemporary. Certain facts are stated which cannot be found elsewhere but which seem to rest upon good authority.

Charles Kingsford has published the latter part of a hitherto unprinted composition which he calls a *Southern Chronicle*,<sup>75</sup> from the earliest times to 1422. To 1401 the text is derived from the same source used for the *Continuation* of the *Eulogium Historiarum* but the final portion to 1422 is entirely different and independent. The author appears to have been a highly informed ecclesiastic, who wrote from memory. Of little historical value, this work, probably written at London, is valuable as a specimen of the Latin chronicle in decadence.

Adam of Usk's *Chronicle*<sup>76</sup> is unique for this period as being the product of an independent individual, rather than a monastic compiler who had to adopt and reflect the politics of his abbey. Adam (1352-1430) was a Monmouthshire priest, educated at Oxford, who entered the service of Henry IV as an ecclesiastical lawyer. He enjoyed the patronage of several influential persons and frequently acted on important public business. In 1402 he was strangely enough convicted for stealing a horse and money and was exiled. Unfortunate as this may have been for Adam, it was helpful to future historians, for he has written an interesting account of his adventures abroad. After remaining for a while in Rome, where he was employed in trying ecclesiastical cases, Adam gained a pardon and in 1411 returned to England among his old friends. The *Chronicle* itself is meager and for English history

<sup>73</sup> Printed in Thomas Hearne, ed., *Duo rerum Anglicarum scriptores veteres: Thomas Otterbourne et Joannes Whethamstede* (Oxford, 1732, 2 v.), I, 3-283; GROSS, no. 1827.

<sup>74</sup> Andrew G. Little, *The Grey Friars in Oxford* (Oxford, 1892: Oxford Historical Society, XX), 174-75; GROSS, no. 1827.

<sup>75</sup> Kingsford (n. 61), appendix, 275-78.

<sup>76</sup> *Chronicon Adae de Usk, A.D. 1377-1421*, ed. with a translation by E. M. Thompson (2nd ed., London, 1904), cp. the editor's introduction; GROSS, no. 1853.

of slight historical value except for information on the deposition and last days of Richard II. Some events were recorded contemporaneously; others were written from memory. Its chief importance lies in its vivid account of the condition of Rome during the Great Schism. Stamped by the author's personality, it approaches a modern volume of reminiscences.

With the conclusion of Thomas Walsingham's *English History* (1272-1422), there comes to an end the work of the last of the St. Albans school who wrote on a large scale concerning affairs outside the abbey. Walsingham (d. 1422?) was a typical medieval historian, long trained as a professional annalist. Although little is known of his life, it is probable that he was native to Norfolk and that he began writing about 1380 at St. Albans. In 1394 he left that abbey to become prior of Wymundham, but in 1400 he ceased to hold the position and returned to St. Albans. At the latter place he served for long periods as *prae-centor* and *scriptorarius*. He is undoubtedly responsible for most of the works compiled at St. Albans while he was director of the scriptorium, but chief among his own productions stands the *English History*, which he began compiling about 1394. The portion previous to 1377 was derived mainly from earlier annals of the monastery, Hemingburgh, Higden, Rishanger, and Trokelowe. The section from 1377 to 1392 is contemporary, original, and valuable, particularly for the career of Wyclif, Wat Tyler's revolt, and other events of Richard II's reign. We are also indebted to Walsingham for the most complete account of the rule of Henry IV and Henry V. Mr. V. H. Galbraith,<sup>78</sup> the latest investigator of Walsingham, pointed out that his chronicle, though never reproduced in full, is a single continuous narrative from 1377 to 1422—presenting a unity not frequently found in the historiography of this period.

More than two centuries ago William Nicolson indicated the unique position of Walsingham by quaintly dubbing him "the Regius Professor of History" in his monastery. And the work of this man was indeed representative of a school of history which flourished in the abbey during the greater part of the Middle Ages, each writer in turn taking up the task where it had been left and embodying in his own work parts of what had been done before, so that at the last the St. Albans chronicles formed a single unbroken history from the Creation to the year 1440. There is nothing comparable to this enterprise in any other English monastery of the period; and Mr. Galbraith has performed a notable service in tracing the "descent of the St. Albans chronicle."<sup>79</sup>

<sup>77</sup> *Thomae Walsingham, quondam monachi S. Albani, Historia Anglicana*, ed. by H. T. Riley (London, 1863-64, 2 v.: Rolls series no. 28, pt. i). Results of recent investigations on Walsingham and the relationship of the versions of his work may be found with the new edition of the concluding section of Walsingham's narrative in V. H. Galbraith, ed., *The St. Albans Chronicle, 1406-1420* (Oxford, 1936); cp. GROSS, no. 1861.

<sup>78</sup> See the preceding note.

<sup>79</sup> From a review in *LTLS*, 1937, p. 128.

Another work, the *Lives of the Abbots of St. Albans* (793-1411),<sup>80</sup> was evidently written in the scriptorium under Walsingham's direction. It is arranged by the lives of the successive abbots, and Thomas himself did the writing for the years 1308-81. The compilers of the sections before and after these dates are in the main unknown. This account contains many useful documentary materials relating to the abbey. About 1419 Walsingham compiled by means of dictation the *Ypodigma Neustriae*<sup>81</sup> dedicated to Henry V as a compliment for his recent conquests in Normandy. It aimed also to warn the king of future dangers and to teach him some lessons from history. Many careless omissions mark this work. All in all, we can conclude that Walsingham, in his dry, annalistic style, contributed much to a period concerning which we have otherwise only scattered materials. He was the last representative of a dying order in historiography; he belonged to the spirit of a past generation.

After Walsingham the work of the St. Albans scriptorium nearly ceased. The formerly great *Annals of St. Albans* exhibited a swift decay in the fifteenth century. They consist of two different parts—the *Annals*<sup>82</sup> (1421-40), ascribed to John Amundesham, and a *Chronicle* (1422-31)<sup>83</sup> written by an unknown St. Albans monk. There is no conclusive proof that Amundesham was the author of the *Annals*, but some inmate of St. Albans certainly did the work. Little is known even of John, except that he was a scholar and afterwards president of the Benedictine monks studying at Gloucester Hall, Oxford. The author, whoever he was, could not have been present at St. Albans during the early part of the period narrated; this portion was probably compiled from notes and memoranda. For the remainder of the time, however, he was resident at the cloister. Members of the court often stopped there during those troubled times, and the writer gives an eye-witness description of many high people of the realm. The record was more than likely kept as a private account for the amusement of the writer. If it is to be looked upon as a regular abbey chronicle, it is certainly among the very latest of its class. According to H. T. Riley, the manuscript was for years overlooked because of its uninviting appearance, but it now stands as the chief authority for a period on which little has been written. To 1431 it shares this place with the anonymous *Chronicle* already mentioned. Both are composed in a dry style.

<sup>80</sup> *Thomas Walsingham, Gesta abbatum monasterii S. Albani*, ed. by H. T. Riley (London, 1867-69, 3 v.: Rolls series no. 28, pt. iv); GROSS, no. 2402.

<sup>81</sup> *Thomas Walsingham, Ypodigma Neustriae*, ed. by H. T. Riley (London, 1876: Rolls series no. 28, pt. vii); GROSS, no. 1861.

<sup>82</sup> *Johannes Amundesham, Annales monasterii S. Albani*, ed. by H. T. Riley (London, 1870-71, 2 v.: Rolls series no. 28, pt. v); GROSS, no. 1679.

<sup>83</sup> Prefixed to Riley's edition of *Johannes Amundesham*, I, 1-72.

Before passing on we should notice the last work of importance at St. Albans during this century, the Register of John of Wethamstede.<sup>84</sup> He was twice abbot of the house (1420–40 and again 1451–65). The work was at first attributed to Robert Blakeney, who was once possessor of the manuscript. Hearne believed that Wethamstede himself wrote it, but this has been disproved by internal evidence and handwriting.<sup>85</sup> The sources probably included registers kept by the abbot and eye-witness accounts of the monks. The work deals not only with abbey affairs, but also with the political history of England in the period covered. It is especially valuable for the Wars of the Roses, which receive an increasing proportion of treatment after 1455.

Aside from Walsingham's account and the other records emanating from St. Albans we possess several biographies of Henry V. One of the most important of these is the *Life*<sup>86</sup> by Titus Livy (fl. 1437), written about 1438. The author was native to Forlì, near Ferrara in Italy, and was one of the Italian scholars who took service with Humphrey of Gloucester. Little more of his life is known, save that he was a member of Henry VI's privy council and that he was entrusted by Humphrey with the task of writing a biography of Henry V. His work, composed in simple language, is unsatisfactory in its concluding portion, but is on the whole good.

The best account for the first four years of Henry V's reign is a *Gesta* (1413–16),<sup>87</sup> frequently called the "Chronicle of the Chaplain," because it was written by such a person in Henry V's army. Benjamin Williams, the editor, surmised that the author was one Jean Bordin who accompanied the monarch on his first French campaign. Other critics have later declared, however, that Thomas of Elmham was the true composer, and this conclusion is confirmed by J. H. Wylie and C. L. Kingsford. Elmham wrote about 1416 and was eye-witness to many of the events narrated. His descriptions are commendable, especially that of the battle of Agincourt. The style is dignified and lucid. The same Elmham, who was originally a Benedictine from Norfolk, in 1414 became a Cluniac and prior of Lenton in Nottinghamshire. In addition to the *Gesta* he wrote a *History of St. Augustine's* and a *Liber metricus de Henrico Quinto*.<sup>88</sup> The author appears to have been influenced by

<sup>84</sup> GROSS, nos. 1865, 2407.

<sup>85</sup> It is now believed that the text is a compilation from various sources made soon after Wethamstede's death (1465) by an unknown hand.

<sup>86</sup> *Titii Livii Foro-Julienensis Vita Henrici Quinti regis Angliae* [1413–22], ed. by Thomas Hearne (Oxford, 1716); GROSS, nos. 1789, 1814.

<sup>87</sup> *Henrici Quinti Angliae regis gesta*, etc., ed. by Benjamin Williams (London, 1850: English Historical Society); GROSS, no. 1789.

<sup>88</sup> The *Liber metricus* is printed in Charles A. Cole, ed., *Memorials of Henry V, King of England* (London, 1858: Rolls series no. 11), 77–167; GROSS, no. 1769, cp. 1789 and 1364.



the fanatical feeling that the king was God's chosen instrument, to scourge the French people for their shortcomings, and for the exaltation of the Catholic Church. In contrast to Elmham's earlier work, this metrical account is obscurely written, but contains information not alluded to elsewhere.

We have finally to consider a fourth *Vita* whose authorship has long proved a mystery. Hearne, who published the work in 1727,<sup>89</sup> attributed it to Elmham; and this relationship has been accepted by most critics until recently. Kingsford,<sup>90</sup> however, has made a thorough examination of these early biographies of Henry V and asserts that Thomas could not have written the work. He believes that one Vincent Clement may have been the author of this "pseudo-Elmham." Clement, a native of Valencia, studied at Oxford and was patronized by Humphrey of Gloucester. He was, indeed, the orator of the latter, and his grandiloquent speech agrees with the style of the *Vita* under consideration. If he wrote it, he must have done so about 1446, but Kingsford thinks that the authorship will always remain in doubt. The work itself is an expansion of Titus Livy's *Life* and is marred by an obscure and turgid style.

In passing over the historical works which concluded in the early reign of Henry VI, we should notice the so-called *Northern Chronicle* (1399-1430),<sup>91</sup> a portion of which Kingsford has published for the first time. It occurs, like many other short works, as a continuation of Higden's *Polychronicon*. The authorship has not been determined, but it was probably written by a Cistercian monk of Yorkshire or Lancashire and is certainly of northern origin. In spite of its brevity the *Chronicle* contains details of interest; and although founded on earlier works, it is an independent account.

By the end of the fourteenth century most of the monastic annals had come to a close, but the *Bermondsey Annals*<sup>92</sup> reached to 1432. They differed from other monastic productions of this nature also in that they were not written from year to year, but were rather compiled from documents and other chronicles about 1433. Although dealing mainly with affairs of the priory, these annals devote some attention to general history and are of use for the reigns of Henry IV and Henry V. The chief sources for the earlier portion (1042-1206) are the *Flores Historiarum*, William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, and Ralph

<sup>89</sup> *Vita et gesta Henrici Quinti, Anglorum regis*, ed. by Thomas Hearne (Oxford, 1727); cp. GROSS, no. 1789.

<sup>90</sup> C. L. Kingsford, "The Early Biographies of Henry V," *EHR*, XXV (1910), 58-92.

<sup>91</sup> See Kingsford, *English Historical Literature* (n. 61), 281-82.

<sup>92</sup> *Annales monasterii de Bermundeseia* [1042-1432], printed in H. R. Luard, ed., *Annales Monastici* (London, 1864-69, 5 v.: Rolls series no. 36), III, 421-87; GROSS, no. 1691.

of Diceto; after 1206 the materials drawn upon are difficult of determination. The compiler, whoever he was, proved generally accurate, but the chief interest of the annals lies in the fact that they were put together so much later than other monastic annals.

A work which is partly a collection of theological tracts and partly a history of the rise of Lollardism is the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*<sup>93</sup> attributed to Thomas Netter (d. 1430). Netter was born in Saffron Walden about 1380, was educated at Oxford, and was admitted to the Carmelite order in London in 1395. He later succeeded his patron, Stephen Patryngton, as provincial of his order in England. Netter traveled abroad on several occasions and founded several monasteries in Lithuania. His authorship of the *Fasciculi*, however, is questioned, and Walter Shirley, the editor, believes that the work was written after Netter's death from papers found in his possession. The basis of the account is a fragment of a history of the Lollards composed by an earlier hand—possibly by Stephen Patryngton. The treatment of these heretics is unsympathetic and valuable chiefly as an illustration of the theological controversies of the age. Many documents relating to the life of Wyclif are also contained in it, in addition to numerous theological argumentations. Although the only contemporary description of the rise of Lollardism, the *Fasciculi* is weakened by bias and uneven in point of accuracy.

A series of chronicles<sup>94</sup> covering the reigns of Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VI have been edited in a single volume by J. A. Giles. The first of these is a compilation to 1403 but of different and valuable character from that date until its conclusion in 1413. Written in London about 1460, it is a useful authority but requires checking. The second of these chronicles is almost identical with the *Henrici V Gesta* of Thomas of Elmham ("Chaplain's Chronicle"). The *Chronicle of Henry VI* has the merit of being the most nearly complete Latin history of the reign, but stops at 1455. The author, who is unknown, was probably contemporary, evinced a Yorkist bias, and wrote about 1460.

The only continuous chronicle of the fifteenth century was, significantly enough, written in English. This was the *Chronicle of the Brute*,<sup>95</sup> so called because it begins with Brutus. It is known also as *Caxton's Chronicle*, having been printed by Caxton in 1480. The main narrative was formed by a rehandling of materials found in the London chronicles,

<sup>93</sup> *Fasciculi zizaniorum magistri Johannis Wyclif cum tritico*, ascribed to Thomas Netter of Walden, ed. by Walter W. Shirley (London, 1858: Rolls series no. 5); GROSS, no. 2253.

<sup>94</sup> *Chronicon Angliæ (Incerti scriptoris) de regnis Henrici IV, Henrici V et Henrici VI* [1399–1455], ed. by J. A. Giles (London, 1848); GROSS, no. 1746.

<sup>95</sup> *The Brute, or Chronicles of England*, etc., ed. by Friedrich W. D. Brie (London, 1906–08, 2 v.: Early English Text Society, nos. 131, 136); GROSS, no. 1733.

but other sources were also used. To 1333 it is "a mere translation of the French *Brut d'Engleterre*" and of no historical value. Several independent continuations in English were composed from that date, and some of these become useful after 1377. The authorship of each remains uncertain, but the information can generally be tested by contemporary authorities. One of these continuations, which extended to 1461, was used by Caxton when he published the first of English printed histories. There are other versions reaching still farther. F. W. D. Brie, the editor, writes that the *Chronicle* is worthless as literature, but Kingsford points out that it is of great literary interest as being the first notable narrative in English. The style, indeed, is poor, but the fact of its existence is important. Although the work must be studied with the London chronicles and extant ballads, it is of value to the historian of the fifteenth century.

Another continuation of the *Chronicle of the Brute* has come down to us as *An English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VI* (1377-1461).<sup>96</sup> This was compiled between 1461 and 1471 by an unknown writer, who followed the narrative thread of the *Brute* after 1377 but added large and curious portions from another source. The place of composition remains undetermined. The work is of some value for the reign of Henry VI, especially for Cade's rebellion, but exhibits ardent Yorkist sympathies.

John Hardyng's *Chronicle*,<sup>97</sup> from Albina to 1461, ends at this time. It was written in English verse and probably completed about 1465. Although it contains some information on the affairs of the kingdom after 1399, the work is of slight historical value and depends for its interest on the personal views of the author. Hardyng was born in 1378 and on maturity entered the service of Sir Robert Umfraville, a Northumbrian knight. For a time in the employ of Henry V and Henry VI, Hardyng carried on researches in Scotland for documents relating to the pretended English overlordship there. The papers he produced were later shown to be forgeries. His political services were further rounded out during the term of his office as constable of the castle of Kyme, Lincolnshire. Hardyng died about 1465; the *Chronicle* which he left is interesting as the product of a man of affairs.

William Worcester (1415-90) was a man of antiquarian tastes and an industrious collector. He compiled collections of materials on the English wars in France and then carried his collecting instinct into the

<sup>96</sup> Edited under this same title by John S. Davies (London, 1856: Camden Society, LXIV); GROSS, no. 1743.

<sup>97</sup> *The Chronicle of John Hardyng, from the Earliest Period of English History, together with the Continuation by Richard Grafton*, ed. by Henry Ellis (London, 1812); GROSS, no. 1787; see also C. L. Kingsford, "The First Version of Hardyng's Chronicle," *EHR*, XXVII (1912), 462-82.

field of historical writing. The result was his *English Annals*<sup>98</sup> (1324–1468), a compendium of facts in chronological order. Worcester, also known as William Botoner, was a native of Bristol and an adherent of the house of York. For a considerable period he served as secretary to the celebrated Sir John Fastolf. The *Annals* were written in London and to 1440 were derived from a rescension of a London chronicle. Worcester's original work seems to have begun at about the end of Henry VI's reign, but he may still have used as a base another London chronicle. Style is completely lacking, but in the absence of any full history this annalistic production is valuable for the last portion of the reign of Henry VI and the first years of Edward IV.

The sources of the period known as the Wars of the Roses are exceptionally meager. In such a time, when political animosity reached a high point, no chronicler dared to record the truth. Scattered information on Henry VI and Edward IV is contained in a work entitled *Brief Notes of Occurrences under Henry VI and Edward IV* (1422–62).<sup>99</sup> This is one of three fifteenth-century chronicles edited together by James Gairdner. It appears to have been written at the monastery of Ely and is composed mainly in Latin. The early portion gives a history of the bishops of Ely, but only extracts from the general history after 1422 have been published. The contents of this later part are very miscellaneous—partly jottings and excerpts from various sources, but still a contemporary register of events. Gairdner believes it to be a mere memorandum book, intended to aid in the compilation of a more polished chronicle. Its authorship has not been ascertained. It shows confusion in certain parts and many inaccurate dates; the work, nevertheless, is an original source for some points and valuable chiefly for the years 1459–62.

Soon after the completion of the *Brief Notes*, a *Short English Chronicle*<sup>100</sup> was finished. This was probably penned in the reign of Edward IV and in itself comprises three short chronicles. The first of these is a brief abridgment of the *Chronicle of the Brute*, to Henry IV. Secondly come Lydgate's verses on the kings of England. Finally, there is one of the regular London chronicles, which extends from 1189 to 1465, and which gives historical value to the whole *Short English Chronicle*. The latter part of this work adds to the meager outlines given by William of Worcester and Fabyan, and "has all the value of an original and independent authority for the reigns of Henry VI and Edward IV."

<sup>98</sup> *Wilhelmi Wyrcester annales rerum anglicarum*, ed. by Joseph Stevenson in his *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the Reign of Henry VI, King of England* (London, 1861–64, 2 v. in 3: Rolls series no. 22), II, 743–93; GROSS, no. 1867.

<sup>99</sup> James Gairdner, ed., *Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles, with Historical Memoranda by John Stowe* (London, 1880: Camden Society, n. s., XXVIII); 148–63; GROSS, no. 1672.

<sup>100</sup> Printed in Gairdner (n. 99), 1–80.

The third work edited in Gairdner's volume is *A Brief Latin Chronicle* (1429-71),<sup>101</sup> written as a continuation of a Latin translation of the *Chronicle of the Brute*. Whoever the compiler was, he certainly lived in the days of Henry VI and Edward IV. The part on Henry VI, however, is of little value, while the remainder constitutes the clearest contemporary account of the military and naval movements during Edward IV's reign. It is especially important for the years 1461-64.

In this period we have two short chronicles descriptive of isolated events during the troubled rule of Edward IV. One of these is the *Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire, 1470*,<sup>102</sup> which "evidently proceeded from one who wrote under the immediate influence of the royal authority and had consequently the best means of information." It is valuable for light shed on certain obscure events and shows frequent reference to documents. Another work composed by a Yorkist partisan appeared soon thereafter. This is the *Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV*,<sup>103</sup> containing the best contemporary account of the restoration of Edward IV and the overthrow of the Lancastrian party. The author calls himself "a servant of the king that presently saw in effect a great part of his exploits." He wrote on the spot, immediately after the events, and was possessed of full means of knowledge. His work was adopted by the king as an accurate relation of his achievements and in spite of its bias is superior to all other accounts. These were written by the "adverse faction" or after the subsequent Lancastrian triumph, which made it unsafe to publish anything that tended to relieve the Yorkists from the weight of popular odium attaching to the real or supposed crimes of their leaders.

For the first thirteen years of Edward IV's reign we have John Warkworth's *Chronicle* (1461-74).<sup>104</sup> It is a short, but valuable fragment, penned as a continuation of *Caxton's Chronicle*. Although the manuscript is in the handwriting of a scribe, its authorship has been generally credited to Warkworth (d. 1500), who bequeathed the document to St. Peter's college. He was master of that school from 1473 to 1500, and seems to have been of moderate learning and ability although he gives evidence of considerable superstition. The *Chronicle* is so minute that it can almost be called an occasional diary. On account of the

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 164-85.

<sup>102</sup> *Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire, 1470*, ed. by John G. Nichols (London, 1847: Camden Miscellany, I); GROSS, no. 1742.

<sup>103</sup> *Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV in England and the Final Reconerye of his Kingdomes from Henry VI, A.D. 1471*, ed. by John Bruce (London, 1838: Camden Society, I); GROSS, no. 1799.

<sup>104</sup> *John Warkworth, A Chronicle of the First Thirteen Years of the Reign of the King Edward the Fourth*, ed. by James O. Halliwell (London, 1839: Camden Society, X); GROSS, no. 1862.

great paucity of materials for this period it is especially useful and can be supported by collateral proof.

We come finally to a new kind of source—perhaps the most important of the fifteenth century. This was the series of London chronicles, which Kingsford declares to be the primary narrative sources for the period.<sup>105</sup> So many versions of the London chronicles have appeared that some confusion as to their nature has resulted. They were at first begun as a convenient means of keeping record of successive civic officers. To this it became customary to add, year by year, notices of certain memorable events. One of the earliest examples is the *Annales Londonienses*, probably written by Andrew Horne (d. 1328).<sup>106</sup> The regular English chronicles of London were first put into shape about 1414. To this original continuations were added between 1417 and 1430, and from this were derived in 1431–32 two versions of distinctive characteristics. In 1440 there appeared a new series of redactions which proved to be the most permanent of the early versions. The main source was a 1430 rendition. What Kingsford refers to as the Main City Chronicle was the outcome of a long process of compilation from 1440 to 1485. This in turn was, of course, based on earlier chronicles. Two versions of it are, as we shall see, Fabyan's *Concordance* and *The Great Chronicle*.

Apparently all of the London chronicles were written contemporaneously in the first instance. They have the common characteristic of showing events recorded under the years of the mayoralty, headed by the names of the civic officers. Their main interest is that they give the opinion of Londoners, chiefly middle class, on the events of the time. While not very authoritative for occurrences outside the city, they contain much detail on local history. Although rude and artless compilations, these popular works stimulated interest in history.

Since many copies and versions of the chronicles have appeared, it would not be possible or profitable to consider them all in this survey. One of the most important was composed mainly by William Gregory (d. 1467), a member of the Skinners' Company of London. His *Chronicle* (1189–1470)<sup>107</sup> devoted much attention to national transactions. It contains one of the best accounts of Cade's rebellion and is particularly useful for the years 1440–52. Gregory, who was sheriff of London in 1436 and lord mayor in 1451, was probably not the sole author, but the names of his collaborators are unknown. It was surely another

<sup>105</sup> For a comprehensive analysis see his *English Historical Literature* (n. 61).

<sup>106</sup> These have been considered earlier in this chapter as a product of the fourteenth century, cp. n. 32.

<sup>107</sup> *Chronicle of William Gregory, Skinner*, printed in James Gairdner, ed., *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1876: Camden Society, n. s., XVII); GROSS, nos. 1669 and 1785.

hand that carried the chronicle from the year of his death to its close in 1470. This work is typical of the London productions. It is of no great historical importance and lacks style and artistic merit; a personal note toward the end, nevertheless, evinces surprising wit and humor.

One of the best known of the London chronicles is Robert Fabyan's *Concordance*,<sup>108</sup> from Brutus to 1485. It is probably a copy or version of the Main City Chronicle. Little is known concerning the writer. Fabyan (d. 1513) was an alderman of London who "presents us with the rare instance of a citizen and merchant, in the fifteenth century, devoting himself to the pleasures of learning." He came from a substantial Essex family, was rich, and knew French and Latin. The principal sources for the early part of his work are Bede, Caxton, the *Flores Historiarum*, Henry of Huntingdon, Malmesbury, and many others. Fabyan shows no large critical capacity; like the old chroniclers in general he went beyond the point of historical certainty in his details. In addition to a prejudice against monasteries, he shows tinges of superstition. His work, in the form of a regular London chronicle, is of some value for general and local history, especially during the reigns of Edward IV and Richard III. It was finished in 1504 but belongs to the fifteenth century.

The fullest version and best representative of the Main City Chronicle is *The Great Chronicle*.<sup>109</sup> It is a redaction of earlier accounts and has a continuation from 1496 to 1513. The author is not known, but the original work was penned in a single hand. This *Chronicle*, valuable for the reigns of Edward V and Richard III, shows the London series of chronicles at the height of its development in the fifteenth century.

With the accession of the Tudors in 1485 new forces in national life and historiography were to be set in motion.

<sup>108</sup> *The New Chronicles of England and France . . . by Robert Fabyan, named by himself The Concordance of Histories*, ed. by Henry Ellis (London, 1811); GROSS, no. 1771.

<sup>109</sup> *The Great Chronicle of London*, ed. Edmund H. Dring (London, 1913).

## CHAPTER XXIII

### GERMAN HISTORIOGRAPHY FROM THE INTERREGNUM TO THE EVE OF THE REFORMATION<sup>1</sup>

THE Interregnum (1250-73) had as profound an effect upon German historiography as it had upon German politics, and we find a great hiatus in historical writing comparable to the political disruption. The decay of German historiography after the fall of the Hohenstaufen is ignominious. The general value of the evidence is less than previously. The narrative becomes shapeless; any historical insight is rare; the writers do not comprehend the real connection of affairs, which must be learned from official documents, now fortunately becoming more numerous. This poverty of the annalists may be appreciated when it is said that an event of such importance as the Golden Bull of Charles IV in 1356 is mentioned in one chronicle only, and there in the most incidental way. Universal history was written almost exclusively for schools and for preachers to point their morals with. Most of such writers were Dominicans. The most popular of these compilations was that of Martin the Pole; it is "a book without a trace of historical intelligence and full of fables," but it possessed the field and was provided with continuations as they became necessary. The local chronicles are of more value, for the Empire was resolved into its territories and its history shared the same fate. The failure of Rudolph of Habsburg ruined all interest in large or general historical writing.

Hermann, abbot of the Bavarian monastery of Niederaltaich, compiled a series of annals which extend from 1137 to 1273, but are contemporary only from 1256 on. They contain valuable matter pertaining to the history of Bavaria, Austria, and Bohemia, but the treatment is

<sup>1</sup> WATTENBACH supplied the want of a guide to medieval German historiography down to the middle of the thirteenth century. In 1876 Professor Ottokar Lorenz of Vienna, who had prepared the matter in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* pertaining to the history of Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland in the last centuries of the Middle Ages, and was also the author of an important work on German history after the Interregnum, filled the gap by his *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter seit der Mitte des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1876-77, 2 v.; 3rd rev. ed., 1886-87). The task could only have been accomplished by a scholar who had long and thoroughly studied the history of the period. For a masterly review of Lorenz by Max Lenz, see *RH*, VII (1878), 174-81. For briefer works, see H. Vildhaut, *Handbuch der Quellenkunde zur deutschen Geschichte* (Weil, 1906-09, 2 v.), vol. II; K. Jacob, *Quellenkunde der deutschen Geschichte* (vol. I [to 1400] in 3rd ed., Leipzig, 1922, vol. II in 2nd ed., 1926); *A History of All Nations*, ed. by J. H. Wright (Philadelphia and New York, 1905), IX, 304-05, and X, 19-21.



characterized by narrow monkish prejudice. A continuation of these annals to 1305 was made by Eberhard, archdeacon of Regensburg.

The chief Bavarian writer of the time was an anonymous monk of the abbey of Fürstenfeld, who wrote the *Chronicle of the Princes* (*Chronicon de gestis principum*), which covers the years between 1273 and 1326. It relates events from the accession of Rudolph of Habsburg to the victory of Ludwig IV of Bavaria. It displays unusual mastery of material and is favorable to Bavaria. In Austria the cultivation of historical writing flourished in the Dominican houses at Klosterneuburg, Heiligenkreuz, and Zwettl.

In Alsace, Strassburg was an important literary place where the soundness and sturdiness of the town element began early to develop an historical tradition. The victorious struggle of the burghers over Bishop Walter of Geroldstock in 1262 was an influential factor in the growth of this spirit. Soon after this date an unknown citizen of Strassburg wrote the *Bellum Waltherianum*. This conflict also figures in the annals which the Strassburger Ellenhard (d. 1304) wrote in Latin, covering the period between 1208 and 1297. The accession of the Habsburgs to imperial rule was hailed with enthusiasm in Alsace, famously loyal to that house, and exercised an influence on the development of historical literature in this southwestern quarter of Germany, where Gottfried von Ensingen, an episcopal notary, wrote the *Gesta Rudolphi et Alberti regum Romanorum*.

The best sources for the history of Henry VII are the works of Italian writers. The relation of the emperor's ill-fated Roman expedition by the Dominican Nicholas, bishop of Butrinto, is of especial interest. The author was a Frenchman by birth, and Henry VII was half-French and had a peculiar attachment to French culture. Hence the bishop was employed on diplomatic missions and as mediator between the emperor and the papal court. The anti-imperial or Guelfic side of the Roman expedition was related by Albertinus Mussatus, a Paduan, in the *Historia Augusta*. He, too, was employed on diplomatic errands and took notes on events. Later Mussatus wrote twelve books of Italian history and lived long enough to record an account of Ludwig IV's Roman expedition. The archival material of Henry VII's reign, however, is far more valuable than the chronicles. These state papers were scattered after his death and have been recovered in recent years at Turin and Pisa.

Fourteenth-century German historiography to a large degree revolves around the rivalry of three competing houses—the Luxemburg-Bohemian house, the Wittelsbacher of Bavaria, and the Habsburgs of Austria. The *Life of Ludwig IV* of Bavaria, by an unknown author, is a tendentious tract lauding the emperor and derogatory to the Habsburgs. An

intimate and unique source for the history of Charles IV is his *Autobiography*, which unfortunately stops at 1346, though he lived until 1378. It seems never intended for publication and merely a sort of *mémoire pour servir* for a future historian of his reign. Such a one was found in Benessius Krabice von Weitmühl, a canon of Prague who wrote a chronicle of the house of Luxemburg in four books which begins in 1283 and extends to 1374,<sup>2</sup> and was based on the archives of the cathedral and information furnished by the emperor.

In the Austrian lands John, abbot of Viktring, on Lake Wörth in Carinthia, began a work which terminates with the acquisition of the duchy by the Habsburgs. Unfortunately the abbot began his chronicle with Charlemagne, so that only the last portion has value. But this is very great, for John of Viktring used a large amount of information derived from men of the time who had been actually engaged in events. Moreover, he possessed critical judgment and an open mind. Alsace and part of old Swabia were other pro-Habsburg regions. In the former Matthias of Neuburg in the Breisgau wrote a history from the time of Frederick II to the reign of Charles, that is from 1245 to 1350. "It belongs to the best sources of the period."<sup>3</sup> Most important of all Alsatian sources is the *Chronik* of Jacob Twinger of Königshofen (1346-1420), a priest of Strassburg, which comes down to the death of Charles IV in 1378. Having collected his materials Twinger showed remarkable method. He arranged the information under certain headings. His first attempt was in Latin, but in 1382 he abandoned Latin for German, because, he says, "common people are as much interested in history as the learned." The work was revised three times; the last and fullest edition reaches to 1415. Throughout, Twinger's chapter-headings distinguish between secular and ecclesiastical history, and to make the book more remarkable, the author indexed the work. Twinger was strongly anti-Habsburg and hated the French. His sentiments were bourgeois and local. This chronicle was widely copied before the invention of printing and was one of the earliest histories to be printed. It has the merit of being the first general history in German which was accessible to all.<sup>4</sup>

Henricus or Henry of Diessenhofen<sup>5</sup> was the most renowned historian of South Germany in the fourteenth century. He was a canon of Constance and chaplain of Pope John XXII. Inspired by the famous *Church History* of Ptolemy of Lucca,<sup>6</sup> which ended in 1312, Henry of

<sup>2</sup> POTTHAST, I, 144-45.

<sup>3</sup> The Strassburg *Chronicle* of Fritsche Closener of the same time (it extends to 1362) is not a true chronicle, but a collection of documents.

<sup>4</sup> For literature on Twinger see POTTHAST, II, 1076-78.

<sup>6</sup> *Historia ecclesiastica*, in 24 books, cp. *ibid.*, II, 945.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 578.

Diessenhofen composed an ecclesiastical history which he modestly called a *Chronicon*, covering the years 1316-61. It is a primary source for the history of the Avignonese papacy. No two better places than Constance and Avignon could have been found in the fourteenth century for the acquisition of information, and Henry made excellent use of his opportunity. He is favorable but not partial to the papal cause. Quite opposite in spirit is an Augustinian monk of Eichstädt, named Henry of Rebdorf,<sup>7</sup> who considered that John XXII was responsible for all the evils and corruption of the Church in the fourteenth century. Henry of Rebdorf seems to have continued a previous chronicle of his house which extended from the election of Albert I to 1313. Then he supplemented his papal history from 1288 to 1345 by utilizing some imperial chronicle for the years 1314-41, to which he added a history of the papacy from 1342 to 1362, and events of Charles IV's reign to 1369. This last part is nothing but a string of anecdotes.

The historical literature of the other territorial regions of Germany is of less importance. In Lower Saxony the Minorite house in Lübeck preserved their annals for the years between 1264 and 1315; the last part, to which the name of Albert of Stada is attached, is the best. In Upper Saxony and Thuringia the old chronicle of the monastery of St. Peter in Erfurt (*Annales S. Petri Erphesfurdenses*) in its fifth part is continued to 1338. The monks of Reinhardsbrunn in Thuringia wrote the history of the landgraves of Thuringia of the Wettin house. In Silesia the Cistercian house at Leubus produced the *Annales Lubenses*, which run from 1241 to 1315.

Political theory made a noteworthy advance in Germany in the fourteenth century because of the feud between the papacy and the Emperor Ludwig IV. The ramshackle condition of the Holy Roman Empire in this period led Engelbert, abbot of Admont in Austria, to attack the validity of imperial authority and even the right of the empire to endure. The connection of the empire with the papacy was attacked by strong monarchists and secular-minded thinkers, notably by Marsiglio of Padua, an Italian polemist in the service of Ludwig IV. His *Defensor Pacis* is the major document in political theory in the fourteenth century. The Great Schism and the movement for church reform further stimulated political theory until theory and practice alike merged into the Renaissance and the Reformation.

Another interesting form of quasi-historical literature of the time is the folk-songs and popular poetry, which reflect all the political tendencies and economic and social grievances of the age. It may be said that the bourgeois and peasant literature of France and England in this

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 581.

epoch exhibits the same manifestations—witness *Piers Ploughman*—but German literature perhaps is richer than these other countries in this kind of writing.<sup>8</sup>

A traditional type of historical narrative current in late medieval Germany was the city chronicle.<sup>9</sup> In a decentralized country like Germany it was inevitable that local histories should flourish. The chronicle of Gottfried Haden, a notary of Cologne at the end of the thirteenth century, composed under the influence of the troubadours, was written in verse; two centuries later it was rendered into prose by an anonymous writer.

Among the earliest town chronicles the most famous is the *Magdeburg Schöppenchronik*, probably written by the city notary, Henry of Lamspringe. It is a contemporary account for the years 1350–72. Three continuations extended it to 1403, but are inferior to the first part.

The town chronicles of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, though unequal in value and style, are important for the history of institutions and manners, but contain little politics. German cities were struggling for liberty against both nobility and clergy; and each city and province had its chronicler, who often adapted or continued earlier historians. Limburg, for example, had a series of chroniclers, of whom only the later ones, George and Adam Emmel, are known by name; their work extends to 1561. Most of the important cities had their chronicles: Mainz, Cologne, Strassburg, Regensburg, Augsburg, Magdeburg, Brunswick, Breslau, Nuremberg, Dortmund, Weimar, Jena, Leipzig, Dresden, Halle, Basel, Lübeck, and Soest.

The medieval German cities through centuries represented the civilization of the middle classes as contrasted with the clergy and the nobility. The *Chroniken der deutschen Städte*, edited by Karl von Hegel, and published by the historical section of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, give a direct introduction to middle class civilization and German economic life during the height of the medieval times. This collection is not concerned with the history of the German empire, nor with the life and the strife of the nobility and the upper classes, nor with the deeds of the emperors and the distant pope, but with the portrayal of the general, manifold life which was found within the town walls and under the citadels, underneath pointed gables, spacious guildhalls, and high towers; furthermore, with the economic strife of the guilds and trade unions, the masses of the population, the rise and decline of active generations of human beings. In the introduction to this series Hegel wrote:

<sup>8</sup> A convenient little collection of this kind of material is Theodor Schauffler, *Quellenbüchlein zur Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Mittelalters* (2nd ed., Leipzig, 1894).

<sup>9</sup> On the town chronicle see WEGELE, 48–67, 143–78.

The chronicles of cities occupy an exceedingly important place in the history of national development, inasmuch as they represent a necessary link in the chain of general historical development. Just as the cultivation of learning and science passed from the clergy and the nobility to the middle classes in the cities during the last few centuries of the middle ages, literature, in particular owing to the participation of the middle classes, became nationalized to an extent, and in a direction, that had formerly never been found. With respect to the writing of history, it was at this time that historical works,—as also jurisprudential books and other documents,—were first written in German prose, which soon replaced the Latin of the scholars and made science and literature accessible to the public. The most characteristic productions in respect to this type of historical composition by the middle classes, was represented by the city chronicles. It is true, they were not exclusively written by members of the middle classes, but they were all compositions by citizens, including the monks and clergy, who employed the German language for the benefit of the public and the laymen. Amongst these writers might be mentioned the Strassburg citizen Fritsche Closener, or the Franciscan lecturer of Lübeck. Moreover, it is found that there were many chroniclers occupying various other professions, e.g., patricians, city officials, merchants and artisans, scholars and individuals without technical education. . . . The chronicles of the German cities represent monuments, both in respect to the development of the German language, and in respect to historical sources and contents.

The most famous German city chronicle of the fifteenth century is the *Chronicarum liber*, or *Nuremberg Chronicle* written by Hartmann Schedel (1440-1514). Not a little of the importance of the book is due to the 2,000 woodcuts by Wohlgemuth, father-in-law of Dürer. Schedel's work is not original; he relied upon an older Nuremberg chronicle, that of Plettenberg-Truchsess. The book was first published in 1493. It offered a pictorial record of world history from the creation to the time of Emperor Maximilian I, "embracing all the legend and superstition of the time." The illustrations included views of the chief cities of Europe, the tower of Babel, biblical scenes, popes, saints, monsters, martyrdoms, the coming of Anti-Christ, the Dance of Death, etc. The last portion of the text is the most important, as it deals at first hand with events in the fifteenth century, including the discovery of printing.

Of greater rarity than the *Nuremberg Chronicle* of 1493, or the *Cologne Chronicle* of 1499, is Conrad Botho's (d. 1499) *Cronecken der Sassen*, which was printed by Peter Schoeffer at Mainz in 1492 and is a curious cross between a universal and a provincial chronicle. It begins with the creation of the world, the founding of Rome, and the birth of Christ, but already on fol. 7 we reach: "Of the Saxons and how they obtained their land, and of what stock they came and how they were converted to the Christian faith." From that point on the chronicle proceeds in annalistic form, with the main stress and prominence given to the Saxon tribes, their dynasties, and their deeds. The genealogy of Widukind and his descendants, the Guelfs and the Dukes of Brunswick, is carefully traced and illustrated throughout the book, and it is evident

that the author was a subject of the Brunswick dukes, and that he uses the term "Saxon" in the sense of "Lower-Saxon," connoting the North-German territories between the Rhine, the Elbe, and the North Sea, and not the Kingdom of Saxony in Central Germany. The language also is characteristic of Brunswick and its neighborhood, and the author's personal observations and recollections embodied in the last pages all refer to that town and its surroundings.<sup>10</sup>

There were also provincial and diocesan histories. Nicolaus von Siegen's *Chronicon ecclesiasticum* (1440-94) is a shining example. John Thurmayr, surnamed Aventinus (1477-1534), was the official historiographer of Bavaria and compiled the *Annales Boiorum* published at Ingolstadt in 1654, and a *Bayerische Chronik*, the latter being based upon critical sources; in 1880-86 the Academy of Munich published a complete edition of Aventinus' work in five volumes. Matthias Döring, a Saxon chronicler, wrote bluntly about the abuses of the Catholic Church. John Mayer (d. 1485), father confessor of the monastery of Adelhausen, compiled a chronicle of the popes from the foundation of the Dominican Order. The chronicle of the famous monastery of Hirsau, in the *Codex Hirsauensis* (published at Stuttgart in 1843), deals not only with the monastery but with all of southwest Germany. Felix Faber (d. 1502) wrote a *Historia Suevorum*, of which the second volume is devoted to the city of Ulm and the neighboring monasteries. Another *Historia Suevorum*, but more critical, was compiled by John Nauclerus (d. 1510), and edited by Melanchthon; it had so great a success that between 1516 and 1617 nine editions were published. Thuringia found its historian in John Rothe; the city of Breslau in Peter Eschenloer; and Alsace in Jacob Twinger, canon of Strassburg cathedral.

Switzerland was most prolific in chronicles. Conrad Justinger (d. 1476), a notary of Bern, was instructed by the city authorities to write a history of the city. His *Der Stadt Bern Alte Chronik* begins with 1152 and extends to his own time; a critical edition of this valuable history was published in 1871. In 1507 Captain Peterman Etterlyn published a *Kronica von der loblichen Eydtgnoschaft*, which contains legendary material and which first gave Tell the name of William; the *Kronica* was reprinted at Basel in 1752. Melchior Russ, a Lucerne notary and diplomat, composed a *History of the Burgundian Wars*. The Tell legend was first given currency in Switzerland in a manuscript known as the *White Book of Sarmen*, written between 1467 and 1476, placing the event after the accession of Emperor Rudolph in 1273. Melchior Russ also mentions the legend in his *Chronicle* which he began in 1482. The

<sup>10</sup> See Carl Schaer, *Conrad Bote's niedersächsische Bilderchronik, ihre Quellen und ihr historischer Wert* (Hanover, 1880).

chief source of the Tell legend, however, is the *Chronicon Helveticum* of Aegidius Tschudi (1505-72), upon which Schiller relied for his drama *Wilhelm Tell*.

The rise of the house of Luxemburg to the imperial throne when the Premysl dynasty in Bohemia expired gave an impetus to Bohemian historiography.<sup>11</sup> The Cistercian *Chronicle of Königssaal* is of value even for events beyond the confines of Bohemia and its second abbot, Otto of Thuringia, began a chronicle which started with the life of Wenzel II (1278-1305), who founded the house. His successor, Peter von Zittau, a favorite of Emperor Henry VII, who occasionally furnished him with information, continued it. The chronicle is divided into three parts and extends to 1316; the last portion, however, has little narrative and is almost wholly a collection of materials.

The first Bohemian chronicle in the language is that of Prjbik of Pulkava of the fourteenth century. At the beginning of the fifteenth century John Huss simplified Bohemian spelling and under his influence the Bohemian tongue became the language of the Church.

Turoczi was an Hungarian chronicler of the fifteenth century, a proto-notary in 1488 under Mathias Corvinus, and celebrated as a juriscounsel. His *Chronica Hungariae*, dedicated to the king, was not published at Augsburg until 1848. It is one of the chief sources for the medieval history of the Hungarians.

<sup>11</sup> Fr. Palacky, *Würdigung der allen böhmischen Geschichtsschreiber* (Prague, 1830).

## CHAPTER XXIV

### MEDIEVAL SPANISH HISTORIANS (711-1492) <sup>1</sup>

THE history of no other Western European nation is so obscured, so confused, so filled with fiction, so fantastic as that of medieval Christian Spain. What is one to think when one reads that Ferdinand I of Castile—in the eleventh century—marched with a victorious army to Paris and afterwards compelled the German emperor to do homage to him? And Moorish writers were as ignorant of Spanish history as Spanish writers were ignorant of Moorish history. The Spanish accounts for the first three centuries after the Muslim conquest (711) are of the most meager kind, being little more than bare chronological notices.

While the civilization of Muslim Spain reached its height in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, the little Christian kingdoms clustered in the north of the peninsula lived in a semi-barbaric condition and in constant fear of invasion. The upward era of medieval Christian Spain did not begin until the eleventh century when Navarre, Castile, Aragon, and Catalonia began to make head against the Muslims, and the climax was not reached until the thirteenth century. From the ninth to the fifteenth century Christian Spain, poor and scarcely peopled, labored

<sup>1</sup> Rafael Ballester y Castell, *Bibliografía de la historia de España: catálogo metódico y cronológico de las fuentes y obras principales relativas a la historia de España desde los orígenes hasta nuestros días* (Gerona, 1921); the same, *Las fuentes narrativas de la historia de España durante la edad media (417-1474)* (Palma de Mallorca, 1908); Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Catálogo de la Real Biblioteca. I. Manuscritos. Crónicas generales de España* (Madrid, 1898, 2d ed., 1900); Georges Cirot, *Études sur l'historiographie espagnole: Les histoires générales d'Espagne entre Alphonse X et Philippe II, 1284-1556* (Bordeaux and Paris, 1904), devotes considerable space to Ocampo; James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, "Some Early Spanish Historians," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 3rd series, I (1907), 139-56; and the same, *A New History of Spanish Literature* (London and New York, 1926; 3rd French ed., Paris, 1928); J. C. Russell, "Chroni-clers of Medieval Spain," *Hispanic Review*, VI (1938), 218-35; MOLINIER, V, nos. 4840-58; R. B. Merriman, *The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and in the New* (New York, 1918-34, 4 v.), I, 92, 140, 165, 309, 362, 382, 426, 450, 528 for notes on authorities appended to each chapter; Adolf Ebert, *Quellenforschungen aus der Geschichte Spaniens* (Cassel, 1849); Ludolf Schwenkow, *Die lateinisch geschriebenen Quellen zur Geschichte der Eroberung Spaniens durch die Araber* (Göttingen, 1894), cp. *HZ*, LXXVI (1896), 525. The narratives and chronicles discussed in this literature are found in the *Collección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España* (Madrid, 1842-95, 112 v.; index to vols. 1-102 published Madrid, 1891). Many of them are also available in *España sagrada*, ed. by Enrique Florez and others (Madrid, 1747-1879, 51 v.; index of the first 49 v. in the *Collección* just mentioned, vol. XXII). Separate and more critical editions of the most important chronicles exist; for a list see P. Boissonnade, *RSH*, XXIII (1911), p. 87, n. 8. The Centro de Estudios Historicos has begun publication of a Spanish *Monumenta* in four parts, the first of which is the Latin chronicles of the Middle Ages (two volumes have appeared, 1918, 1921). For modern Spanish historical scholarship see Heinrich Finke, "Das Aufblicken der Geschichtsforschung in Spanien," *HZ*, CXIII (1914), 70-82.



to reconquer that part of the wealth and population of the country which it had lost at the fall of the Gothic domination. The grand lines of the birth, progress, and expansion of the Iberian kingdoms in the Middle Ages may be traced, but much detail escapes us owing to the poverty of the sources before the thirteenth century. Before the capture of Toledo in 1085 the history of the Christian states is particularly dark.<sup>2</sup>

Medieval Spain possessed a considerable body of narrative sources. But they are so largely mere continuations of previous chronicles, or uncritical compilations of numerous previous narrations, and therefore abound with repetitions, that although the mass is voluminous the actual amount of new information in them is not great. The oldest collection of Spanish chronicles is known as the *Corpus Pelagianum*, after Pelayo, bishop of Oviedo, who formed it. The latest date is 1109. This collection is composed of four parts. The first includes the chronicles of the Goths, Suevi, and Vandals written by Isidore of Seville (d. 636). The second part is a chronicle usually attributed to bishop Sebastian of Salamanca, but really the work of Alfonso III, and therefore compiled in the second half of the ninth century. The third part is a sequel, ascribed to bishop Sampirus of Astorga (1035-40). The fourth part was written by bishop Pelayo himself, who died in 1143. Parts of the *Chronicle of Sebastian* are vivid narrative:

In these years [it runs] the Goths were oppressed with tribute by the Arabs. Some died by the sword, others of hunger. Others sought refuge among the Franks. The greater part of the Goths fled into this fatherland of ours, the Asturias, where the mountain fastnesses protected them, and elected Pelayo to be their king, who declared for war. "In these mountains," he exclaimed, "is the safety of Spain. Here let us spurn the multitude of these paynim and not fear but fight." In 737 his last victory is recorded, "and not a single 'Chaldaean' was left within the gates of the Pyrenees."

Alfonso III, the Great (848-912), may be said to be the remote founder of Spanish historiography, for his *Brevis historia* was a tree which had many branches.<sup>3</sup> It became the root from which by continuation and accretion the later general chronicle was evolved. The violence of those early times is graphically pictured in one sentence. "In those days kings, counts, nobles and knights, in order to be ready at all hours, kept their horses in the rooms in which they slept with their wives and children." Town after town fell into the hands of Alfonso III, "gladio aut fame—by sword or hunger." *The Cid* inspired the *Historia Roderici*, a work written in Latin by an unknown cleric who was not a Castilian, but probably a Mozarab.

<sup>2</sup> R. Dozy, *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le moyen âge* (3rd ed., Leyden, 1881, 2 v.), I, 85-90.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by Ramón Menéndez Pidal (Madrid, 1906); older text in Florez, *España sagrada* (n. 1), XIII, 467-92, and in MIGNE, vol. 129, cols. 1111-24.

Bishop Lucas of Tuy, who died in 1249, was the compiler of a huge *Chronicon mundi* which began with the Creation. Fortunately this effort to write a universal history ceased with the first part. The second part is a history of Gothic Spain; the third is a chronicle of events in the northern provinces to which the Christian population retreated from the Muslim invasion. Obviously this chronicle was not original either in idea or treatment. Lucas merely paraphrased the previous writings of Isidore of Seville, Ildefonso of Toledo, and Julian of Toledo. It was written for Queen Berengaria of Castile.

More critical and much more important is the *De rebus Hispaniae* in nine books written by archbishop Rodrigo Jimenez of Toledo (1170–1247).<sup>4</sup> The original Latin version was very early translated into Spanish under the title: *Estoria de los Godos*, and later (1266) into Catalan. It comes down to 1243 and was written at the command of Ferdinand III; it is the first complete history of Spain from the time of the Roman conquest.<sup>5</sup> Rodrigo was born in Navarre, and educated in Paris, which may account for the superior nature of his writing, for he omits petty details, condenses earlier narratives, and exercises criticism with regard to legends and traditions. Both Lucas of Tuy and Rodrigo of Toledo died while making a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

When Alfonso X, the Learned (*el Sabio*, 1252–84), introduced new methods of writing history and abandoned Latin in favor of the Spanish language, the epic tales flowed into history like a flood. The *Primera crónica general de España* abounds with ballad material.<sup>6</sup> The composition, or rather compilation, of the *Estoria de España* was begun under Alfonso X, and terminated in the reign of his son Sancho IV.<sup>7</sup>

An abridged form exists in the *Crónica abreviada* made about 1335 by the king's nephew Don Juan Manuel. Later, some unknown author recast the original *Crónica* and introduced a number of legends and picturesque episodes derived especially from the *Crónica del moro Rasis*

<sup>4</sup> Printed in Andreas Schott, *Hispaniae Illustratae*, etc. (Frankfurt, 1603–08, 4 v.), II, 26–148.

<sup>5</sup> The Latin version was printed in 1545, 1579, 1603, and 1795. The Castilian version was not published until 1871–72, and then by the University of Lund, edited by V. E. Lidforss. In 1887 it was again published in the *Collección de documentos inéditos* (n. 1), vol. 88.

<sup>6</sup> "None of the popular poems of the eleventh century have come down to us in their original form, owing to the fact that the vernacular literature of Spain, like that of Italy, had not then reached the stage at which literary history began. The loss of so many of the earlier works is to be attributed to a great extent to the change from the Toledan to French handwriting that took place at the end of the century." Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *The Cid and His Spain*, tr. by H. Sunderland (London, 1935), 401.

<sup>7</sup> Antonio de García de Solalinde, *Alfonso el Sabio, General Estoria. Primera Parte* (Madrid, 1930), is a new and excellent edition of the first part of this world history. This part begins with the creation of the world and extends to the death of Moses. In his very interesting introduction the editor analyzes the general motives of Alfonso in writing history and briefly evaluates the work as a whole. See also Ramón Menéndez Pidal, "La crónica general de España que mandó componer Alfonso el Sabio," in his *Estudios literarios* (Madrid, 1920), 175–249.

of Muhammed al-Razi of Cordoba, which has reached us in a fourteenth-century Castilian translation of a previous Portuguese version made by a priest named Gil Perez. This redaction is dated January 21, 1344, and is known as the *Crónica de 1344*. The translator added to the original an account of the subsequent reigns down to the battle of Tarifa in 1340. History and romance, facts and fancy are here interwoven to a prodigious degree. Snatches of old *Cantares de gesta* (*chansons de geste*) and long excerpts from Arabic chronicles are inserted, the latter in the original Arabic, with a Castilian translation appended. Later still another unknown compiler abridged the *Crónica of 1344*, but this version has disappeared. It is known from four derivatives of it, the most important of which is the *Crónica general* of Florian d'Ocampo, published in 1541. Independent of these continuations of Alfonso X's great original chronicle, although borrowing from it, are *Las tres crónicas*, attributed to Fernan Sanchez de Tovar, which deal with the reigns of Alfonso X, Sancho IV, and Ferdinand IV, and the *Crónica de Alfonso XI*, ascribed to Nuñez de Villazan.<sup>8</sup> Rodrigo was the sole historian of whom Navarre can boast before the fifteenth century. The history of this little "saddle-bag kingdom" seated on both sides of the Pyrenees is most difficult to ascertain. After the separation of Aragon from Navarre in 1035 it had almost no separate history.

In order to understand this impulse towards historical writing in Spain in the thirteenth century it must be remembered that Castile played much the same part in the unification of the peninsula as the counts of Paris in the unification of France, with the added factors of national sentiment and religious zeal created by the crusades against the Moor. The capture of Toledo in 1085, of Seville in 1248, and of Cadiz in 1262 are cardinal events of this epoch. By these conquests Castile slowly reconstituted much of imperial Roman and old Catholic Spain.

Early in the fourteenth century Rodrigo's *De rebus Hispaniae* was continued to 1305 by Jofré de Loaisa, archdeacon of Toledo. Originally written in Castilian, it was soon translated into Latin by a certain Master Armand of Cremona at the author's own request. By a freak of fortune this Latin translation has survived, while the Castilian original has not come down.<sup>9</sup>

Certain other minor historical annals written in Castile in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century remain to be noticed. Among these are two anonymous *Crónicas de Cardena*<sup>10</sup> and the *Annales Tole-*

<sup>8</sup> These two are published in *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, LXVI (1875), cp. Balles-ter y Castell, *Fuentes narrativas* (n. 1), 115-20 for earlier editions.

<sup>9</sup> Edited by Morel-Fatio, in *BEC*, LIX (1898), 325-78.

<sup>10</sup> Printed in Florez, *España sagrada* (n. 1), XXIII, 370-80.

*danos Terceros*.<sup>11</sup> All are brief chronological tables, of which the last is the most informing, especially for the years 1251-81. All three are useful for providing exact dates. Quite different from these works is the *Liber illustrium personarum* of Gil de Zamora, tutor of the Infante Don Sancho, which is partly historical and partly didactic. It is a sort of biographical dictionary of Spanish history, giving short accounts of Roman emperors, Spanish kings, heroes, and saints. Nothing like it can be found in any other European country before the fourteenth century, and then only in Italy, where Petrarch popularized this type of historical literature in his *De viris illustribus*.

Like Leon and Castile, Aragon and Catalonia, too, had their annals and chronicles. But they lack the massiveness of the Castilian productions. Castile, not Aragon, was the heir of the tradition founded by Isidore of Seville. The chronicles of Aragon and Catalonia are very local in nature and devoid of any large view, even as late as the thirteenth century, even after the union of the two countries in 1137. At the beginning of the twelfth century a Catalan had sketched the history of his province, and a Latin chronicler had written a history of the kings of Aragon from the Muslim conquest to 1157, which another extended to the reign of James the Conqueror. The Latin *Chronicle of Ripoll Monastery* (to 1296), written at the end of the thirteenth century, relates the history of the counts of Barcelona.<sup>12</sup> The oldest Aragon-Catalan history<sup>13</sup> is the *Chronicle of San Juan de la Pena* (1359), of which there are four texts, one Latin, two Catalan, and one Aragonese. It is yet undetermined whether or not the Latin is the oldest version, and who the author was. Zurita, the first great historian of Aragon, called this chronicle "nuestra historia general." It is for Aragon what the chronicle of Alfonso X is for Castile, though it abridges the earliest history more than the latter does, devoting only three chapters to the period from Tubal Cain to the Muslim invasion. Another similar history is the *Historia de Rasal*, a history of Aragon and Catalonia from Hercules to the death of Alfonso IV. The last part only is written in Catalan. A continuation extends to 1328.

Quite suddenly an energetic historiography<sup>14</sup> emerges when Aragon took to the sea for its achievements, and save for the acquisition of Valencia (1225) left the peninsula to its rival. In 1229 the Balearic Islands were conquered; in 1282-85 Sicily was acquired. These events

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 410-23.

<sup>12</sup> *Gesta comitum Barcinonensium ac regum Aragoniae*, ed. by Louis Barrau-Dihigo and J. M. Torrents (Barcelona, 1925: *Cròniques Catalanes*, no. 2).

<sup>13</sup> For an extended account of Catalan historiography, see J. Massó Torrents, "Historiografía de Catalunya," *Revue hispanique*, XV (1906), 486-613.

<sup>14</sup> See H. Finke, *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, VIII (1910), 20-42.

are celebrated in the *Libre dels feyts esdevengutsuen la vida del mot alt senyor rey en Jacme lo Conqueridor*. Whether this *Book of the Deeds of James the Conqueror*<sup>15</sup> is actually, as it professes to be, an autobiography of James I is a controverted question.<sup>16</sup> If not, then it must have been written by some one who was intimately associated with the king and wrote under the royal eyes. It is not a complete record of the reign, for many years are passed over in silence. It is divided into four parts. The first relates the troubles of the king's early years down to the conquest of the Balearic Islands in 1233. The second gives a graphic narration of the invasion and conquest of Valencia. The third recounts the war of Murcia in 1266, and the fourth is the astonishing story of the Mongol and Byzantine embassies which were sent to Aragon, and of James' unsuccessful effort to revive the Crusades. The liveliness of the narrative, the vivacity of the style, and the plenitude of anecdotes and incidents in this *Book of the Deeds of James the Conqueror* make it interesting and racy reading.

The nearly simultaneous appearance of Alfonso the Learned's *Chronicle* in the Castilian language, and of the *Book of the Deeds of James the Conqueror* in the Catalan tongue inaugurated in Spain the writing of history in the vernacular. Close upon the heels of these royal heroes followed the *Chronicle of the Reign of King Pedro III of Aragon* (1276-85) by Bernard Desclot.<sup>17</sup> In this remarkable work "the reader is confronted with a display of factual data so vivid and so unusual for the age in which they were written as to be unique in the genre of medieval annals." Desclot is the Aragonese source for the history of the Sicilian Vespers (1282). He is well informed, and clear in the exposition of causes. He gives many documents in abridged form, which correspond accurately with the originals published much later.

The only universal chronicle written in Catalan is the *Flos mundi*, or *Flower of the World*, in six parts in conformity with the traditional division of history. It is a mere compilation and was prepared about 1407.

The Spaniards were interested in the history of the Crusades although they took no part therein, having enough to do with the Muslim in their own country. A Spanish translation of a French version of William of Tyre's *Belli sacri historia*, known as the *Grant conquista de Ultramar*, was current about 1295. But the author took large liberties with the original and introduced many romantic and adventurous incidents. A

<sup>15</sup> *The Chronicle of James I, King of Aragon, Surnamed the Conqueror*, tr. from the Catalan by John Forster, with an historical introduction by P. de Gayangos (London, 1883, 2 v.).

<sup>16</sup> See Ballester y Castell, *Fuentes narrativas* (n. 1), 132-40.

<sup>17</sup> *Chronicle of the Reign of King Pedro III of Aragon*, by Bernat Desclot, tr. from the Catalan by F. L. Critchlow (Princeton Univ. Press, 1930-34, 2 v.), with an introduction. For excellent reviews see *LTLS*, 1930, p. 408 and 1934, p. 892.

century later Frey Juan Fernandez de Heredia, grand master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem (d. 1396), in the *Grant crónica de los Conquistadores* wrote a history of the Byzantine Empire from Constantine and Irene to Alexius Comnenus (780–1118), a fantastic work in eighteen books, each book consecrated to a great conqueror, among whom figure Heraclius and Ghenghiz Khan. But more important was the *Libro de los Fechos et Conquistas del Principado de la Morea*.<sup>18</sup>

Still more important is the *Chronicle* inspired by the deeds of the Catalan Grand Company in the Peloponnesus, written by Ramón Muntaner (1255–1336), a Catalonian of good family who attached himself in 1300 to the famous adventurer Roger de Flor. He valiantly defended Gallipoli against the Genoese, campaigned for years in the Balkans and Asia Minor, was made governor of the Island of Gerba by Frederick of Sicily, and maintained it for five years against Muslim corsairs. After being the hero of thirty-two battles on land and sea he retired to his estates and wrote his stirring memoirs. The *Crònica o descripció dels fets e hazanyes del inclypt Rey Don Jaume primer . . . e de molts de sos descendents* is one of the monuments of Catalan prose which has the daring-do, the swing and swinge of an Elizabethan chronicle. It begins with the birth of James the Conqueror in 1208, whom Muntaner as a little child had seen when the Great Conquistador was an old man, and ends in 1327.<sup>19</sup>

At this point, some general observations would seem to be in order regarding the prevailing characteristics of Spanish historiography. Early Spanish historiography indulged in mythical and legendary features more than that of any other medieval country. Punic, classical, biblical, Christian, and Arabic elements are all intermixed. Tubal Cain, Hercules, and even Hamilcar are progenitors of the Spanish nation. The *Chronicle of Rasis* gives Geryon fifty-five predecessors. Hercules had a son named Latin, who had fifteen successors, then came Hamilcar the Carthaginian, after whom a series of "Roman kings" reigned in Spain. The names of the Gothic kings are astonishingly deformed, and some of them are sheer inventions, as Lorian, Tolofe, Saben, Lanbilote,

<sup>18</sup> Spanish text under this title with a French translation (*Chronique de Morée aux XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles*) published by A. Morel-Fatio (Geneva and Paris, 1885: Société de l'Orient latin). See his introduction, and Ballester y Castell, *Las fuentes narrativas* (n. 1), 153 ff.

<sup>19</sup> Best edition of the original Catalan by J. Coroleu (1886); French translation in J. A. Buchon's *Chroniques étrangères relatives aux expéditions françaises pendant le XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1840 and later reprints: Panthéon littéraire); English translation by Lady Goodenough, *The Chronicle of Muntaner* (London, 1920–21: Hakluyt Society, ser. 2, vols. XLVII and L). Monographs on the history of the Catalan Grand Company by Antonio Rubio y Lluch, *La expedición y dominación de los Catalanes en Oriente* (Barcelona, 1883); (Sir) James Rennell Rodd, *The Princes of Achaia and the Chronicles of Morea, a Study of Greece in the Middle Ages* (London, 1907, 2 v.); H. F. Tozer, "The Franks in the Peloponnese," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, IV (1883), 165–236; Merriman (n. 1), I, ch. viii and pp. 326, 356, 358, 365, 367, 369, 372, 374.

Almeric, Abarca, Acosta, and finally Rodriguez. In a single chronicle figure five fantastic Gothic kings: Cindos, Candos, Nundos, Redros, and Fredros. The *Gran conquista de Ultramar* is as much a romance of chivalry as an historical relation. Godfrey de Bouillon is a grandson of the Knight of the Swan. The *Crónica del Rey Don Rodrigo* is of the same sort. At the court of the last Gothic king who fell in the Muslim invasion of 711, one finds a Don Beliarde de Francia, German princes, a king of Poland and four great nobles, a brother of the Byzantine emperor, and the son of a king of England.

Nowhere in Europe was history written in the vernacular so prevalent as in Spain. Latin historiography ended in Castile in the first half of the thirteenth century. From Lucas of Tuy and Rodriguez of Toledo, down to the humanist epoch in the fifteenth century, there is but one historical work written in Latin—that of Gonzalo de Hinojosa—for the smaller chronicles of Jofre de Loaisa and Juan Manuel do not count, since the Latin version of the former was made from the vernacular, and the latter is composed merely of excerpts from previous Latin chronicles. The profound influence of Alfonso the Learned upon historical writing in Spain is manifest. He killed the chronicle in Latin and made vernacular historiography the order of the day. The medieval vernacular chronicle reached its highest point of development in Spain. Both in quality and abundance of production it was the richest in Europe.

The early fourteenth century everywhere in Europe, as has been said in a previous chapter, marks the transition from the age of the chronicle to that of descriptive history. Spanish historiography, both Castilian and Aragon-Catalan, no less than that elsewhere, reflects this change.<sup>20</sup> Grand seigniors, statesmen, and warriors were the authors of vivid histories replete with information and written in vigorous Castilian prose. Lopez de Ayala (1332-1407) was for Spain what Froissart was for France in the same epoch. At first a partisan of Peter the Cruel, he passed over to the side of his half-brother and enemy Henry Trastámara, was taken prisoner at the battle of Najara in 1367, and transported to England by his captor, the Black Prince. When ransomed he returned to the service of King Henry and was alternately soldier and diplomat for him and his three successors. His *Chronicle*<sup>21</sup> is much superior to that of Froissart, though his style is less notable.

Spanish history, legend, chivalry, and romance, snatches of the history of England, France, and the Barbary coast are commingled in the *Chronicle of Don Pedro Nino* by Gutierreo Diaz de Gomez (1379-1449).<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> See the remarks of Ballester y Castell, *Las fuentes narrativas* (n. 1), 121-30.

<sup>21</sup> Printed in the *Collección de documentos inéditos* (n. 1), XIX-XX.

<sup>22</sup> *Le victorial: chronique de Don Pedro Nino, comte de Buelna, par Gutierre Diaz de Gomez*, tr. into French by comte Albert de Circourt and the comte de Puymaigre (Paris, 1867).

It is a tableau of the ideas and manners of the age rather than serious history.

The *Royal Chronicle* of James I of Aragon and the work of Desclot, written in the thirteenth century, have their counterpart in the next century in the *Annals* of Muntaner and Pedro IV. These four Catalan historians constitute an almost unique group, for they were not mere authors, but each of them was an active participant in the events of which he writes.

Finally it may be added that a comparative study of the great Catalan chronicles is suggestive from the point of view of language, style, method, and personality of the authors. James of Aragon was his own hero; Desclot's hero is Pedro III of Aragon (Pedro I of Valencia and Pedro II of Catalonia). Their century was as massive and spacious as the Elizabethan age "di'ogni valor porto cinta la corda." On the other hand, Muntaner's hero is King Pedro's brother, James II of Aragon. Desclot preserves an intellectual detachment from his reader, while Muntaner takes his reader into his confidence. We do not know who Desclot was, where or when he was born, when he died, whether he was a churchman or a nobleman. Desclot writes in a forthright, direct style, usually introducing a chapter by the words: "This story now goes on to tell," etc. and concluding: "And now the narration of these events comes to an end." He writes with "almost harsh brevity and every sentence contains a fact." He makes no mention of his sources. Desclot describes the Sicilian Vespers in two pages; but he is intense in his brevity. On the other hand, Muntaner is picturesque in style and copious in information. Desclot writes at length on the return of the Aragonese king after the fantastic duel at Bordeaux in 1283; Muntaner dismisses it in one sentence.

Much has recently been written regarding *Crónica del Rey Don Pedro IV*, which is attributed to the king's secretary, Bernardo Dezcoll, who must have worked under the king's eye. Remarkable in this period is the *Autobiography* of Doña Leonor López de Cordoba, which gives a vivid insight into the trials and tribulations of a loyal supporter of Pedro the Cruel.

Ayala's nephew, Fernan Perez de Guzman, carried on the work of his uncle in a *Crónica de Don Juan II* which though diffuse to excess, is informing and impartial. Guzman also was author of a work entitled *Generaciones y semblanzas*, a portrait gallery of thirty-four distinguished persons of his time, written in imitation of Plutarch, and the earliest evidence of the classical revival in Spain. There are two contemporary sources for the reign of Henry IV (1454-74), one by Diego Henriquez del Castillo, and the other by Alonzo de Palencia. The former was



royal chaplain, often employed on confidential missions, yet who found time to write his narrative. When Segovia was captured by the Infante Alonzo in 1467 after the battle of Almedo, Castillo was made prisoner and his manuscript fell into the hands of the partisans of the Infante. His devotion to the king's cause, which appeared on every page, and the severe judgments which he passed on the king's enemies cost him dear. His ecclesiastical status saved his life, but his manuscript was taken from him so that he was compelled to rewrite it from the beginning. The work may be balanced and controlled by that of Alonzo de Palencia, who was historiographer or *coronista* to the Infante after 1456 and as much a partisan one way as Castillo was the other. Both narratives are prolix, but each author is truthful according to his lights.

Alonzo de Palencia's successor as historiographer to the Catholic queen was Hernando del Pulgar, the most important Spanish historian of the fifteenth century. He was appointed in 1482 and died in 1492, and thus by the irony of fate was deprived of recording either the conquest of Granada or the discovery of America. His *Crónica de los Reyes católicos* is minute and exact. It was not published until 1565. Pulgar was also the author of the *Claros Varones de Castilla*, "a gallery of contemporary portraits." It may be added that Pulgar's *Letters* are an important source of information on social conditions in Castile in the reign of Queen Isabella. They are remarkable for their richness of style and high tone of thought.<sup>23</sup> Andres Bernaldez (1450?-1513), a contemporary of Pulgar, chaplain to the archbishop of Seville and curate of the village of Los Palacios, expanded his memoirs into a history of his own time: *Historia de los Reyes católicos*. It is a primary source for the history of Columbus whom he knew well.<sup>24</sup>

The union of Castile and Aragon, the expulsion of the Moors, the recovery of Roussillon from France, the conquest of the Kingdom of Naples, the conquest of Oran, and the discovery of America enormously stimulated Spanish nationalism, as the keen political observer Guicciardini remarked in 1512.<sup>25</sup> Unfortunately, along with this new sentiment was developed an inordinate, even fantastic, pride in the remote past of Spanish history, which the revival of classical learning aggravated. It required courage and independence for any Spanish historian not to begin his work at least with the Romans. As late as 1544 Florian Ocampo in his *Historia general de España* began his work with Tubal Cain. The first Spanish historian with a modern point of view and a

<sup>23</sup> George Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature* (3rd ed., London, 1863, 3 v.), I, 420-23.

<sup>24</sup> The work long circulated in manuscript. It was not printed until 1856, at Granada. Best edition by Fernando de Gabriel and Gabriel de Apodaca (Seville, 1870, 2 v.: Sociedad de bibliófilos andaluces).

<sup>25</sup> See the quotation in Cirot (n. 1), 76.

clear critical mind was Zurita, who in 1547 was made official historiographer of the crown of Aragon. That happy hour was between the influence of the Italian Renaissance upon Spanish literature and the reactionism of Philip II under the combined sway of the Inquisition and the Jesuits.

## CHAPTER XXV

### THE LAST BYZANTINE HISTORIANS (1204-1453) AND EARLY TURKISH HISTORIANS <sup>1</sup>

THE long, slow death of the Eastern Roman Empire in the two hundred and fifty years which elapsed between the Fourth Crusade (1204) and the capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks (1453) is related by fifteen writers, few of whom, however, are of much importance. Historical writing reflected the general decadence of all things on the Golden Horn.

The Byzantine historian contemporary with the period of the Latin Empire of Constantinople was Georgius Acropolita (d. 1282), author of a *Chronicle of Constantinople* (1204-61).<sup>2</sup> He was a native of Constantinople, but in 1233 his father abandoned his fortune rather than live under the yoke of the Latin domination and escaped to the Greek court at Nicaea, where—and at Trebizond <sup>3</sup>—the Byzantine Empire survived in two fragmentary states. The Nicene ruler John Ducas Vatatzes (1222-55) was an able and enlightened prince in alliance with Azan, the Bulgarian king, who in 1330 had beaten the forces of Thessalonica and Epirus, spread his sway over the greater portion of Thrace, Macedonia, and Albania, and created an empire which touched three seas and included within its borders Belgrade and Adrianople.<sup>4</sup> The gradual relaxation of the Latin power in the Balkans and Greece and the gradual

<sup>1</sup> For Greek and Latin writers and editions see the *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV (1923), 850-76; for the Mongols, 880-82; for the Turks, 883-88. GIBBON, VI, 515-20, VII, 327-30; A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, tr. from the Russian by Mrs. S. Ragozin (Madison, Wis., 1928-29, 2 v.), II, 400-12, 431-32; R. W. Church, *Miscellaneous Essays* (London and New York, 1888, reprint, 1904), 281-435 ("The Early Ottomans"); Edwin Pears, *Destruction of the Greek Empire and the Story of the Capture of Constantinople by the Turks* (London and New York, 1903), preface; MOLINIER, III, nos. 2757-59 and IV, nos. 3564-70. For historical writers of the Empire of Nicaea, see Alice Gardner, *The Lascarids of Nicaea: the Story of an Empire in Exile* (London, 1912), ch. xiv. For French historians on Greek soil see Sir Rennell Rodd, *The Princes of Achaia and the Chronicles of Morea* (London, 1907, 2 v.), I, introduction. As in chapter XVII, a standard work of reference is Karl Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches, 527-1453* (2nd ed., Munich, 1897).

<sup>2</sup> GIBBON, VI, 518.

<sup>3</sup> The discovery by Ph. Fallmerayer of the *Chronicle* of Michael Panaretos, which relates the history of the Empire of Trebizond from 1204 to 1426, brought to light the sole historical production of that romantic state. Fallmerayer published it with a German translation in the *Abhandlungen der kgl. bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Munich), Hist. Classe, III, Abt. 3 (1843), 3-159, and IV, Abt. 2 (1845), 3-108. Cp. also POTTHAST, I, 787.

<sup>4</sup> For this able and enlightened Bulgarian ruler see C. J. Jiriček, *Geschichte der Bulgaren* (Prague, 1876), ch. xvi; for the Nicene Greek emperors, GIBBON, VI, 455 ff.

Greek recovery may be traced from the large and excellent work of Georgius Acropolita, who wrote in a dignified, even fastidious style, and hated vulgarisms.<sup>5</sup> The most important other literary person at the court of Nicaea besides Acropolita was Nicephorus Blemmydes, who soon after 1204 was taken by his parents, like Acropolita, to Nicaea. He was erudite, pompous, and conceited, but his *Autobiography* has importance for the history of his time. Unfortunately his *Letters* remain unpublished.<sup>6</sup>

A younger contemporary of Acropolita was Georgius Pachymeres, who was born at Nicaea in 1242 and died in 1310. He lived in Constantinople under Michael Palaeologus and was deeply versed in both theology and law. He was author of a *History of the Emperors Michael and Andronicus Palaeologus* which extends from 1255 to 1309, in thirteen books.<sup>7</sup> Gibbon highly praised the "precious details" found in his work, and adds: "without comparing Pachymer to Thucydides or Tacitus, I will praise his narrative which pursues the ascent of Palaeologus with eloquence, perspicuity, and tolerable freedom. Acropolita is more cautious, and Gregoras more concise."<sup>8</sup> Pachymeres was an all-round scholar of vast erudition, a greater polyhistor than Western Europe could boast at the same time, even in the thirteenth century. Many of his letters probably still lie unpublished in Italian libraries. The purity of his Greek, his Homeric phrases, his use of the ancient Attic names of the months, are all signs of the humanistic revival of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>9</sup>

After an interval of twelve years from the conclusion of Pachymeres, the emperor John Cantacuzenus (d. 1383), who began life as a prince and terminated it as a monk, took up the pen. "His memorials of forty years extend from the revolt of the younger Andronicus to his own abdication of the empire. . . . He was the principal actor in the scenes which he describes. But in this eloquent work we should vainly seek the sincerity of a hero or a penitent. Retired in a cloister . . . he presents not a confession, but an apology of the life of an ambitious statesman."<sup>10</sup> The work is in four books and terminates with the year 1357.<sup>11</sup> It contains a long and striking account of the Black Death.

A Byzantine historian contemporary with the emperor Cantacuzenus

<sup>5</sup> For instance, instead of using the vulgar word for an ass (*γάδραπος*), he uses the grander etymological counter-part *αειδραπος*, "the ever-beaten one." SANDYS, I, 425.

<sup>6</sup> See GIBBON, VI, 519.

<sup>7</sup> For editions see POTTHAST, II, 889.

<sup>8</sup> GIBBON, VI, 456 note, 462 note.

<sup>9</sup> For this movement see Charles Diehl, *RCC*, X, ii (1902), 370-78. <sup>10</sup> GIBBON, VI, 489.

<sup>11</sup> For the history of his reign see *ibid.*, VI, ch. 63; for a graphic description of the condition of the Byzantine Empire at this time see the quotation added by Bury on p. 502 note, from George Finlay, *A History of Greece from Its Conquest by the Romans to the Present Time*, ed. by H. F. Tozer (Oxford, 1877, 7 v.), III, 447-48; Valentin Parisot, *Cantacuzène, homme d'état et historien* (Paris, 1845).

was Nicephorus Gregoras (1295–1357), author of a *Historia Romaica* or *Byzantine History* in 38 books, extending from 1204 to 1359.<sup>12</sup> He was a native of Pontic Heraclea, and a polymath; for he was deeply versed in theology, history, philosophy, and science, and the most learned scholar of the last two centuries of the Byzantine Empire. He is a valuable control for the misrepresentation and prejudices of Cantacuzenus.

After Cantacuzenus and Nicephorus Gregoras a long interval of seventy years elapsed in Byzantine historiography until John Anagnostes' *On the Capture of Thessalonica* (*De excidio urbis Thessalonicensis extremo*) appeared, relating the capture of this city by the Turks in 1430.<sup>13</sup> Henceforth the onslaught of the Turks upon Europe and the history of the devoted capital of Constantine absorbs the whole interest of Byzantine historians. It is one of the anomalies of medieval Greek culture that in these very last years of the Byzantine Empire a renaissance of Hellenism took place which deserved a better fate. As it was, what was Constantinople's loss was Italy's gain.

In spite of the recovery of Constantinople by the Greek dynasty of Nicaea and the restoration of the Byzantine Empire in 1261, the Frankish principalities established in Greece still persisted. They were a curious anomaly: feudal states in imitation of French institutions and French culture imposed on a conquered Greek or Slavonized Greek population.<sup>14</sup> This "New France," as Pope Honorius III called it, established in Greece was an El Dorado for French adventurers seeking their fortune. A contemporary says of Geoffrey II of Achaia, that "he possessed a broad domain and great riches. . . . Knights came from France, from Burgundy, and above all from Champagne. Some came to amuse themselves, others to pay their debts; others because of crimes which they had committed at home." In the chateaux the language was French and French books were read. The history of one of these principalities, the *Chronicle of Morea*, has been transmitted. The late Professor J. B. Bury described this work as follows:

In the first quarter of the fourteenth century, a native of the Morea, certainly half a Frank, and possibly half a Greek, by birth, composed a versified chronicle of the Latin conquest of the Peloponnesus and its history during the thirteenth century. This work is generally known as the *Chronicle of Morea*. The author is thoroughly Grecized, so far as language is concerned; he writes the vulgar tongue as a native; but feels towards the Greeks the dislike and contempt of a ruling stranger for the conquered population. He

<sup>12</sup> Krumbacher (n. 1), 293–96; R. Guiland, *Essai sur Nicephore Gregoras* (Paris, 1926).

<sup>13</sup> Thessalonica had had two previous historians: John Kameniates, an eye-witness of the sack of the city by the Saracens of Crete in 904; and John the Reader, the historian of the Turkish attacks in 1387, 1391, and 1403.

<sup>14</sup> The working of this system is preserved in the *Book of the Customs of the Empire of Romania*, modelled after the *Assizes of Jerusalem*. For an account of Frankish society in Greece, see William Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient* (Cambridge, 1921), 70–85.

may have been a Gasmul (Γασμούλος, supposed to be derived from *gas* (garçon) and *mulus*), as the offspring of a Frank father by a Greek mother was called. It is a thoroughly prosaic work, thrown into the form of wooden political verses; and what it loses in literary interest through its author's lack of talent, it gains in historical objectivity. A long prologue relates the events of the first and the fourth crusades; the main part of the work embraces the history of the Principality of Achaea from 1205 to 1292. The book appealed to the Franks, not to the Greeks, of the Peloponnesus; and shows how Greek had become the language of the conquerors. It was freely translated into French soon after its composition; and this version (with a continuation down to 1304), which was made before the year 1341, is preserved under the title "The Book of the Conquest of Constantinople and the Empire of Roumania and the Country of the Principality of Morea" or for short, the "Livre de la conquête."<sup>15</sup>

Another important source for the history of the Franks in Achaea, and indeed of Romania generally in the thirteenth century, was discovered by the Austrian scholar Hopf in the middle of the last century. It is a *History of Romania* attributed to Marino Sanudo, a cousin of Marco Sanudo, the Venetian conqueror of the Archipelago and duke of Naxos.<sup>16</sup> It was written at approximately the same time as the *Chronicle of Morea*, but has greater historical value. It purports to be an Italian translation from a Latin original composed by the famous Marino Sanudo himself, which is no longer extant, and this may be true.<sup>17</sup>

French domination was also established in Cyprus after the fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1291, where it persisted until 1571, when the island was taken by the Turks. There exists a collection of narrative sources of the early period of the island's history, of which the *Gestes de Chiprois* by Phillippe de Navarre, who flourished in the first half of the thirteenth century,<sup>18</sup> is the most important. In the first quarter of the sixteenth century, however, when the expansion of the Ottoman Turks dismayed all Europe, Cypriote history acquired a new importance. Leontios Makhairas then wrote his excellent *Chronicle of Cyprus*.<sup>19</sup> He was a native of Cyprus, an adherent of the Greek Church but at the same time a warm admirer of the Lusignan kings in spite of

<sup>15</sup> GIBBON, VI, 519-20. Edited by Jean Longnon, *Livre de la conquête de la Princesse de l'Amorée: Chronique de Morée, 1204-1305* (Paris, 1911: Société de l'histoire de France, vol. 107); English translation by John Schmitt (London, 1904). Cp. Schmitt's book *Die Chronik von Morea: Eine Untersuchung über das Verhältnis ihrer Handschriften*, etc. (Munich, 1889), and the long critical account in Sir Rennell Rodd (n. 1), II, 297-310.

<sup>16</sup> On him see J. K. Fotheringham, *Marco Sanudo, Conqueror of the Archipelago* (Oxford, 1915).

<sup>17</sup> The arguments in favor of its genuineness are made by Charles Hopf in the introduction to his *Chroniques gréco-romanes, inédites ou peu connues* (Berlin, 1873), where the text is printed. Cp. Sir Rennell Rodd (n. 1), 18-19.

<sup>18</sup> Beugot, "Notice sur la vie et les écrits de Phillippe de Navarre," *BEC*, II (1840-41), 1-31; Gaston Paris, *Romania*, XIX (1890), 99-102.

<sup>19</sup> Leontios Makhairas, *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus, entitled "Chronicle,"* ed. with a translation by R. M. Dawkins (Oxford, 1932, 2 v.).

their French blood and Catholic faith. "The bulk of his work deals with the reigns of Peter I (1359-69) and Peter II (1369-82)." "The sources behind the chronicle consist primarily of a considerable work of someone closely connected with the court in these two reigns." This is, conjecturally, Dimitrios Daniel, the secretary of Queen Eleonora, widow of Peter I. His notes and memoranda may well have been used by Makhairas. At any rate "he shows a very close and detailed knowledge of the events that culminated in the Genoese attack upon Cyprus in 1373, and an acquaintance with the politics of the Lusignan court which could only come from talking with eye-witnesses or perusing the diaries and letters of those critical years."<sup>20</sup>

In these fateful years medieval Athens, which had precariously survived through a long night of eclipse which had lasted since the sixth century, awoke for one short hour to newness of intellectual life. Not since the middle of the third century, when the Athenian historian Dexippus organized two thousand of his fellow citizens into a militia to resist an invasion of the Goths in 267, had Athens produced an historian. Indeed, in all these years which had elapsed Athens had had only one distinguished personage. This was Michael Acominatus, a brother of the historian Nicetas Acominatus,—and he was born in Phrygia—whom the emperor made archbishop of Athens in 1175, and whose letters are "the only authentic picture of the city in the middle ages."<sup>21</sup> Athens in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, however, had ceased to pertain to the restored yet mutilated Byzantine Empire. After 1204 the territory of Greece from Mount Othrys to Cape Taenarum was given to Boniface of Montferrat, in Piedmont Italy, who became "king of Thessalonica." He enfeoffed Athens and Thebes to a Burgundian noble, Otto de la Roche, as the duchy of Athens. In 1311 the Catalan Grand Company overran Attica and Boeotia, and Athens became a feudal dependency of the kings of Aragon and Sicily until 1387, when the Catalans were expelled by Nerio Acciajuoli, a Florentine banker who became a buccaneer and gentleman adventurer. By a curious freak of history Burgundians, Spaniards, and Florentines were successively dukes of Athens, a circumstance which led to the strange result that by a reflection of the new title into classical antiquity, Theseus appears as the Duke of Athens in Dante, Boccaccio, Chaucer, and Shakespeare.

<sup>20</sup> From a remarkable review of Dawkins' edition in *LTLS*, 1932, p. 341.

<sup>21</sup> Krumbacher (n. 1), 468-70; Ida Carleton Thallon, "A Mediaeval Humanist: Michael Akominatos," in *Vassar Mediaeval Studies*, ed. by C. F. Fiske (New Haven, 1923), 275-314. After the conquest of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204, Michael Acominatus retired to the island of Cos where he died in 1220. For an account of medieval Athens see J. B. Bury, *QR*, vol. 173 (1891), 180-211, a review of Ferdinand Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter* (3rd ed., Stuttgart, 1889, 2 v.); Miller, *Essays* (n. 14), 110-60.

The ten books of Laonicus Chalcocondylas' *History of the Origin and Deeds of the Turks and the Fall of the Greek Empire* (1298–1463)—Athens was taken by them in 1458—is the only Athenian work in Byzantine literature, and is a remarkable work.<sup>22</sup> While the advance of the Turks fills the largest part, Western Europe does not pass without notice. For in these tragic years the Byzantine emperors made strenuous and unavailing effort to enlist the military support of the Western powers in defense of Constantinople. Embassy after embassy sought out the courts of Italy, France, Spain, and England in vain, in consequence of which we find in Laonicus Chalcocondylas singular accounts of the manners and civilization of Western Europe, as seen through the eyes of a medieval Greek. Even more important than this information is his relation of the flight of fugitive Greek scholars to Italy, among them his own brother Demetrius, who taught their native language in the schools of Florence, Rome, and Venice. From their advent the greater Greek renaissance in Italy dates.<sup>23</sup>

Two other Byzantine historians yet remain to be noticed. These were Doukas and Phrantzes.<sup>24</sup> Doukas, from his birth and station—he was secretary to the *podestà* of Phocaea—is entitled to particular credit and was a careful and interested narrator of events, especially of those of which he was an eye-witness. His *Byzantine History* extends from 1342 to 1462. The same statement may be made of his contemporary, Georgius Phrantzes, who was employed in the diplomatic service of the Byzantine government in its very last days and witnessed the capture of Constantinople in 1453 (ch. 39). He fled to Venice and became a monk on the island of Corfu, where he wrote his *Chronicon*, which extends from the fall of the Baghdad Khalifate in 1258 to 1476. His interest in the history of the Turks led him to go back to the Mongols before them. Phrantzes was a lucid writer. He graphically relates how Mohammed II, then a young, ambitious man of twenty-one years of age, read the tales and deeds of Alexander, Caesar, and the conquering emperors of Constantinople, as Basil II, and spoke five languages besides Turkish. His desire to conquer the great city on the Golden Horn was a passion, according to Doukas, who says that “by day and night, when going to bed and getting up, within and without his palace,

<sup>22</sup> Krumbacher (n. 1), 302–05; GIBBON, VII, 327; William Miller, “The Last Athenian Historian; Laonikos Chalkokondyles,” *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XLII (1922), 36–49.

<sup>23</sup> Demetrius Chalcocondylas was “the first modern editor of the *Iliad*,” SANDYS, I, 433. The libraries of Constantinople suffered little in 1453. The loss was nothing comparable to what happened in 1204. “It is expressly stated by a contemporary writer [the historian Doukas] that, on the fall of Constantinople, the Turks made money of the manuscripts which they found, and that they despatched whole cartloads of books to the East and the West.” *Ibid.*, 437. See also Krumbacher (n. 1), 506.

<sup>24</sup> On these see GIBBON, VII, 327–28; William Miller, “The Historians Doukas and Phrantzes,” *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XLVI (1926), 63–71.



he kept drawing plans of the city and its fortifications, and designing a method of attack."

The literary output of that outpost of Hellenism on the Black Sea, the Empire of Trebizond, was not large. Theonas, perhaps an official, covered the period from 1112 to 1291. Much more important is the Trapezuntine historian Michael Phanaretos, the author of the palace *Chronicle*. "Without his drab but truthful narrative many facts would have remained unknown."<sup>25</sup>

Just as the border nations of medieval Germany, the Poles, Bohemians, and Magyars got their civilization and their historiography from Germany, so the impulse towards historical writing among the Russians and Balkan Slavs, the Serbs and the Bulgarians (the Bulgarians were originally a Finnish people who became slavonized after they entered the Balkan peninsula) came from Byzantine influence. The old *Russian Chronicle* of Nestor,<sup>26</sup> somewhat dubiously ascribed to a monk of that name who lived about 1115, deals with the history of medieval Russia, more narrowly with that of the Grand Duchy of Kiev from the middle of the ninth century to 1110. It has come down in two redactions, each of which has augmentations which are independent of those in the other. In the year 850, according to Nestor, the Russian land "began to take its name." But the earliest certain reference to the Russian name and people is found in the Frankish *Annals of St. Bertin* in 839.<sup>27</sup> Rurik the Viking is said to have occupied Novgorod in 862, and Kiev in 882. We reach solid ground in Russian history only with Vladimir the Great who married the sister of the emperor Basil II. His conversion took place in 998. But almost all we know of medieval Russia before the twelfth century is derived from Byzantine chronicles, except for the *Chronicle of Novgorod*.

The father of Russian history only very slightly anticipated the monk Daniel of Kiev. The record of this monk's pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1106-07 is the second native Russian historical source.<sup>28</sup> In spite of the fact that there was no unity of the Russian nation and Russia was composed of a loose agglomeration of separate principalities, there was one interest common to all; and that was enmity towards the Asian nomads. The most remarkable example of this spirit is the *Tale*

<sup>25</sup> William Miller, *Trebizond, the Last Greek Empire* (London and New York, 1926), 119.

<sup>26</sup> S. H. Cross, "The Russian Primary Chronicle," *Harvard Studies in Philology and Literature*, XII (1930).

<sup>27</sup> On Nestor's *Chronicle* see Leo Wiener, *Anthology of Russian Literature from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (New York and London, 1902-03, 2 v.), I, 65-71 and consult index; GIBBON, VI, 520; J. B. Bury, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire from the Fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil I, A.D. 802-867* (London, 1912), 418, 423.

<sup>28</sup> For an account of this see C. R. Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography* (London, 1897-1906, 3 v.), II, 156-74.

of the *Armament of Igor*, an epic poem relating a disastrous expedition against the Cumans in 1185,<sup>29</sup> an episode in medieval Russian history comparable to Charlemagne's famous defeat in the defiles of the Pyrenees in 778 which gave birth to the *Chanson de Roland*.

The most important history of medieval Russia is the *Chronicle of Novgorod*. In one of the churches of that famous trading town the clergy kept a chronicle from early in the eleventh century to the end of the fifteenth.<sup>30</sup> The sustained continuity of this chronicle through a period of five hundred years, and the eventful life enjoyed by this mercantile community, make it a very valuable source. When the rest of Russia was devastated by the Tartars Novgorod alone was spared on the payment of tribute. The chronicle relates the changes of government, both secular and ecclesiastical, the foundation of the great church of St. Sophia, and the erection of many other churches. It records fires, famines, plagues, earthquakes, and eclipses, among the last the complete eclipse of March 1140 mentioned also in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. It recounts wars against Swedes, Letts, Finns, Poles, and Ugrians. The information is almost wholly local in nature. There are few notices of foreign events. The most notable cases are the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204 and the battle of Tannenberg in 1410. The chronicle practically ends in 1446, for the residue of events cited is meager. The last event relates how Novgorod had fallen away from its Russian attachment under the influence of the Hansa and had made a secret treaty with Poland against Ivan III, the Czar of Muscovy or Moscow, and how the city was taken and shorn of its ancient liberties by him. The event marked the conclusion of the history of medieval Russia.

A native Bulgarian historiography in the Middle Ages did not exist. The Tsar Simeon, it is said, had many books in his palace, but all were of a religious or ecclesiastical nature, translated from the Greek. In the tenth century a monk named Chrabr translated the Byzantine chronicles of Malalas into the Bulgarian language. Like the Bulgars, the Serbs, too, were not historically minded. The historical chronicle did not emerge in Serbia until the second half of the fourteenth century, and then was slavishly ecclesiastical in form and nature. The *Saints' Lives*, of which there are a number, are works of edification and of slender historical value. Legends, popular songs, and ballads were the only native form of literary expression in the Middle Ages. The history

<sup>29</sup> Wiener (n. 27), I, 80-96 for translated portions; complete translation with Russian text by Leonard A. Magnus, *The Tale of the Armament of Igor, A.D. 1185: a Russian Historical Epic* (London, 1915), bibliography, 119-22.

<sup>30</sup> *The Chronicle of Novgorod, 1016-1471*, tr. from the Russian by Robert Michell and Nevill Forbes (London, 1914: Camden Society, 3rd ser., XXV); cp. Nevill Forbes, "The Composition of the Earlier Russian Chronicles," *Slavonic Review*, I (1922-23), 73-85.

of medieval Serbia must be written from Byzantine and Venetian sources.<sup>31</sup>

The great siege of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 called forth a large and varied amount of historical writing, which, however, is of so local a nature that it need not be more than briefly mentioned in this place.<sup>32</sup> Leonard of Chios wrote a narrative of the siege less than three months after the event. Equally important is the *Diary* of Nicolo Barbaro, a Venetian, who was in Constantinople during the long siege. While probably written from day to day, internal evidence shows that it was revised after he returned to Venice.<sup>33</sup> A unique source of the history of the capture of Constantinople is that by a Greek known as "Kritoboulos the Islander." After the taking of the city the inhabitants of the islands of Imbros, Lemnos, and Thasos sent messengers to the Turkish admiral with a large sum of money, offering their submission and imploring to be spared the fate of the capital. Soon afterwards Kritoboulos was made archon of Imbros, an office which he held for at least four years, during which time he wrote his *Life of Mohammed*, a clear and compact work, which covers the first seventeen years of his reign. "As he wrote a few years after the siege and at leisure, his narrative does not show the signs of haste which mark many of the shorter narratives of that event."<sup>34</sup> There is no contemporary Turkish account of the siege, for Turkish historiography had hardly yet emerged.

Gibbon complained that he was "ignorant whether the [Ottoman] Turks have any writers older than Mahomet II."<sup>35</sup> The basis of our knowledge of the history of the Ottoman Turks was laid early in the last century by the Austrian scholar, Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774-1856), in his *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*.<sup>36</sup> He spent thirty years as a scholar, a diplomat, and a traveller, in collecting the materials and ransacked the libraries of Cairo, Damascus, Aleppo,

<sup>31</sup> For Byzantine sources of Hungarian history see G. Moravcsik, *Byzantion*, IX (1934), 663-73.

<sup>32</sup> For an account of it see GIBBON, VII, 332-35.

<sup>33</sup> The MS was in possession of the Barbaro family until 1829 when it passed into the Library of St. Mark's. It was published by Cornet in 1854.

<sup>34</sup> Pears (n. 1), pp. x-xi. The work was unknown until the middle of the nineteenth century when the MS was discovered by Dethier in the Seraglio. It was published, as *Critobuli Imbriotae libri quinque de rebus gestis Mechemetis*, in K. Müller, ed., *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* (Paris, 1868-84, 5 v.), V, pt. i, 40-161.

<sup>35</sup> GIBBON, VII, 24 note.

<sup>36</sup> This is the German original (Buda-Pest, 1827-35, 10 v.; 2nd ed., 1834); there is a French translation by J. J. Hellert, *Histoire de l'Empire ottoman* (Paris, 1835-43, 18 v.), which is not to be trusted, since it is full of stupid mistranslations and little more than a verbose and flowery paraphrase of the original cumbersome but vigorous German. See the long review by R. W. Church in his *Miscellaneous Essays* (n. 1), 281-435; and *QR*, XLIX (1833), 283-322; cp. also the evaluation of Hammer-Purgstall in the chapter on Turkish historiography, by Jean Deny, in *Histoire et historiens depuis cinquante ans* (Paris, 1927, 2 v.: Bibliothèque de la Revue historique), I, 441-42.

Constantinople, Vienna, Venice, Naples, Rome, Paris, London, Oxford, Cambridge, and Leyden. In the introduction to this monumental work von Hammer gives an account of the sources of Turkish history.

The earliest sources of Ottoman history of which he found the originals were eight works, all written in the fifteenth or sixteenth century, and therefore relating only tradition so far as the earliest period of Ottoman history is concerned. These are: (1) *The History of Aaschik-Pashazade*, or the history of the great-grandson of Ashik-Pasha, who lived in the time of Murad I (1359–89) and was killed in the battle of Kosova, where Serbia succumbed to the Crescent. There is almost nothing with reference to his two predecessors, Othman (1288–1325) and Orchan (1325–59). The author “drew materials from the Book of Sheik Yachsi, the Imam of Sultan Orchan, who was one of the seven present at Othman’s death-bed, and who relates the earliest events of Ottoman history from the mouth of his father.” Even Turkish scholars had forgotten the *History of Aaschik-Pashazade* when von Hammer brought it to light. He had searched for it in vain at Constantinople, and found the manuscript in the Vatican. (2) An old *Chronicle* attributed to Ali Osman, coming down to 1470, but actually anonymous. (3) *The View of the World* by Neschri, “written in rough Turkish, simply and without art” under Bajazet II (1481–98). (4) *The Eight Paradises* of Idris of Bitlis who, at the suggestion of Bajazet II, wrote in Persian the first Ottoman history “with attention to elegance of style.” In reality the work is so flowery, so laden with flattery and blandishment as to be almost unreadable. (5) *The History of Lutfi-Pasha*, who had been a grand vizier. (6) *The History by Djemali*, “the first trustworthy foundation of Ottoman history in Europe.” The manuscript was brought to Vienna in 1551. (7) *The Crown of Histories* by Sad ad-Din (or Seadeddin), “the first official historiographer of the sultans,” in the reign of Murad III (1574–95). The author was tutor to the royal princes, a judge in the Turkish army, and at last a mufti. (8) *History of Aali*, to 1597, “uncritical but painstaking and impartial, and not written in an official spirit.”<sup>37</sup>

These earliest Turkish annals relate adventurous incidents<sup>38</sup> as stirringly as Western chroniclers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and a magnificently stern array of battles, especially that at Kassova (1389), where the edges of all the Slavonic principalities in the Balkan peninsula met and where Serbian liberty perished.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>37</sup> For this summary of early Turkish historiography I am indebted to Church (n. 1), 286–87.

<sup>38</sup> For an example, see *ibid.*, 339–40.

<sup>39</sup> For a description see *ibid.*, 356–58.

## CHAPTER XXVI

### THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE NORSE PEOPLES: ICELAND, NORWAY, AND DENMARK <sup>1</sup>

THE most original type of medieval historiography, and to many also the most interesting, is the historical literature of the Norse peoples, including under that term the Danes, Norwegians, Icelanders, and Norse settlers in the western islands and Ireland. The Swedes do not enter into this category.

The expansion of the Nordic peoples out of their ancient seats and their conquest and settlement of new lands beyond the rim of continental Europe in the ninth century is one of the most important movements of history.<sup>2</sup> For the first time the wide, white northern lands of Europe and the islands of the North Atlantic rose above the horizon of the unknown, and these peoples and these lands entered into history. The "Viking-tide" began to set in about 770. In the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* the earliest mention of the Norsemen is in the year 787. The western islands, especially the Orkneys and the Shetlands, were shortly afterwards peopled by settlers from the mainland of Denmark and Norway, from the latter more than from the former. In Ireland the Norsemen made their first appearance in 795 and Dublin was captured in

<sup>1</sup> For collections see PAETOW, 184-85, and 505; the best collection for a reader of English only is *Origines Islandicae: a Collection of the More Important Sagas and Other Native Writings Relating to the Settlement and Early History of Iceland*, ed. and tr. by Gudbrand Vigfússon and F. York Powell (Oxford, 1905, 2 v.); English translation of five Icelandic sagas, including Snorri Sturlason's *Heimskringla*, in *The Saga Library*, tr. by William Morris and Eiríkr Magnússon (London, 1891-1905, 6 v.). For literature see GROSS, sec. 35; W. A. Craigie, *The Icelandic Sagas* (Cambridge and New York, 1913); the prolegomena to G. Vigfússon, ed., *Sturlunga Saga, including the Islendinga Saga of Lawman Sturla Thorðsson* (Oxford, 1878, 2 v.); Alexander Bugge, "The Origin and Credibility of the Icelandic Saga," *AHR*, XIV (1908-09), 249-61; Knut Gjerset, *History of the Norwegian People* (New York, 1915, 2 v.), I, 42-43, 443-52, II, 89-100 and *passim*; the same, *History of Iceland* (New York, 1924), 131-49; W. P. Ker, *Collected Essays*, ed. by Charles Whibley (London, 1925, 2 v.), II, chs. xxviii and xxx ("Early Historians of Norway"; "Sturla the Historian"); F. York Powell, "Saga Growth," *Folk-lore*, V (1894), 97-106; the introduction to Samuel Laing's translation of the *Heimskringla* of Snorri Sturlason (New York and London, 1915: Everyman's Library); Halvdan Koht, *The Old Norse Sagas* (New York, 1931); Eric V. Gordon, *An Introduction to Old Norse* (Oxford, 1927); Knut Liestøl [sic], *The Origin of the Icelandic Family Sagas* (Oslo, and Cambridge, Mass., 1930); David Anderson, "Scandinavian Literature," *Scottish Review*, XXX (1897), 322-40; see also articles in the *Saga Book of the Viking Club* (London, 1895 ff.) [also known as the Viking Society for Northern Research; or Orkney, Shetland and Northern Society], and other publications of this society.

<sup>2</sup> For an explanation of the causes of this great movement and the principal events attached to it, see my *Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages* (New York, 1928), ch. x, and literature cited on pp. 824-25.

837 and made into a "kingdom" which lasted until the heroic Irish chieftain Brian Boru destroyed the Norse power in the battle of Clontarf in 1014. Soon after 872 Iceland was discovered and colonized. By 870 the Danes were in possession of the eastern shore of England, and in 912 the channel coast of France was ceded to them by Charles the Simple, and the duchy of Normandy was founded. In 983 Eric the Red discovered Greenland, which was soon settled, and in the years between 986 and 1011 various points on the North American coast were found and perhaps thinly colonized.

For a long time little was known about the Norsemen except their achievements in England and on the Continent, and the Frankish and English sources were invariably hostile, depicting the Norsemen as cruel and ruthless invaders, barbarians, and pagans. We now know otherwise: we know that the Norse peoples were a hardy, energetic, vigorous race physically, intellectually, and morally, and that they gave to history and civilization far more than they destroyed. But we would be almost wholly ignorant of these things were it not for the stores of inner information disclosed by Norse historiography.

The Norse must have begun to settle the Orkneys and Shetlands about 664, two hundred years before Harald Fairhair's conquest. The history of the Norse occupation of the islands, embracing a period of about six hundred years, from 872 to 1468, is known with some particularity. The history of the conquest, the lives of the island jarls, the ferocious raids, the home life of the odalmen or landholders, were transmitted orally in song and narrative for centuries until they assumed a literary form in the twelfth century in the hands of the saga writers.

It is an anomaly of literature, however, that Northern historiography began and found its richest expression, not in the mother countries of Norway and Denmark, but in Iceland. These colonizers, many of whom were exiles driven from home because they were too proud to bend their necks to the growing power of kingship in Norway and Denmark, still retained a deep attachment to the mother-country along with intense pride in their achievements abroad. Among these *landnamsmoend*, or earliest settlers in Iceland, many a man is recorded as having fought at Hafsrfjord in 872 where Harald Fairhair broke the power of the jarls. Before this victory there had been some migration to the western islands, especially the Orkneys, but when Harald followed up his victory and relentlessly extended his sway to the Orkneys, these refugees fled farther west to Iceland. To these former tribal or clan chieftains order was repugnant. So great was the exodus from Norway that the king feared lest the country be depopulated. These exiles, moreover, were generally the best families, both economically and intel-

lectually. The memory of this great sea-fight survived for long in the North. This is from the earliest account:

There at Hafrsfjord a great fight befell and both long and hard it was, but such was the end thereof that King Harald had the victory. . . . Amid this unpeace [graphic word!], whenas King Harald was fighting for the land in Norway, were the Outlands found and peopled, the Faroes and Iceland to-wit; also there was much faring of Norsemen to Shetland. And many mighty men of Norway fled as outlaws before King Harald. . . . Now King Harald heard how the vikings harried wide, even such as were a-wintertide West-over-sea. . . . Then he sailed south to the Orkneys and cleared them utterly of vikings.

One of Harald's redoubtable antagonists was Rolf Wend-afoot, a man so tall and heavy that no horse could bear him, wherefore he went afoot wheresoever he fared. Driven from home, he became the founder of the duchy of Normandy. Halfdan Longlegs, the son of Harald Fairhair, completed his father's conquests by defeating the last opponent in a naval battle. After the bloody rite of cutting a spread-eagle on the back of the victim with a sword, and cutting the ribs away from the backbone, he immolated him to Woden.

This vigorous heritage must be taken into account in our understanding of the development of Icelandic historiography. The Icelander possessed an indisputable superiority over all the other Scandinavian peoples in his mental culture, and along with it preserved a vivid interest in the history of his *Heimland*. "In the whole record of humanity," it has been said, "there are few things stranger. . . . It is somewhat as if the Pilgrim fathers had undertaken the literary work of England. . . ." <sup>3</sup> The result was the great histories of Ari the Learned, Snorri, and Sturla, and the *Lives* of the kings of Norway and Denmark. For the area of this Old Norse literature was far wider than Iceland, where it originated, and embraced Scandinavia, Denmark, the Orkneys and Shetlands, Ireland, and even Pomerania and Russia.

As in ancient Greece, before the art of writing was introduced, literature had its origin among the logographers or "reciters," so among the early Norse peoples lack of a knowledge of writing gave room for minstrels and bards, whose ballads were handed down from generation to generation by means of the spoken word. When writing was introduced these oral recitals were written down, and some of them converted into prose.

Of these poets or bards we have no mention of the actual names before the reign of Halfdane the Black. . . . In the reign of his son Harold [Fairhair] we have the names of a galaxy of such poets recorded. This outburst was coincident with the beginning of the intercourse of the Norsemen with the Irish, who had a much older culture, and among whom the composing of epical and other poems was greatly developed, as was

<sup>3</sup> W. P. Ker, *Saga Book of the Viking Club*, V (1906-07), 346.

that of composing historic tales. . . . These stories . . . were the first nuclei of the Sagas of Iceland.<sup>4</sup>

Historical ballads must have existed among the Norse as early as the seventh century, else we could not account for the preservation of so much tradition. The sagas are new, but evidently the art of story-telling rested on a long tradition. The literary quality of this saga literature is amazingly high. The reason, at least in part, is owing to the constant winnowing to which it was subjected. "A people without a script," it has been said, "cannot possess a greater literature than the memory of one generation is able to carry." Accordingly from the earliest times a selective process was perpetually at work, eliminating all that was not most interesting and most representative. Again, the frame of this Icelandic literature was as remarkable as its spirit. The early literature of the Germanic peoples knew only one way of telling a story. The Anglo-Saxon *Beowulf* and the German *Hildebrandslied*, of which we have but fragments, are examples. But among the Norse peoples we find forms which are different in both style and spirit. Norse literature is at once more imaginative in character and more versatile in form.

The earliest notice we have of writing, found in the sagas, is in 1116 when Earl Rögnvaldr of Orkney, in a verse, numbered among his accomplishments *bok*, i.e., reading and writing. The impulse towards creative literary expression was not entirely due to the Norse genius. The Irish influence must be included, which means Celtic imaginativeness. Irish monks were found dwelling in Iceland when it was discovered by the Norsemen. "And there were found there," runs a saga, "Irish books and bells and crooks [croziers] and yet more things, by which it might be perceived that they were West-men." Moreover, as we have seen above, the Norse invaders had appeared in Ireland as early as 795, and by about 850 it may be said that nearly the whole of Ireland had come into touch with Norse culture, and the two races and the two cultures began to intermingle. Among the "land-takers" who emigrated to Iceland between 870 and 900, many had Irish names; in the Irish annals Norsemen frequently appear bearing Irish names. Irish balladry and song had its influence upon the earliest Norse literature. There were Irish bards at the court of Harald Fairhair in Norway. This breath of Celtic romanticism not improbably gave wings to the Icelandic imagination.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Sir Henry H. Howorth, "Harold Fairhair and His Ancestors," *ibid.*, IX (1914-18), 244.

<sup>5</sup> See the article of A. Bugge cited in n. 1 above, and another by him on "The Norse Language and Nationality in Ireland," *Annals of Northern Archaeology and History* (1900), 279-322; cp. Eleanor Hull, "Irish Episodes in Icelandic Literature," *Saga Book of the Viking Club*, III (1901-03), 235-70; and Stefansson, "Western Influences on the Earliest Viking Settlers," *ibid.*, V (1906-07), 292-93.



But the high originality of Icelandic historical writing has not yet been wholly explained. The sagas were for many centuries not written in Latin, as was all other medieval history in Western Europe, except the early English, but were written in Old Norse or Icelandic, in spite of the fact that Iceland was Christianized by the year 1000, that the first sagas were not reduced to the form in which we know them until more than a century afterwards, and that Latin letters were used for inscribing Norse words as early as King Siefred (894-898), who employed them on his coinage. Neither Christian culture nor Latin classical tradition made any impression on Icelandic historiography. Indeed, for the history of this Norse fore-world it was as if classical and Christian tradition did not exist. The sagas are Nordic, primitively Germanic, barbaric and heathen, not Christian in spirit.<sup>6</sup>

These sagas have not wholly to do, as one might infer, with war and clan feuds. The material and moral life of the peoples of the North, even to details, is revealed in them.<sup>7</sup> The opening saga of King Olaf Tryggvasson (ch. 5) gives an interesting picture of the times. When a boy, the vessel in which he and his mother were sailing, under the care of some merchants, was attacked by Vikings, "who made booty both of the people and the goods, killing some and dividing others as slaves. Olaf was separated from his mother and an Esthonian man called Klerkon got him as his share, along with Thoralf and Thorkils. Klerkon thought that Thoralf was too old for a slave and that there was not much work to be got out of him, and so killed him; but took the boys with him and sold them to a man named Klaerk, for a stout and good ram. A third man called Reas bought Olaf for a good cloak."

The enormous difference between Icelandic historiography and that of the Franks and Saxons on the Continent or of the Anglo-Saxons may be more appreciated if a contrast is invoked at this point. All of the Germanic peoples of the period of the migrations and conquests in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, as the Franks and the Lombards, for example, were too sophisticated by the long contact with Roman civilization and Christian culture to preserve their own literature. All the

<sup>6</sup> Cp. Vigfússon's prolegomena to his edition of the *Sturlunga Saga* (n. 1), p. xxvi: "The period during which the sagas were making was but brief, nor could it have been otherwise; the combination of circumstances which will produce such a literature is rare and transitory. The Sagas of Iceland, like the Elizabethan drama, are the outward expression of the innermost heart of a great age. . . . The discovery of the Western Lands, as new and strange to the Norsemen as Mexico and Peru to the *conquistadores*, the sudden outburst of Viking life, like the free career of the half-pirate adventurers of the Spanish Main, with all its adventures and danger on sea and land, the close contact in peace and war with the Kelts, whose ancient civilization was, as far as we can tell, in many points superior to that of the invaders and therefore the stronger in its influence, all seem to have deeply affected the Northern mind and wrought it to a higher pitch than it had ever before attained." See W. P. Ker's commendation of this work of Vigfússon in a review of another, *EHR*, XX (1905), 779-82.

<sup>7</sup> See Mary W. Williams, *Social Scandinavia in the Viking Age* (New York, 1920).

saga literature of the early Germans perished except among the Anglo-Saxons in Britain. The native literature of the Goths, Franks, and Lombards has not survived, and only traces of it are to be found in Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, and Paul the Lombard. The early Germans lost their ancestral literary heritage, to their loss and ours. Fredegar, the Frankish chronicler in the seventh century, traced the lineage of the Merovingian kings back to Trojan origin; and as late as the end of the tenth century Widukind hesitated between accepting the real tradition of his Saxon people or adopting an ancient Greek origin for them. In Book I, chapter iii he wrote:

On the origin of the Saxons there are various opinions, some thinking that the Saxons had their origin from the Danes and Norsemen; others, as I have heard some maintain when a young man, that they are derived from the Greeks, because they themselves used to say the Saxons were the remnant of the Macedonian army which, having followed Alexander the Great, were by his premature death dispersed all over the world.

Widukind wavers between these two opinions, but inclines to the belief that the Saxons had come in ships to the country which they inhabited on the lower Elbe and the North Sea, and that they landed in Hadolaun, that is to say in the region of Hadeln, near the mouth of the Elbe. This statement, it may be said in Widukind's behalf, is found in an older Saxon Chronicle written about 860. Nothing comparable to such imitation, to such intellectual slavishness, is to be found in Norse history.

Vígfússon has called the saga "the true child of Iceland."<sup>8</sup> The sagas were prose epics reminiscent and descriptive of the heroic age of Norse history. The most important of them seem to have been given shape in the eleventh century, and were recited orally. Most of them were reduced to writing between 1140 and 1240.<sup>9</sup> The information con-

<sup>8</sup> The British Celticist J. H. Todd suggested that the saga literature imitated the historical tales and bardic poems which the Norse found in Ireland (*War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill* [London, 1867: Rolls series no. 48], p. xxviii); cp. Douglas Hyde, *A Literary History of Ireland* (New York, 1899), 434-42.

<sup>9</sup> The sagas may be classified as follows:

1.—Icelandic family sagas, each telling the exploits of some chieftain or family, mainly between 900 and 1030. Examples are *Egil's Saga*, the tale of a deadly feud between a noble Icelandic family and Harald Fairhair and his successors, ca. 870-980 (*Egil's Saga*, tr. with introduction by E. R. Eddison, Cambridge, 1930); and *Njal's Saga*, which covers the years 970-1014 and contains some important details about the battle of Clontarf in Ireland in 1014 (*The Story of Burnt Njal, or Life in Iceland at the End of the Tenth Century*, tr. by G. W. Dasent, Edinburgh, 1861, 2 v.; reprints in Everyman's Library).

2.—Kings' sagas, memoirs of kings, chiefly those in Norway. Examples are: the *Formanna Sögur*, a series of kings' Lives fuller than those in the *Heimskringla*. The chief biographies are those of Olaf Trygvason, St. Olaf, Magnus the Good, and Harald Hardrada (*Formanna Sögur*, Copenhagen, 1825-37, 12 v.; there is no English translation, but a Latin version appeared, *Scripta historica Islandorum*, Copenhagen and London, 1828-46, 12 v.). The *Heimskringla* is discussed later on in this chapter. Another example is *Olaf's Saga* (tr. by John Sephton, *The Saga of King Olaf Trygvason, 995-1000*, London, 1895).

3.—Sagas relating to countries other than Iceland and Norway, as the *Knyttlinga Saga*, which contains the lives of the kings of Denmark from Cnut the Great to 1187 (printed in the *Formanna Sögur*, XI, 179-402; long extracts in Latin translation in *Monumenta Germaniae*

tained in these sagas ranges all over Northern Europe, as far as Greenland in the West and Russia, Constantinople,<sup>10</sup> and the Holy Land in the East, i.e., to whatever land these bold adventurers roved. The Icelander of the saga-period, who was unable himself to travel abroad, eagerly devoured the tales of these far-farers.

The period of production of the best of these historical tales fell between the years 890 and 1030, one of the shortest and most amazing epochs of creative literature in all history. For many years they lived on the lips of the common folk, and were not reduced to writing until the twelfth, and in some instances the thirteenth century. After the fall of the Icelandic Commonwealth in 1281 almost all literary activity ceased. It was the age of collecting and copying the literature of the past, a period of antiquarianism.

It was not until after the creative impulse was over and the Heroic Age was long in the past that the labor of collecting began, when some of the nobles paid clerks to transcribe them. The general taste at this time had deteriorated, and French romances in prose translation were popular.

A period of two hundred and fifty years elapsed between the saga age and the time when historical scholarship arose, and these sagas began to be used as historical sources for the early history of France. By that time schools had long been founded and some of the most progressive Icelanders had even gone abroad for study. Isleif Gizursson, the first native bishop, had studied in Germany and been to Rome; his son Gizur had also visited Rome, studied in Germany, and died archbishop of Magdeburg. Teit Isleifsson had also studied abroad and though he never took orders became a successful teacher; Ari acknowledges his special obligation to him for much of the information embodied in his work concerning early Norwegian and Icelandic history. The most influential predecessor of Ari, however, was Saemund Sigfusson (1056-1133), the most learned man in Iceland before Ari himself, who had studied in France and was well grounded in Latin and ecclesiastical literature. His historical interest was primarily in genealogy and chronology. None of his writings has been pre-

*Historica, Scriptores*, XXIX [Hanover, 1892], 271-332); and the *Orkneyinga Saga*, which gives an account of the conquest of the Orkneys, and their history under the Norse jarls from 872 to 1122 (tr. by G. W. Dasent in *Icelandic Sagas and Other Historical Documents Relating to the Settlements and Descents of the Northmen on the British Isles* [London, 1887-94, 4 v.: Rolls series no. 88], vol. III; original text in vol. I, ed. by Gudbrand Vigfússon. Vols. II and IV of this same collection contain the text and translation of the *Hakonar Saga*, 1203-1264. There is another English translation of the *Orkneyinga Saga* by J. A. Hjalptin and G. Goudie, ed. by J. Anderson, Edinburgh, 1873).

<sup>10</sup> For sagas bearing on the relations of the Norsemen with Byzantium, see *Harald Hardrada's Saga*, and that of *Grettir the Strong*; and cp. C. R. Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography* (London, 1897-1906, 3 v.), II, 103-11.

served, perhaps because he wrote in Latin; for Icelandic culture was not yet ripe for the adoption of the Latin language or Latin culture.

The Father of Norse history was Ari Thorgilsson (1067-1148), sur-named the Learned,<sup>11</sup> "a man of eager wit and faithful memory." When he was seven years old, in 1074, Ari, who had been left an orphan, passed into the household of Hall Thorarinsson, then an old man of eighty years of age, already settled in Iceland for fifty years, but who in his younger days had been associated with King Olaf Haraldsson, known as Olaf the Saint. To Hall's reminiscence Ari owed his earliest impulse towards history and his first information of an historical nature. "He taught Ari," records Snorri Sturlason, in the prologue to his *Heimskringla*, "and told him many historical facts which Ari afterwards wrote down." How far Hall's recollection went back is stressed by Ari: "He remembered his own baptism when he was three years old—that was the year before Christianity was adopted by law in this country" (999). Hall died in 1089.

Snorri Sturlason, Ari's successor, paid an eloquent tribute to him, which is worth quoting in full:

Ari the Learned, son of Thorgils, son of Gellir, was the first man in this country who wrote in Icelandic both ancient and recent history; in the beginning of his book he wrote chiefly about the colonization of Iceland and legislative measures, then about the law-speakers, how long each of them held office and gave the number of years, first to the date when Christianity came to Iceland, and then right on to his own days. He included also many other things, as the lives of the kings of Norway and Denmark, and even of England, or great events which had happened in this country, and the whole of his account seems to me most notable. He had great knowledge and was so old that he was born in the year after the death of Harald Sigurdsson [who fell at the battle of Stamford-bridge in 1066, when he attempted to invade England simultaneously with William the Conqueror]. He wrote, as he says himself, the lives of the kings of Norway after the information given by Odd, son of Koll, son of Hall of Sida; and Odd got it from Thorgeir, an intelligent man, and so old that he was living in Nidarnes when Earl Hakon the Mighty was slain (995). He was the first of men here in the land (Iceland) to write ancient and modern lore in the northern tongue; he wrote chiefly in the beginning of his book concerning Iceland's colonization and legislation, then of the law-speakers down to the introduction of Christianity (A.D. 1000) and then on to his own day. Therein he also treats of much other older lore both of the lives of the kings of Norway and Denmark, as well as of those of England. It was no wonder that Ari was well informed with regard to historic events both here and abroad, for he had learned them from old and intelligent men and was himself both eager to learn and had a good memory.<sup>12</sup>

Ari's own name for his history of Iceland was *Islendingabók* or "Book

<sup>11</sup> Vigfússon, prolegomena to the *Sturlunga Saga* (n. 1), sec. iv; W. A. Craigie, "A Father of History," *Scottish Review*, XXXVI (1900), 126-42; JS, 1899, p. 388. See Snorri's prologue to the *Heimskringla*.

<sup>12</sup> Quoted by Craigie (n. 11), 131.

of Icelanders.”<sup>13</sup> It is hardly more than a primer. Ari wrote a previous work, now lost, which contained much matter which he omitted in the second recension. When Ari had eliminated the matter in the first work which he regarded as extraneous, his treatise contained the following chapters: (1) The colonizing of Iceland; (2) The first settlers and the first laws; (3) The institution of the Al-thingi; (4) The calendar; (5) The division of Iceland into quarters; (6) The settlement of Greenland; (7) The coming of Christianity to Iceland; (8) Foreign bishops; (9) Bishop Isleif; and (10) Bishop Gizurr. He was accurate in statement and scrupulous in chronology. It is not a little astonishing that in a time when England and France were being swamped with legendary and romantic literature—Ari was a contemporary of Geoffrey of Monmouth—in a country as remote and as new to medieval culture as Iceland, a writer should have arisen who had so clear and sound ideas of historical criticism and historical method. Moreover, it is not exaggeration to say that Ari in all probability saved Norse history from otherwise perishing. Before Ari the whole body of materials out of which Norse history was recovered was floating around in the form of oral traditions. Ari wrote before either the sagas or the Eddas were reduced to writing. Much of the law was still unwritten until Ari the Wise and his co-workers were delegated by the Icelandic Council in 1117 to inscribe and codify it. Then they decided to abandon the cumbersome runes and use Latin.<sup>14</sup> Before Ari almost nothing of an historical nature had been done. His only predecessor had been Isleif, the first bishop of Iceland, who was appointed by Adalbert, archbishop of Bremen, and died in 1047. He had compiled histories of the Norse kings from Harald Fairhair to Magnus the Good; and Ari’s insignificant contemporary Saemund (1056–1133) was the author of similar works.

The most interesting and important information found in Ari is that which relates to the Norse discovery of Greenland and the northwest coast of America or Vinland the Good. The source of this information throws light on how Icelandic history was often written. Ari was a great-great-grandson of a certain Rafn, a trader to Limerick, from whom a family tradition had come down which described how, about 983, a certain Are Marson, of Reykianess in Iceland, was driven by storm out into the open sea and came at last to a country which he called White Land, and others termed Great Ireland. Thither he was

<sup>13</sup> *The Book of the Icelanders (Íslendingabók)* by Ari Thorgilsson, ed. and tr., with an introductory essay, by Halldár Hermannsson (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell Univ. Library, 1930); French translation by Félix Wagner, *Le Livre des Islandais du prêtre Ari le Savant* (Brussels, 1898).

<sup>14</sup> Finnur Jónsson, *Den oldnorske og oldislandske litteraturs historie* (Copenhagen, 1920–24, 3 v. in 2), II, 921; Tenney Frank, “Classical Scholarship in Medieval Iceland,” *American Journal of Philology*, XXX (1909), 144, the entire article, 139–52.

followed by Bjarne Asbrandson in 999, and by Gudlief Gudlaughson in 1029, who was "a great sea-farer and owned a large trading ship." This Ireland the Great, which later was dubbed Greenland, "lay westward in the Main near Vinland the Good, and it was six days' voyage westward." Rafn of Limerick was the first who told this tale, but Ari checked this story which had come down in his family. Certain Icelanders told him that they had heard the same from Thorfin, earl of the Orkneys—probably the great Earl Thorfin II, who died in 1064. The authenticity of this narrative is further strengthened when we know that Rafn was distantly related both to Are Marson and Leif Ericson, the discoverer of America,<sup>15</sup> and that Ari's uncle Thorkil had once spoken with one of the crew who was with Eric the Red on his first voyage.

The sources for the history of the Vinland voyages form only a small body of materials. There are two longer narratives, the "Saga of Eric the Red" in the *Hauk's Book*, and the "Tale of the Greenlanders" in the *Flat-Isle Book*. Taken together these two sagas relate the accidental sighting of land on the Labrador coast by Bjarni Herjúlsson (ca. 986), next of a visit by Leif Ericsson and of his discovery of Vinland (ca. 1000), and finally of efforts to colonize Vinland.

The greater *Íslendingabók*, which, as has been explained, has not been preserved, was the basis of three other works. These were the *Konungabók*, or *The Book of Kings*, the *Landnamabók* or *Book of the Land-Takers*, and the *Kristnisaga* or *History of Early Christianity in Iceland*. The first is lost, but served later writers as a source for the history of the kings of Norway and Denmark. The third, in its present form, has been much changed both by addition and subtraction, so that it only remotely represents the original. The *Landnamabók* is fortunately intact, thanks to the Icelander's reverence for family lineage and landed property. All the sagas abound with fighting, litigation, and genealogical matter, for the Icelanders were proud of their family trees.

The impulse towards the writing of history imparted by Ari the Learned set in motion a literary movement in the Scandinavian world

<sup>15</sup> Beazley (n. 10), II, 72 note, citing the *Landnamabók*, pt. ii, ch. xxi. The *Red Eric Saga* is the famous account of Leif Ericson and the discovery and settlement of Greenland. It survives in two MSS, the older dating from ca. 1334, the other from ca. 1400. In spite of these late dates, the saga must be regarded as one of high antiquity, though, contrary to general belief, the earliest mention of Greenland is contained in Adam of Bremen (d. ca. 1076), *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, Bk. IV, chs. 10, 37. Adam got his information from King Svend Estridsson of Denmark: "Preterea unam adhuc insulam recitavit a multis in eo repertam oceano, quae dicitur Winland, eo quod ibi vites sponte nascantur, vinum optimum ferentes. Nam et fruges ibi non seminatæ habundare non fabulosa opinione, sed certa comperimus relatione Danorum." *Ibid.*, ch. 39. For the most recent critical discussion of the historical element in the Eric saga, see A. W. Brøgger [sic], *Vinlandsferdene* (Oslo, 1937). An English translation may be found in E. G. Bourne, ed., *The Northmen, Columbus and Cabot, 985-1503* (New York, 1906: part of the *Original Narratives of Early American History*, ed. by J. F. Jameson), 14-44.

which lasted until the end of the thirteenth century and is characterized by both impressive continuity and high quality. Between Ari and Snorri Sturlason, the next important writer, we find Eric Oddson in the middle of the twelfth century, author of a work entitled *Hryggjar-stykki*, upon the lives of King Sigurd and the sons of King Harald Gille; and Karl Jonsson, Benedictine abbot of Thingeyri, author of the *Sverris Saga* or *Life of King Sverri*, the greater part of which was derived from the king himself who "sat over him and told him what he should write." The quaint, racy style of Sverri's saga, which is entirely distinct from that of the other *Kings' Lives* and has a marked individuality of its own, is our best authority for the abbot's character and culture.<sup>16</sup> King Sverri was a rugged person. Born in the Faroes, to the end of his days—he died in 1202—his speech smacked of his birthplace. He "swept away the old Norway, with its royalty, its nobility, its old customs and life, and cleared the ground for the medieval kingdom which was to come." Geographically and politically the Shetlands were more dependent on Norway than the Faroes and the Orkneys lying farther to the west, which were more independent and inclined towards Scotland. The earl of Orkney ruled the Shetlands as a dependency.<sup>17</sup>

Bjarne Kilbeinsson, the greatest name in Orkney literature, was made bishop of Orkney in 1188. His court was a literary center. Icelanders, especially the skalds, were frequently his guests. He was a close friend of Saemund Jonsson, great-grandson of Saemund, the first Icelandic historian, who was an older contemporary of Ari the Learned. Snorri quotes pieces of the *Orkney Saga* in *Heimskringla*, e.g., St. Olaf's saga, ch. cix. He must have got this directly or indirectly from Bishop Bjarne. There is other evidence besides this indicating that the connection between Iceland and Orkney was intimate. There is strong reason to believe that Bjarne is the author of the *Orkney Saga*—or, to give it its more correct title, the *Orkney Earls' Saga*, for the earls of Orkney were regarded as par excellence *the* earls. This is a compilation of three sagas, but even if these existed in oral tradition, Bjarne's hand wrought them into a continuous history. There is a unity of style throughout and a use of skaldic verse which reminds one of Snorri's use of it. The intimate local knowledge of the Orkneys, of the traditions of the islands,

<sup>16</sup> Vigfússon, prolegomena to the *Sturlunga Saga* (n. 1), I, p. lxx; English translation by John Sephton, *Sverrisaga: The Saga of King Sverri of Norway, 1174-1202* (London, 1899), with a critical introduction. In 1193-94 the Orkneyings made a desperate but unsuccessful rebellion against King Sverri's domination, and with twenty-three ships took Oslo and Bergen. But before they could profit by this victory Sverri defeated them in a hard-fought sea battle on April 3, 1194 at Floruvagar. It is related that all the rebels, to the number of two thousand, were put to the sword.

<sup>17</sup> For the history of the Norse rule in the Orkneys see G. W. Dasent's introduction to his translation of the *Orkneyinga Saga* (see n. 9 above, third paragraph).

precludes the hypothesis that the author was an Iclander. Moreover, the almost complete absence of law makes it differ sharply from the Icelandic sagas.<sup>19</sup>

Another abbot of Thingeyri, named Odd Snorrason (1160–80) wrote a *Life of King Olaf Tryggvason*, who introduced Christianity into Norway from 995 to 1000, of which only a paraphrase or abridgment has survived. It is evident that he used substantial sources. The remarkable feature of this work is that it was written in Latin, but nevertheless adhered to the saga style. A fellow monk with Odd, named Gunnlang (d. 1229), wrote a *Life of St. Olaf*, which has not survived, and which no doubt was written in Latin. Excerpts of it, however, are found in other works.

These three writers were connecting links between Ari the Learned and the next great Icelandic historian. This was Snorri Sturluson (1178–1241).<sup>19</sup> He was born of good, though not noble, family and seems to have inherited his gifts from his mother. When only three years of age, after the Icelandic manner, he was sent in fosterage to Oddi, the place of abode of Jon Lopston, the greatest man of the time in Iceland, and great-grandson of Saemund the historian and grandson of Magnus Bareleg. Snorri made a rich marriage and, except for two years in Norway, spent his life in Reykjaholt, the capital of the island, where he was a close friend of a priest named Magnus and his wife Hallfrid, who was a great-granddaughter of Ari the historian. These relationships undoubtedly profoundly influenced Snorri and stimulated him to the writing of history.

Aside from being an historian Snorri was an active man in Icelandic life. He was "lawman" from 1215–18 and again from 1222–32. In 1237 civil war compelled him to flee to Norway, where he had previously visited in 1218–20. Snorri was convinced that the restoration of peace in Iceland could only be brought about by establishment of Norse suzerainty over the island by King Haakon. The advocacy of this policy cost him his life. He was murdered by his enemies in 1241.

Snorri was both poet and historian. We are told that he wrote sagas—he may have written the *Great Olaf Tryggvason Saga*—and he is known as the author of the *Prose Edda*<sup>20</sup> which preserves the mythological

<sup>19</sup> See a long critical discussion of the *Orkney Saga* by Jan Stefansson, in *Orkney and Shetland Miscellany*, I (1907–08), 65–71. This is another publication of the Viking Club (n. 1).

<sup>19</sup> Vigfússon's prolegomena to the *Sturlunga Saga* (n. 1), I, pp. lxxiii–lxxxii; *Scottish Review*, XXXVI (1900), 131–34; the introduction of S. Laing's translation of the *Heimskringla* (n. 1); another edition by Erling Monsen and A. H. Smith, *Heimskringla, or The Lives of the Norse Kings*, etc. (Cambridge, 1932); F. Wegner, "Un grand écrivain islandais du moyen âge: Snorri Sturluson et son oeuvre" *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, X (1931), 1076–85; for other literature see POTTHAST, II, 1025–26.

<sup>20</sup> English translation by Arthur G. Brodeur, *The Prose Edda* (New York, 1916).



tales of the pagan gods of the North. But his fame rests on his historical work. The fascination which the history of Norway had for Icelandic writers is remarkable. The attraction was the conversion of the Scandinavian nations to Christianity. Ari the Learned was the author of the first version of the *Kings' Lives*, and Snorri rewrote and enlarged this history in the *Heimskringla* or "circle of the world." Snorri opens the *Heimskringla* with Ari's preface to his own work, and throughout closely adheres to Ari for his facts. But he was no copyist or even imitator; his sense of the dramatic, his poetic imagination, his power to mass evidence mark him as a real historian. "He appears to have composed the 'Chronicles of the Kings of Norway' with a sword in one hand and a pen in the other—and the result is a book so striking and so racy, so truthful, and at the same time so picturesque, that, while six centuries have added to its value as a historical document, they have not in the least diminished the interest or destroyed the charm of Snorri's narrative."<sup>21</sup> It has been said of Snorri that he turned a chronicle into a drama of the highest form of beauty.<sup>22</sup> Carlyle said the *Heimskringla* was "to be reckoned among the great history books of the world."

Snorri's preface reads:

In this book have I let write tales told concerning those chiefs who had borne sway in the Northlands, and who spake the Danish tongue, even as I have heard men of lore tell me the same. . . . Some of this is found in the Tellings-up of Forefathers. . . . Now though we wot not surely the truth thereof, yet this we know for a truth, that men of lore of old time have ever held such lore for true. Thiodolf of Hvin was skald to Harald Hairfair, and he did the lay . . . which is called the Tale of the Ynglings. . . . In this song are thirty of his forefathers named and their deaths told. . . .

Snorri then goes on to trace the stages in the cultural development of the Norse peoples by distinguishing the different modes of burial of the dead—and the modern anthropologist regards this custom as a criterion of development of a civilization. The first age was called the "age of burning of the dead" when standing stones were set up over their ashes; the second age was the "barrow age," when "men fell to raising barrows to the memory of their kin no less often than standing stones"; the third age was the "mound age," which first obtained in Denmark, "but long thereafter the burning age held on among the Swedes and Norwegians," which is an evidence of their retarded civilization when compared with the Danes. Snorri's sources were voluminous, for he lived at a time when the sagas were still in process of composition, while many others

<sup>21</sup> *FQR*, XXXIII (1844), 501.

<sup>22</sup> Eugen Mogk, in Herman Paul's *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie* (Strassburg, Berlin, etc., 1891-1937, 13 v.), II, 128.

were yet preserved in oral form. The skalds were still singing in the northern courts and the great families carefully kept their genealogies. He used his sources critically, and composed his own history as accurately and as fully as was practicable. He was no annalist or chronicler, and deserves to be regarded, as he is, as among the great historical writers. He is both reliable and readable.

If the *Heimskringla* is great history, the *Sturlunga Saga* of Snorri's nephew Sturla (1214-84)—the name is a diminutive and means "little steer," as Wulfila means "little wolf"—is greater. His life was an adventurous, even a violent one. For he inherited the fatal feud of his family and lived in a period when Iceland was racked by civil war for fifty years (1208-58). He saw the conquest of Iceland by Haakon IV of Norway, grandson of the redoubtable Sverri, in 1260. In 1244 his house was beset by his enemies and he narrowly escaped with his life. In 1263, broken and penniless, Sturla found refuge at the Norwegian court, but returned for a season to Iceland, and in 1277 went back to Norway where he died. A sympathetic contemporary sketch of Sturla is found in a letter of Bishop Arne.<sup>23</sup> He died on his birthday at the age of seventy, with his wax tablets in hand. The *Sturlunga Saga* may be described as a universal history of the North from the reign of Harald Fairhair to the end of Iceland's independence. For this reason it is sometimes called the *Great Islendinga Saga*. Practically every known source, whether literary or historical or genealogical, whether prose or poetry, whether written or oral tradition, Edda and Saga and Rune, entered into the formation of this vast history. It is a tremendous piece of scholarship and a literary masterpiece, a work of art. The style is simple, without being archaic; smooth, not rugged; parsimonious of all but important facts, which are interpreted with illumination; sometimes of epic grandeur. Sturla's descriptive power is tremendous; his realism stark. For example, the description of the terrible blizzard in January 1255; the surprise of Stafholt, in which one hears the hammering of the horses' hoofs on the road; in the Burning of Flygumyri one "can feel the choking smoke and heat, and hear the roar of the flame in the hall and the clash of the spears."

The glorious period of Icelandic historiography ended with Sturla's death (1284). "The decadence of Iceland is manifest in the failure of the great historic school; the decadence of Norway also when there were no more lives of kings written by Icelanders in the common language."<sup>24</sup> The Norse genius rapidly decayed; perhaps it began to decay with the

<sup>23</sup> See Vigfússon's preface to his edition of the *Hakonar Saga* (n. 9 above, third paragraph) in the *Rolls* series, no. 88, vol. II, pp. xii-xiv.

<sup>24</sup> W. P. Ker, *Saga Book of the Viking Club*, VIII (1913-14), 149.

triumph of Christianity among them. The only historical work which lightens the shadows is the *Flatey Book*, a sort of encyclopedia of Norse history and antiquities. It is a huge volume in the printed edition, comprehending 1700 closely printed pages. It was written in the fourteenth century and its composition must have exacted the presence of a great library, probably that of the monastery of Thingore. Jon Hakonsson, at whose instance it was written in the second half of the fourteenth century, was an Icelander of culture, a wealthy Icelandic freeholder who spent time and money in promoting the history of his country and labored to procure the best historical library within reach. The *Flatey Book* is the last flicker of Icelandic historical scholarship.<sup>25</sup> Rich sources of Norse history were lying forgotten and neglected amid the damp and turf-smoke of half-ruined houses, the precious parchments slowly disintegrating and mouldering away. From this fate they were fortunately rescued by the revival of scholarship all over Europe in the seventeenth century. In 1664 the first saga was printed. In England the rediscovery of Norse history began with Bishop Percy, that enthusiastic collector of Northern Ballads, who published his translation of Mallet's *Northern Antiquities* in 1770.

Danish and Norwegian historical writing in the Middle Ages not only lagged behind that of Iceland, but differed greatly in form and spirit from it. The viking note is seldom apparent, and when it appears it is artificial and lacks the true ring of originality. The reason for this difference is the influence of Christianity. Danish history began with the conversion of Denmark, which came much earlier than among the Norwegians and Icelanders. The history of Denmark begins with Gorm, the father of Harold Bluetooth, grandfather of Sweyn and great-grandfather of Canute (1000-35), in whose time Denmark was Christianized. But the history of this period—except for what Icelandic historians and the sagas tell us—must be derived from Latin monastic chronicles and Frankish and German annals. Christianity frowned upon and even destroyed the memorials of the pagan period, just as the Franks had earlier destroyed the pagan memorials of the conquered Saxons. What was preserved was preserved by the Icelandic historians.

"There are neither native poems nor prose writings of any value extant, dealing with the pre-Christian period [of Danish annals]. . . . Nothing shews this better than the great and romantic Danish prose

<sup>25</sup> For an account of the *Flatey Book*, see Vigfússon's edition of the *Orkneyinga Saga* (n. 9 above, third paragraph) in the Rolls series no. 88, vol. I, pp. xxv-xxxii; extracts in vol. III, 225-38. The whole of this noble work was destroyed in 1728 when the University of Copenhagen was burned. The two chief compilers of it were the priests John and Magnus whose last contribution was made in 1394.

epic of Saxo Grammaticus. The latter part of his work, especially that dealing with the reigns of the three Waldemars, is excellent history. The earlier books form an entirely fabulous compilation, in which the author has appropriated tales and sagas from other peoples and deliberately . . . transferred them from the traditions of other nations."<sup>26</sup> Intolerance of the Church in Denmark, less so in Norway, destroyed this whole body of literature. It was fortunate for the preservation of Norse literary culture that Iceland accepted Christianity peacefully and by popular vote, and was saved from having it imposed by the sword. The social and religious system of the Danes could not maintain itself in opposition to the influence of the Church, and accordingly polygamy, the slave trade, and paganism gradually disappeared. But the blending of the barbarian culture with nominal Christianity resulted in a curious mixture. King Olaf Tryggvasson (995-1000), who forcibly Christianized Denmark, the Orkney and the Shetland Islands by the sword, was a brutal, lecherous barbarian with a veneer of civilization, and reminds one of Dagobert, the Frankish king of the first part of the seventh century.

Not until the twelfth century did Denmark reach that degree of civilization able to produce a native culture. Then we find the cultivated churchman Bishop Absalon (1179-1201) of Lund in Scania, counsellor to King Waldemar II, an able administrator, a consummate politician, and a scholar, who inspired Svend Aageson (fl. 1185) and Saxo Grammaticus (d. 1203). The former had the misfortune to be overshadowed by the latter, but is to be given credit for having written the earliest, though brief, history of Denmark: *Gesta regum Daniae*.<sup>27</sup>

Saxo Grammaticus' *Gesta Danorum* <sup>28</sup> is the greatest intellectual product of Denmark in the Middle Ages. He was urged to the task by Bishop Absalon and inspired, as he himself records, by the "majorum acta patrii sermonis carminibus vulgata." This initial impulse came from Arni the Learned of Iceland, whose preface he quotes in his own preface, but adds, his pride as a Dane being hurt by the greater and earlier historical spirit manifested by Icelandic writers:

<sup>26</sup> Quoted from the *Saga Book of the Viking Club*, IX (1914-18), 246.

<sup>27</sup> Printed in J. Langebek, ed., *Scriptores rerum Danicarum medii aevi* (Copenhagen, 1772-84, 8 v.), III, 141-64.

<sup>28</sup> *Saxo Grammaticus, The First Nine Books of the Danish History*, tr. by Oliver Elton, with considerations on Saxo's sources, method, and folklore by F. York Powell (London, 1894); recent edition by J. Olrik and H. Raeder, *Saxonis Gesta Danorum* (Copenhagen, 1931, 2 v.); for other editions and literature see POTTHAST, II, 999-1001. Léon Pineau, *Saxo Grammaticus quid et quo modo ad Gesta Danorum conficienda ex carminibus patrio sermone traditis hauserit* (Tours, 1901); W. P. Ker, "On the Danish Ballads," *Scottish Review*, I (1903-04), 357-78; Henry Leach, *Angeln Britain and Scandinavia* (Harvard Univ. Press, 1921), 139-40; and a good article in *FQR*, XI (1833), 128-40.

I would not have it forgotten that the ancient of the Danes, when any notable deeds of mettle had been done, were filled with emulation of glory, not only by relating in a choice kind of composition which might be called a poetical work, the roll of their lordly deeds, but also by having graven upon rocks and cliffs in the characters of their own language (runes) the works of their forefathers, which were commonly known as poems in the mother-tongue. In the footsteps of these poems, being, as it were, classic books of antiquity, I have trod, and as I have translated, I have taken care to render verses by verses.

He lamely apologizes for the late development of historiography among the Danes: "Who could write a record of the deeds of the Danes?" he asks. "It has but lately (as compared with other countries) been admitted to the common faith; it has languished for many years as strange to Latin as to religion." He denies the merit of history written in any language but Latin. This slavishness to classical tradition accounts for his stale reflections of Valerius Maximus, Ammianus Marcellinus, etc. Even his use of Bede, Dudo of Normandy, and Adam of Bremen is stilted, for he had better authorities available in the Icelandic sources. Saxo's whole work is written in sixteen books, but only the last seven can be considered strictly historical. The first nine books, with prodigious fulness and vivacity, treat of political institutions, customs, statute law, social life and manners, supernatural phenomena, funeral rites, magic, ghosts, folklore, and proverbs. Books X-XVI, on the other hand, are the chief Danish source for the times which they relate. He is important also for the history of the Baltic Slavs and graphically narrates the fall of the great Slavonic temple at Arkona, in the island of Rügen (1168), which marked the death of Slavonic paganism at least west of the Vistula river. He is the first writer to mention Copenhagen or to do more than mention the Lapps, whose snowshoes he curiously describes as "strange vehicles," and he is the oldest source of the story of Hamlet. Valuable as it is, Saxo's work was little appreciated in the Middle Ages, perhaps because of its difficult and involved Latin. It was rescued from obscurity by the learned canon Pedersen of Lund and first printed in 1514, when it attracted the attention of Erasmus, who praised its "marvellous vocabulary, thickly studded maxims, and pungent apothegms." After Saxo there is no outstanding historical work in Denmark until the Reformation.

## CHAPTER XXVII

### MEDIEVAL SLAVONIC AND MAGYAR HISTORIOGRAPHY

SINCE the Bohemians, the Poles, and the Magyars or Hungarians did not emerge upon the stage of history before the ninth century and since all were barbarous and only slowly acquired an independent civilization and higher culture, historical writing did not appear among them until very late, and then had no independent, native character. The Northern Slavs and the Hungarians acquired their civilization from Germany.<sup>1</sup> The Russians, the Serbs, and the Bulgarians owed their civilization and culture to Byzantine contact and influence, though medieval Russian contacts with the West were greater than has been supposed.<sup>2</sup>

Bohemia was more closely related to Germany than was Poland in the Middle Ages; and finally in the eleventh century it was comprehended within the Holy Roman Empire. Accordingly Bohemian historical writing emerged before that of Poland. The oldest Bohemian historian was Cosmas, deacon of the church in Prague, who died in 1125. He was among the earliest Bohemian scholars to pursue his studies abroad, having studied at Liège and travelled in Italy. His *Cronica Boemorum* is the first indigenous source of Czech history. It is in three books, the first of which deals with the legends of his people. For the Christian period he utilized certain documents. His narrative is always interesting, if not always reliable. Cosmas exhibits a wide knowledge of classical literature, which gives his pages a curiously artificial and archaic character.<sup>3</sup>

After Cosmas one has to rely for a long period upon ecclesiastical annals, anonymous for the most part, such as the *Annales Gradicenses*, the *Annales Pragenses* (894–1220), etc. A notable exception is the work

<sup>1</sup> For an account of this process see my *Feudal Germany* (Chicago, 1929), chs. xvii–xviii, and the literature cited there; and Herbert Fisher, *The Medieval Empire* (London, 1898, 2 v.), II, chs. viii–ix.

<sup>2</sup> See S. H. Cross, *Speculum*, X (1935), 137–44; V. O. Kluchevsky, *A History of Russia*, tr. by C. J. Hogarth (London and New York, 1911–31, 5 v.), I, chs. i–iii.

<sup>3</sup> For editions and literature see POTTHAST, I, 357–58; Czech translation with the Latin text, by W. Wl. Tomek in the *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, II (1874), 1–370; German translation by Georg Grandaur in *Die Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit*, XIV (Leipzig, 1885, 2 v.). WATTENBACH, II, 203–07; Václav Novotný, “Zur böhmischen Quellenkunde,” *Sitzungsberichte der kgl. böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-Gesch. Klasse, Jahrgang 1907 (Prague, 1908), no. vii (114 pp.).

of Vincent of Prague, *Annales seu Chronicon*, which is important for the years 1140–67.<sup>4</sup>

From the twelfth to the fourteenth century Bohemia was so much a part of the medieval Empire, and so intimately associated with Germany, that no independent national historical writing was done until the middle of the fourteenth century. Two events in Bohemian history gave impulse towards the development of Bohemian historical writing at the end of the Middle Ages. They were the rule of the Emperor Charles IV (1347–78) who made Prague his favorite seat of residence,<sup>5</sup> and the Hussite movement in the fifteenth century, which gave Bohemia a national self-consciousness. The rhymed chronicle was a literary fad in Germany in the fourteenth century, and Bohemia, with no higher culture of its own, imitated the German vogue. Peter of Zittau (1275–1339), abbot of Königsaal, was the author of a chronicle in leonine verses, which is fuller of historical information than one would expect.<sup>6</sup> A chronicler in the circle of Charles IV was Neplack of Opatowitz (1312–71), who was made abbot of Opatowitz by the French Pope Clement VI in 1354 when he accompanied the emperor to Avignon.<sup>7</sup> But the tendency of the age was towards religious exhortation, for the fourteenth century throbbed with revivalism, and hence historical interest was not deep. More important was Pribico of Pulkawa (d. 1380). His *Cronica Boemorum* (700–1330) is the first substantial source of Bohemian history, though it is a compilation until the fourteenth century.<sup>8</sup> In the fifteenth century the Hussite movement threw Bohemia into the vortex of German politics, and the issues of the pre-Reformation; and every sort of literature became polemical and so remained until the end of the Thirty Years' War.<sup>9</sup>

Of local Bohemian history the most important writer was Eschenlohr (1420–81), author of a *History of Breslau*, in Latin, and a good example of a town chronicle. This is to be explained by the fact that Eschenlohr was born in Nuremberg and was an adopted citizen of Breslau, where he lived as a notary. His work is important alike for German, Bohemian, and Polish history.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>4</sup> POTTHAST, II, 1097–98, where it is characterized as a "gründliche Darstellung, ziemlich reine Schreibart." WATTENBACH, II, 320–22.

<sup>5</sup> Heinrich Friedjung, *Kaiser Karl IV und sein Antheil am geistigen Leben seiner Zeit* (Vienna, 1876).

<sup>6</sup> Fr. Palacky, *Würdigung der allen böhmischen Geschichtsschreiber* (Prague, 1830); J. Loserth, in *Sitzungsberichte der k. Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Vienna), Phil.-hist. Classe, XCVIII (1881), no. 2; Ottokar Lorenz, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter seit der Mitte des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts* (3rd rev. ed., Berlin, 1886–87, 2 v.), I, 292–303.

<sup>7</sup> Lorenz (n. 6), I, 314–15; POTTHAST, II, 843.

<sup>8</sup> Lorenz (n. 6), I, 311–13; POTTHAST, II, 946.

<sup>9</sup> K. Hoeffler, *Geschichtsschreiber der Husitischen Bewegung in Böhmen* (Vienna, 1856–66, 3 v.: *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, sec. I, vols. 2, 6, 7); and Dahlmann-Waitz, *Quellenkunde der deutschen Geschichte* (9th ed., Leipzig, 1931), no. 7816.

<sup>10</sup> POTTHAST, I, 431–32. A German translation was published in 1827–28.

The Poles emerged into recorded history some centuries later than the Bohemians. The first Christian priests entered Poland in 966 and two years afterwards the bishopric of Poznan was established. The earliest papal legate was sent there in 1076, when Gregory VII took the step in order to prevent the Polish king from following the example of the king of Bohemia and espousing the cause of the Emperor Henry IV against him. The result was an influx of Italian monks into the land, along with some French Walloons from Flanders and Brabant, which were zealously pro-papal territories. In consequence we find in Poland an Italian and French cultural influence absent in Bohemia.<sup>11</sup> This accounts for the fact that the first Polish chronicler was named Martin "Gallus," a French monk who probably came from the valley of the Moselle,<sup>12</sup> and was invited by the bishop of Poznan in 1109. He was the author of the *Chronicae Polonorum* (to 1113), in three books, the first indigenous Polish literary work.<sup>13</sup> The first book was composed from oral tradition and relates to the origin and early history of the Poles. Books II–III are a history of the reign of Boleslav III. Certain portions are written in verse which seems to be an echo of ancient folk-song. The chronicle opens with an enthusiastic description of the land and the people, which must be believed to be a great exaggeration, for as late as the fifteenth century the Polish chronicler Dlugosz described the Poles as still living on "corn, flesh, fish, honey, milk, and vegetables" (*frumento, carne, pisce, melle, lacte et olere*), which indicates a purely agricultural economy and society.<sup>14</sup>

A century later was Vincent Kadlubek, bishop of Cracow (1208–18), who had studied at the University of Paris, and was the author of a *Historia Polonica* in four books which extends to 1203. The work was written before his episcopate, when he was a teacher in a seminary in Cracow. The first part is adapted from Martin Gallus; the latter portion is very laudatory of King Casimir. Some of it is cast in the form of a dialogue. It was not printed until 1612 and has had slight influence on Polish historiography.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, the Poles are absurdly proud of him.

With the coming of Martin of Troppau, called *Polonus*, although by birth he was Czech, the axis of Polish historical writing was altered. Martin was a Dominican, and papal penitentiary and chaplain to Nicholas III (d. 1278) before he was made archbishop of Gnesen. As has been pointed out in a previous chapter, the Dominican point of

<sup>11</sup> The "Galli" of the chronicles were both Italians and Walloons. See A. Ptaśnik, *Kultura włoska wieków średnich w Polsce* [La culture italienne du moyen-âge en Pologne] (Warsaw, 1922), reviewed in *Revue historique du Sud-Est*, I (1924), 296–99. Cp. my *Feudal Germany* (n. 1), 652.

<sup>12</sup> *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, XXXI (1935), 256.

<sup>13</sup> POTTHAST, I, 243–44.

<sup>14</sup> This work has been critically studied by Heinrich Zeissberg, *Die polnische Geschichtsschreibung des Mittelalters* (Leipzig, 1873). For editions and literature see POTTHAST, I, 243–44.

<sup>15</sup> POTTHAST, II, 1096–97.



view was a universal and not a national one; moreover, Dominican interest was in furthering faith, and promoting theology and papal supremacy. Accordingly, in Martin Polonus Polish history becomes a sort of twilight zone of history on the outer rim of Roman Catholicism.<sup>16</sup>

Finally—omitting several jejune annals—we come to John Dlugosz (d. 1480), the most voluminous author and perhaps the greatest name in Polish historiography.<sup>17</sup> His scholarship cannot be understood unless we know that the University of Cracow was founded in 1364 and that thenceforth Italian learning and culture—in a word, the influence of the Italian Renaissance—was diffused rapidly in Poland. Dlugosz was a learned and widely travelled person. He was employed on diplomatic missions to the imperial, the Hungarian, and the papal courts, had collected manuscripts in Italy, and been to Jerusalem. His *Historia Poloniae* was written between 1455 and 1480, in twelve books. The work reflects the depth and breadth of his information, and his prejudices, for he was a fanatical advocate of the Church in an age when ecclesiastical authority was being widely challenged, and even denied, and a vigorous defender of the privileges of the nobility in a rapidly growing bourgeois age.

Passing over the slim historiography of the Russians and Southern Slavs (pp. 445–46), we may glance at Hungarian historiography. Again it must be recalled that the Magyars, like the Bohemians and the Poles, derived their religion and their culture from medieval Germany. The illusions which once were cherished as to the antiquity of the early chronicles of Hungary have been dissipated by modern historical criticism. The *Anonymi Belae regis Gesta Hungarorum* was not written until the twelfth and perhaps not until the thirteenth century, yet it deals with one of the earliest Magyar rulers. It is the alleged history of King Bela by his alleged notary, and is a singular hodge-podge of traditions and folklore of the “Hetumogora,” or rather what the rest of Europe thought was true of them. The oldest account of Hungary and the Hungarians after their settlement in Europe is the *Vita major* and the *Vita minor* of King Stephen, the first Christian king (d. 1038). But these two biographies, and the *Monita* or book of instructions which Stephen drew up for the instruction of his son, were written by German monks at a time when the popes were endeavoring, as in the case of Poland, to prevent German ascendancy in Hungary. All through the medieval epoch one is compelled to utilize Byzantine, Italian, Polish, Bohemian, and German sources for information about Hungarian history. The sole valid native source of Hungarian history is the archive or documentary material, which fortunately is considerable.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 771–72.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 380–82.



BOOK V

*RENAISSANCE, REFORMATION, AND  
COUNTER-REFORMATION*



## CHAPTER XXVIII

### HISTORIANS OF THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE

WE COME now to consideration of a movement which has ever possessed unusual interest in the history of European culture.<sup>1</sup> In previous chapters we have seen the sequence of phases which were common to medieval historiography—monastic annals and chronicles, universal histories and world chronicles, *gesta* and lives of saints and bishops, metrical chronicles, both in Latin and in a vernacular language, town chronicles, almost all of which were written in the vernacular, and finally some sustained historical works composed by lay authors and written in their native tongue, as Villehardouin, Froissart, and Commynes.

The emergence of the lay historian was an Italian literary phenomenon before that kind of writing became general in Europe, and his predominance over historians in other lands from the first was notable. The reasons for this important fact are not hard to find. In spite of the ascendancy of the Medieval Church in education, some lay schools still survived in Italy continuously from the time of the Roman Empire, so that laymen able to read and to write Latin were to be found in every generation. In medieval Italy there always existed a professional class of physicians, lawyers, and notaries, and the revived interest in the study of Roman law and of medicine in the twelfth century increased the number of this professional class.<sup>2</sup>

Again: the political regime prevailing in Lombardy, Piedmont, and

<sup>1</sup> For general reading, see FUETER, 1-165, with excellent bibliographies; SYMONDS, I, ch. v ("The Florentine Historians"), IV, ch. iii ("The Transition"), and V, ch. xvi ("History and Philosophy"); Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy*, tr. by S. G. C. Middlemore (London, 1892; frequent reprints), 57-61, 76-84, 95-96, 328-37; Bernhard Schneidler, *Italianische Geschichtsschreiber des XII. und XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1909); Fritz Hertter, *Die Podestalliteratur Italiens im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1910); Émile Gebhart, "Les historiens florentins de la Renaissance et les commencements de l'économie politique et sociale," *ASMP*, CIV (1875), 552-90; M. Perlbach, "Zur italienischen Historiographie des 14. Jahrhunderts," *FDG*, XII (1872), 649-55; *FQR*, XII (1833), 302-33; W. K. Ferguson, "Humanist Views of the Renaissance," *AHR*, XLV (1939-40), 1-28; Hans Baron, "Das Erwachen des historischen Denkens im Humanismus des Quattrocento," *HZ*, CXLVII (1932-33), 5-20; the same, "A Sociological Interpretation of the Early Renaissance in Florence," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXXVIII (1939), 427-48.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Hermann Reuter, *Geschichte der religiösen Aufklärung im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1875-77, 2 v.), I, 72, 281, n. 2-3; *Oeuvres complètes de A. F. Ozanam* (Paris, 1855-65, 11 v.), II, 355-433, "Les écoles et l'instruction publique en Italie aux temps barbares"; and my own *The Literacy of the Laity in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1939: Univ. of California Publications in Education, IX).

Tuscany—these areas must be sharply distinguished from Central Italy (Rome) and the Kingdom of Naples in the South—stimulated lay historical writing. For in these territories most of the cities were independent city republics, free cities having a republican form of government.<sup>3</sup> The dominant society was bourgeois; public offices were elective and the very intensity of local issues and party strife interested thoughtful citizens in the history of their community. Thus local historiography was greatly fostered. The positive politics of the epoch influenced statecraft, diplomacy, and political theory, which was never doctrinaire. Renaissance historical writing was eminently realistic. This is exemplified in the abundance of economic and social information found in many writers. Burckhardt has asserted that Florence and Venice were the original homes of the science of statistics.<sup>4</sup> The Italian state in the Renaissance had ceased to be feudal in form of government, or economic condition, or social structure, except in the States of the Church and in the Kingdom of Naples.

And yet, profound as was the change in Italy from the medieval age to that of the Renaissance, it must be borne in mind that it was a transition and not a sudden or cataclysmic transformation.<sup>5</sup> Even as late as the fifteenth century Flavio Biondo, who died in 1463, complained of the persistence of medievalism in historical writing. For a long time medieval literary traditions and mental attitudes continued. A new spirit, however, invested even the historiography of the Proto-Renaissance. As early as the thirteenth century Rolandin of Padua, who utilized his father's historical work before him, complained that it was compiled "after the simple manner of our forefathers," and Ricobaldo of Ferrara made the same criticism a little later.<sup>6</sup> Albertinus Mussato (1261–1330), a magistrate of Padua, imitated the medieval tradition in two historical works: *De gestis Heinrici VII*, in sixteen books, and *De gestis Italicorum post mortem Heinrici VII* (1313–29), in twelve books; yet he was the author of two of the earliest tragedies cast in the modern mould, the *Achilles* and the *Ezzelino*, or *Tragoedia Eccerinis*.<sup>7</sup>

One naturally begins consideration of the Renaissance with Florence, for Florence was the most brilliant expression of Italian culture for two hundred and fifty years (1300–1550). Yet even Florentine historiog-

<sup>3</sup> See my *Economic and Social History of Europe in the Later Middle Ages, 1300–1530* (New York, 1931), ch. ix; Julien Luchaire, *Les démocraties italiennes* (Paris, 1915); SYMONDS, I, chs. ii and iv; Burckhardt (n. 1), pt. i, ch. vii; Arthur M. Wolfson, "The Ballot and Other Forms of Voting in the Italian Communes," *AHR*, V (1899–1900), 1–21.

<sup>4</sup> *Civilisation of the Renaissance* (n. 1), 68–71.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. Walter Goetz, "Mittelalter und Renaissance," *HZ*, XCVIII (1906–07), 30–54.

<sup>6</sup> Schmeidler (n. 1), 45; Paul Lehmann, "Mittelalter und Küchenlatein," *HZ*, CXXXVII (1927–28), 202. For literature on Rolandin and Ricobaldo see PORTHAST, II, 981–82, 972.

<sup>7</sup> For literature see PORTHAST, I, 799.

raphy groped for a long time before it became emancipated from medieval traditions.<sup>8</sup> The earliest Florentine history is a mass of legend, fable, forgery, and errors. The oldest history of Florence seems to have been Sanzanome's *Gesta Florentinorum*. It begins with the year 1125 and ends abruptly in 1231 with an uncompleted sentence. The author was contemporary with the events he relates in these last years. Politically he was an ardent Ghibelline. Next we have an anonymous chronicle entitled *Chronica de origine civitatis*. The original version seems to have been written in Latin and to have begun with the Roman Empire. The version which we have, however, is part Latin and part Italian. It was composed, or at any rate completed, in the first quarter of the fourteenth century. The last date in it is 1321, the year of Dante's death. "The records of the previous twenty years are very full and minute, and have every appearance of having been the work of a writer who was describing events contemporary with himself."<sup>9</sup> He was an ardent Guelph in politics, for under the year 1258, when recording the expulsion from Florence of the Uberti family, who were strong Ghibellines, he writes: "and the Uberti never returned, no, and never shall."

The archives of Florence abound with manuscripts of other early anonymous chronicles, their accounts being more or less copied from one another or from a common original, so that little confidence can be attached to them. Graver fault is that early Florentine historiography teems with forgeries. For centuries the *Historia florentina dall' edificazione di Fiorenza per insino dall' 1281*, attributed to Ricordano Malespini, "gentiluomo fiorentino," and Dino Compagni's *Istoria florentina 1280-1313* were thought to be antecedent to Villani, but we now know that both are forgeries.<sup>10</sup> Another notorious forgery of Florentine history is the *Diurnali* of Matteo Spinelli da Giovenazzo, which has been proved to be a forgery of the sixteenth century.<sup>11</sup> These forgeries were invented in order to flatter the pride of some Florentine families in the

<sup>8</sup> Paul Scheffer-Boichorst, *Florentiner Studien* (Leipzig, 1874); Otto Hartwig, *Quellen und Forschungen zur ältesten Geschichte der Stadt Florenz* (Marburg, 1875-80, 2 pts. in 1 v.); Pietro Santini, *Quesiti e ricerche di storiografia fiorentina* (Florence, 1903); Ferdinand Schevill, *History of Florence* (New York, 1936), introduction; Carl Hegel, "Ueber die Anfänge der florentinischen Geschichtschreibung," *HZ*, XXXV (1876), 32-63; Paget Toynbee, *EHR*, XIX (1904), 343-44.

<sup>9</sup> Toynbee, *loc. cit.*, 344.

<sup>10</sup> The pioneer work in criticism of Malespini was done by Scheffer-Boichorst (see the articles on Malespini in POTTHAST, I, 760); he and Hartwig and Hegel have effectually disposed of Malespini and Dino Compagni. Symonds admitted that the authenticity of both was open to question, yet used them (SYMONDS, I, 176, n. 2, 198-99, 207-16, IV, 31). For other literature on Compagni, see POTTHAST, I, 332-33. The eminent Italian historian of literature De Sanctis in his *History of Italian Literature*, first published in 1871, may be pardoned for having accepted them as veritable historians. But one is staggered at this date—seventy years after their exposure—to find the English translation of De Sanctis (New York, 1931) still repeating the fable (cp. vol. I, 79-80, 131-44, 155, 216), especially since the introduction thereto was written by Signor Benedetto Croce, a pupil of De Sanctis and modern Italy's greatest historical scholar.

<sup>11</sup> W. Bernhardt, *Matteo Giovenazzo. Eine Fälschung des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1868).

fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. To establish the antiquity of their lineages it was necessary to invent "facts" anterior to Villani, and the best way to do this was to devise a previous chronicle.

All of the early works are a hodge-podge of legend. Fiesole, it seemed, was the oldest city in Tuscany, having been founded by Atlas; it was destroyed by Catiline; later Totila, "the enemy of the Romans," avenged this by destroying Florence and rebuilding Fiesole; Charlemagne restored Florence when he conquered the Lombards. In this wild narration legends of Troy and of Aeneas are interwoven. The date of Florence's capture of Fiesole is given as 1010, whereas we know that it happened in 1125.

The first important historical writer of Florence was Giovanni Villani.<sup>12</sup> He was inspired to write his history of Florence by the impression which the spectacle of the papal jubilee in 1300 made upon him. He has described the effect of his visit to Rome in these words:

When I saw the great and ancient monuments of Rome, and read the histories and the great deeds of the Romans, written by Sallust and Lucan and Livy and Valerius and Orosius and other masters of history, who have related small as well as great things of the Romans, I took style and manner from them, albeit as a learner I was not worthy of undertaking so large a work.

He goes on to say that it was his wish "to let posterity know something of the wealth of Florence, and of the causes of her renown so that in the future men of knowledge may be able to increase the prosperity of Florence." The stress upon economic interest is to be observed.

It required sixty chapters, however, for Villani to divest his relation of medieval trappings: how Atlas founded the city, how Antenor and young Priam fled from Troy to Italy and founded Venice and Padua, but that Florence was older than they. Only once does he venture to criticize his sources. There is, he writes (Bk. I, ch. 41), in a certain work ("bene si truova per alcuno scritto") a tale that one Uberto Cesare, a son of Catiline and named after the great Julius, was brought up in his youth at Fiesole; he grew to be a powerful noble and was made governor of Florence by Caesar; he had many sons and from one of them the family of the Uberti was descended. But, records Villani, no reliable chronicle relates this information.

Not until he reaches Book VIII does Villani arrive at his own times. Thenceforward he has actual historical value. Instead of mere facts, he enlarges upon his subject, narrating causes, conditions, and results. The wealth of information regarding economic and social conditions, and

<sup>12</sup> SYMONDS, I, 198-206; Ernst Mehl, *Die Weltanschauung des Giovanni Villani* (Leipzig, 1927); and QR, IX (1813), 444-66; for other literature see POTTHAST, II, 1093. English translation by Rose E. Selfe, *Selections from the First Nine Books of Villani's Chronicle* (2nd rev. ed., London, 1906), with a valuable introduction by P. H. Wicksteed.



trade and commerce, constitutes Villani's chief value. He had had good training for this end, for he had been consul of the *arte della lana* or woolen gild in 1315, master of the mint in 1316, prior of the arts in 1317, 1321, and 1328—and Florence, it is to be remembered, was the richest industrial and banking center in Europe in these times. Symonds has justly observed that "the whole work of Villani remains a monument unique in medieval literature, of statistical patience and economical sagacity, proving how far in advance of the other European nations were the Italians of the period."<sup>13</sup>

When Giovanni Villani died, his brother Matteo continued the *History of Florence* in the same manner and spirit. His description of the Great Plague in 1348–49 is less well known but more original than the famous account of Boccaccio, which is a paraphrase of Thucydides' description of the plague at Athens. When Matteo Villani died in 1363 a few chapters in continuation were added by his son Filippo (d. 1405). It is characteristic of the growth of interest in the classics that he apologizes for his father's and his uncle's scant culture in that they were unable to write in Latin. Nevertheless Filippo caddishly swallows his pride and concludes the work in the vernacular tongue.<sup>14</sup>

The two Villanis established the tradition of Florentine historiography. It was continued by their two immediate successors, Marchione di Cappello Stefani (d. 1386) and Gino Capponi (d. 1420). Unfortunately the former's twelve books begin with the foundation of Florence, and hence the first portion of the work is a repetition of the legendary and medieval history of the city, while the latter books cover less carefully the same ground which Villani covered, except in the last book, which is important. For it is a contemporary account of the great rebellion of the Ciompi in the years 1379–82, that formidable triple insurrection—economic, social, political—of the lower classes in Florence against the patriciate.<sup>15</sup> Stefani's account of the "caso o tumulto de' Ciompi," however, is not as good as that of Gino Capponi,<sup>16</sup> whose *Historia florentina* begins with this insurrection and terminates in 1419. He had been an actual participant in this uprising and was a member of the local revolutionary government. In 1401 he was elected *gonfaloniere* or chief magistrate of Florence and distinguished himself in the war with Pisa (1405–06) and was made governor of the captured

<sup>13</sup> SYMONDS, I, 205. For Villani's statistical method see my *Economic and Social History of Europe in the Later Middle Ages* (n. 3), 457–58.

<sup>14</sup> Filippo later was the author of a series of *Lives of Illustrious Florentines*, written in Latin.

<sup>15</sup> See my *Economic and Social History* (n. 3), 407–09, and literature cited there, 519. For a study of Stefani's treatment of this episode see K. Jentsch, *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Geschichte*, III, 818–44, 908–34.

<sup>16</sup> See Hartwig's article in *RH*, I (1876), 612–17; cp. *RQH*, XIX (1876), 734–36, and literature in PORTHAST, I, 186.

territory. Capponi was not a man of the new classical education, and we owe the Latin version of his work to his son Neri (d. 1457), who also was an historian and author of some factual *Commentari di cose seguita in Italia* for the years 1419–57; thus he wrote history in two languages.

By this time—we are in the middle of the fifteenth century—a critical change is manifest in the spirit of Florentine historiography. Filippo Villani had foreshadowed it in his apology for the “vulgar” diction in which his uncle and his father had written. This new attitude towards the writing of history, it is almost unnecessary to remark, was due to the revival of classical antiquity and the new humanism.<sup>17</sup> Livy became the idol and pattern of historical writers, until his popularity was partially eclipsed about 1500 by Polybius, whom Machiavelli so admired. Henceforth there were two parallel streams of historical writing, the one in Italian, the other in Latin. The effect was the emergence of a Latin prose species of historiography which almost rivalled that of antiquity. Leo X read aloud to his friends the smooth Latin periods of Paulus Jovius’ history and declared that nothing like them had been written since the time of Livy.<sup>18</sup>

The two most important exponents of history in the Latin language were Lionardo Bruni (1368–1444), author of a *Commentarius rerum sub tempore in Italia gestarum*, and Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459), author of the better known *Historia Florentina* in eight books. The two were firm friends. The former, surnamed Aretino from Arezzo where he was born, was a pupil of Giovanni da Ravenna, and a protégé of Coluccio Salutati, the greatest humanist of the age; he learned Greek from Emanuel Chrysoloras and was a passionate hunter of classical manuscripts. In the preface to his work, which extends to 1404 and was completed in 1415, Bruni says that the Italian language is so plebeian that it is impossible for a man of culture to write history with dignity in the vernacular. Yet in spite of this prejudiced attitude, Bruni’s *History of Florence* is a substantial work. He was the first historian to strip the history of Florence of the tangle of legend attached to it. He was analytically-minded and constructive in his reasoning. He was the first

<sup>17</sup> On this transition see SYMONDS, IV, ch. iii; Burckhardt (n. 1), pt. iii; Georg Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums, oder: Das erste Jahrhundert des Humanismus* (3rd ed., Berlin, 1893, 2 v.).

<sup>18</sup> “Classical learning . . . influenced the development of historical studies as it did that of other studies. The Italian Renaissance had given rise to a great school of historians. Their method had some things in common with that of the ancients: it was secular, not ecclesiastical; it was to some extent rationalistic. In its mannerisms it derived even more from the models it imitated. Imaginary speeches were sometimes inserted. The language and arrangement of classical authors were imitated: the favourites of the sixteenth century were Livy and Suetonius . . . [in the seventeenth century] the studied manner of Tacitus and Sallust became the admired model” (G. N. Clark, *The Seventeenth Century*, Oxford, 1931, pp. 272–73).

Florentine to perceive the relation of all the cultures of Florence to one another, to appreciate Florence as a great seat of culture, and to connect this rich and variegated life with the civic life of the community. He was the first writer to break through past interpretations of history and to emphasize the human and psychological. In this particular he was Machiavelli's forerunner and master. It was Bruni who first formulated the supreme principle of the Italian Renaissance—*virtù*. He was the first who saw the complex life of Florence clearly and steadily, and saw it whole.<sup>19</sup> The popularity of Bruni's book was so great that it was translated "in vulgare," after his death, by Donato Acciajuoli and printed at Venice in 1476. In spite of his merits as an historian, however, Lionardo Bruni was not an honest scholar. By some chance he came upon a Byzantine manuscript of Procopius' *Gothic Wars* which he translated into Latin under the title: *De bello italico adversus Gothos gesto libri VI*, and gave out as his own composition.<sup>20</sup>

Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459) was an attaché of the papal court for fifty years, from 1402 almost until his death, although he remained always a layman and did not take orders.<sup>21</sup> Like his friend Lionardo Bruni he was a pupil of Giovanni da Ravenna, a protégé of Coluccio Salutati, learned Greek from Chrysoloras, and was a passionate manuscript-hunter, indeed the greatest of the Renaissance. As a papal official he attended the Council of Constance in 1414–15, but spent most of his time searching for manuscripts in German monastic libraries. His luck, his zeal, and his unscrupulousness in this quest combine to make a remarkable story, if this were the place to tell it. Poggio's *Historia Florentina ab origine urbis usque ad annum 1455, libri VIII* was written in the evening of his life, and proved so popular that a translation of it into Italian was made by his son Jacopo almost immediately.<sup>22</sup> Poggio's veneration of the classical tradition and his admiration of Livy made him give more attention to style than to substance, to form rather than to matter. More valuable is his *De varietate fortunae*, an archaeological

<sup>19</sup> See the suggestive article by Hans Baron, "Das Erwachen des historischen Denkens im Humanismus" (n. 1).

<sup>20</sup> Printed in 1470. "Nach Prokop ohne diesen jedoch zu nennen," POTTHAST, I, 172. It was translated into English in 1563 by Arthur Golding, a literary hack of the Elizabethan era, with the title: *The History of Leonard Aretine concerning the Warres betwene the Imperialls and the Gothes for the Possession of Italy*. A French translation appeared in 1667.

<sup>21</sup> Voigt (n. 17), I, 327–39; SYMONDS, II, 98–102, 166–78; William Shepherd, *The Life of Poggio Bracciolini* (Liverpool, 1802; 2nd ed., 1837); Ernst Walser, *Poggius Florentinus, Leben und Werke* (Leipzig, 1914); TEUFFEL, I, secs. 179, 2–3, and II, secs. 295, 2, 317, 4, 320, 5, 321, 7; Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, tr. from the German by F. I. Antrobus and R. F. Kerr (St. Louis, 1898–1928, 16 v.), I, 29–32, 257–59, and consult index of this and the following volume; SANDYS, II, 25–34 and see index of the first two volumes; *ER*, LXIV (1836–37), 60–81, CXXXVII (1873), 57–94; *JS*, 1819, pp. 529 ff.; *FQR*, XVIII (1836–37), 89–97; for other literature see POTTHAST, II, 932–33.

<sup>22</sup> Printed at Venice, 1476; Florence, 1492.

survey of Rome in the fifteenth century. "The ruins that had moved the superstitious wonder of the Middle Ages, that had excited Rienzi to patriotic enthusiasm, and Petrarch to reflections on the instability of human things, were now for the first time studied in a truly antiquarian spirit. Poggio read them like a book, comparing the testimony they rendered with that of Livy, Vitruvius, and Frontinus, and seeking to compile a catalogue of the existing fragments of old Rome."<sup>23</sup>

Poggio Bracciolini was a versatile man. Though so austere a moralist that his invectives of the clergy spread terror among them, he was the author or rather the compiler of the notorious collection of ribald stories known as the *Facetiae*, a classic in pornographic literature, written with such Latinity as only Poggio was capable of writing. He quarrelled over questions of criticism with the literary gladiators of the day, as Filelfo, Valla, and Guarino. He translated Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* and Diodorus' *History of Sicily* into Latin for Pope Nicholas V, the founder of the Vatican Library.<sup>24</sup>

Contemporary with Bruni and Poggio was Giovanni Cavalcanti, whose *Istoria Fiorentina*, extending from 1420 to 1452, shows how the simple, straightforward language of the previous century had become corrupted by the invasion of Latin idioms. Long forgotten, it was not published until 1838. The most valuable portion is the account of the Albizzi conspiracy and its subjugation by the Medici. The information was later an important source for Machiavelli. Florence had other lesser historians, who were mere chroniclers or annalists.<sup>25</sup> The *Diary* of Luca Landucci, written between 1450 and 1516, deserves mention. He was a respectable merchant and citizen, a wise and kind father. The work abounds in small local information and gives an intimate inside view of Florentine family life.<sup>26</sup>

The Italians of the fifteenth century "shared with other nations the common stock of medieval literature—chronicles, encyclopedias, epitomes, moralizations, histories in verse, rhetorical summaries and prose abstracts of universal history."<sup>27</sup> But fortunately the rhymed chronicle

<sup>23</sup> SYMONDS, II, 111.

<sup>24</sup> About the same time Herodotus and Thucydides were translated by Lorenzo Valla, Strabo by Guarino, Polybius by Perotto, Appian by Piero Candido Decembrio, the historian of Milan, and Josephus by Bartolomeo de' Libri. The fad for the historical works of the ancients was capitalized by Annius of Viterbo, who in 1498 published seventeen volumes of forgeries pretending to be the "lost" works of Manetho, Berossus, Fabius Pictor, Cato the Elder, etc.—Girolamo Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana* (Milan, 1822–26, 16 v.), VI, bk. iii, ch. 1.

<sup>25</sup> See the list in POTTHAST, II, 1710–11.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 709; A. Gherardi, in *ASF*, ser. 4, XI (1883), 359–75; see also *Enciclopedia Italiana*, XX (1933), 499.

<sup>27</sup> SYMONDS, IV, 10.

so common in the rest of Europe was almost unknown in Italy until the decadence of the sixteenth century.<sup>28</sup>

We have now reached the close of the fifteenth century in this survey of Florentine historiography. Before going on, however, with those greatest historians, Machiavelli and Guicciardini, it is necessary, in order to understand the regular progression in the development of Italian historical writing, to turn to other centers of Renaissance culture—to Perugia, Milan, Venice, Genoa, and Rome, and to say something of historians in those places.

Matarazzo's *Chronicle of Perugia*,<sup>29</sup> although it covers the years from 1492 to 1503, narrowly misses the grandeur of the best Florentine histories. Few Italian towns lived as intense and turbulent a life as this little Umbrian city. The story of the conflicts between the two powerful families of the Oddi and the Baglioni rivals in fury and surpasses in veracity the feud of the Montagues and Capulets in Verona. Condottieri and bravos swarm the pages. Matarazzo's account of the ravages of syphilis in the army of Charles VIII of France is a notable passage.

When one thinks of Lombard Italy one thinks of Milan. The Milanais was established as a duchy by the Visconti in the fourteenth century.<sup>30</sup> In 1450 it fell to Francesco Sforza, the most successful soldier of fortune of the age.<sup>31</sup> In spite of its political power and its wealth, it is a singular fact that no historian arose in Milan to record the deeds of the Visconti house in its own time. All Milanese historians pertain to the Sforza period. The first of these was Petrus Candidus Decembrio (1399–1477). After the seizure of rule in Milan by Francesco Sforza in 1450 Decembrio prudently retired to Rome where Nicholas V made him apostolic secretary. Later he made his peace with the duke and returned to Milan where he wrote in Latin a *Life of Francesco Sforza* and another of Duke Philip Maria. Decembrio's model was Suetonius, but he was not a slavish imitator. "To his vigorous pen the student of Italian history owes the minutest and most vivid sketch now extant of the habits and vices of the tyrant."<sup>32</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Leonardo Dati (1360–1425), a Dominican friar and once envoy of Florence to the Emperor Sigismund, composed a *Cosmographical History* in octave stanzas; Antonio Pucci (d. 1373) wrote the *Guerra tra' Fiorentini e' Pisani dal 1362 al 1365* in ottava rima; Giovanni Santi, the father of Raphael, composed a chronicle in terza rima. For the vocations of these versifiers of Italian chronicles see *ER*, LXXI (1840), 375–76. Benedict Accolti (1415–66) was the author of a romantic Latin prose history of the First Crusade: *De bello a Christianis contra barbaros pro Christi sepulchro et Judaea recuperandis*, in 3 books, which provided Torquato Tasso with the basis of his *Jerusalem Delivered*. It appeared in Venice in 1432 and was translated into Italian in 1543.

<sup>29</sup> There is an English translation by E. S. Morgan. See the essay in J. A. Symonds, *Sketches and Studies in Italy and Greece* (new ed., London and New York, 1900, 3 v.); POTTHAST, I, 776.

<sup>30</sup> Dorothy Muir, *A History of Milan under the Visconti* (London, 1924).

<sup>31</sup> Cecilia M. Ady, *History of Milan under the Sforza* (London, 1907).

<sup>32</sup> SYMONDS, II, 192.

Giovanni Simonetta (fl. 1460–91) was a writer of a different sort. His *Rerum gestarum Francisci Sfortiae Mediolanensium ducis* (1421–66) in thirty-one books—it was translated into Italian and printed at Milan in 1490—is a relation of rare precision, studied objectivity, and sinewy narrative. Simonetta stood high in the secret diplomacy of the duke; he is reputed to have devised a cryptography which baffled all the rulers of the age, while at the same time he was able to unravel the secret despatches of every other prince. Shortly after him the ducal librarian Calchi (1462–1505) wrote a history of Milan in twenty-two books under the title: *Historia patriae*, which is annalistic in form and not without critical perception, a merit contrasting with a minor contemporary writer named Merula (1420–94), author of a *History of the Visconti* in ten books which abound with old legends and false traditions.

Milan had to wait, however, until after 1500 before it produced a great historian, indeed one of the greatest of the Renaissance. This was Bernardino Corio (1459–1519),<sup>33</sup> the first writer who went back of the Visconti and wrote the whole history of Milan from the middle of the thirteenth century to 1499. Corio's *History of Milan* is a book that repays frequent and attentive perusals. "His voluminous narrative is a mine of accurate information illustrated with vivid pictures of manners and carefully considered portraits of eminent men."<sup>34</sup> No historical source of the age, not even Villani, is so rich in economic and social information.

One of the anomalies of Renaissance historiography is that in spite of the enormous mass of its archive material, Venetian historiography was so laggard in making its appearance. The first historian of Venice who wrote with any large view of events was Bernardo Giustiniani (1408–89). His whole life was spent in public affairs. At one time or another he served the state as ambassador to the emperor, the king of Naples, Louis XI of France, and to Popes Pius II, Paul III, and Sixtus IV. He wrote in Latin, for the Venetian dialect was too crude for literary usage, the *De origine urbis rebusque ab ipsa gestis historia*, which is the earliest meritorious history of Venice. The achievement awakened the Venetians to the need of an historiography which might rival that of Florence. The dignity and glory of the state required it. To satisfy this ambition Marcantonio Coccio, surnamed Sabellicus (1436–1506), was commissioned by the government to write a history of the republic. He was a Venetian, but was born in the Roman Campagna, educated at Rome, where he was a friend of Pomponius Laetus,

<sup>33</sup> SYMONDS quotes him copiously; see the index. FUETER, 53–55; POTTHAST, I, 354–55. Corio's work was printed at Milan in 1503. The portrait of the author is a masterpiece of Italian book illustration.

<sup>34</sup> SYMONDS, IV, 153.

and became professor of rhetoric in Udine, where he had already written a *History of Friuli*. It was this work which attracted the attention of the government of Venice in 1484. Sabellicus' *Decades rerum Venetarum* was printed at Venice in 1487 and immediately attained fame. The most interesting item of information in it is mention of the introduction of printing into Italy before 1462, i.e., some years before the press of Pannartz and Sweynheim was set up at Subiaco in 1465. No proof of this statement has ever been established. It remains one of the riddles in the earliest history of the invention of printing. As reward for this work Sabellicus was made librarian of St. Mark's Library and given a pension of two hundred sequins. He died in 1506. In this same period Domenico Malapiero (1428-1515) composed the *Annali Veneti* in the Venetian dialect,<sup>35</sup> which covered the years 1457-1500. Written with care, they deal with Venice's wars with the Turks and the beginning of that ambitious policy of territorial aggrandizement on the mainland which culminated in the formation of the League of Cambrai in 1508. Marino Sanudo (or Sanuto) the Younger (1466-1535) was the author of *Lives of the Doges of Venice*<sup>36</sup> and of a *History of Charles VIII's Italian Expedition*, but his fame rests upon his famous *Diarii*, written in the Venetian dialect, and beginning in 1496 and terminating with his death. The Sanudo family was one of the oldest and noblest in the republic. Marco Sanudo was one of the heroes of the Fourth Crusade and the founder of Venice's empire in the Archipelago. The diarist's father was a traveller second only to Marco Polo in distinction, and a former Venetian ambassador to Rome. He himself was eight times a member of the Collegio, five times of the Pregadi. Such was his influence that the Council of Ten gave him permission to read the state papers and even entrusted him with the minutes of its proceedings. The *Diaries* are a colossal collection of materials—summaries of the deliberations of the Collegio and the Pregadi, lists of officials, official correspondence abstracted or reproduced in full, texts of treaties, relations of Venetian ambassadors abroad, private letters, police reports, pamphlets, gossip from the parlors of the socially great and the purlieus of the city. The historical value of the *Diaries* is inestimable. It is a mine of Italian history, and even more of French, Spanish, and English diplomacy. When he died Sanudo left the precious work to the government. The original manuscript is still preserved in Venice, together with a copy of it made by order of the Council of Ten in the eighteenth century. Both manuscripts were taken to Vienna when Napoleon occupied Venice in 1798. After the union of Italy in 1871 and the founding of the Società

<sup>35</sup> Printed in ASI, ser. 1, VII (1843-44), pts. i-ii, 5-720.

<sup>36</sup> Text in Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, XXII, 405-1252.

di storia patria, the government demanded the return of the original manuscript; and a movement was started to publish the *Diarii* as a national monument in spite of the staggering cost of such a production. The first volume appeared in 1879, and the fifty-ninth and last in 1903.<sup>87</sup>

Genoa displayed little interest in the writing of history in this epoch. Of all the cities of Italy during the Renaissance Genoa was most indifferent to higher culture. The literary and artistic movement of the time passed over her almost completely. The only historical work worth mentioning is Agostino Giustiniani's *Annali della repubblica di Genoa*, which did not appear until 1537. It was the first book printed at Genoa, though the printing press was then nearly a century old, a fact which itself reveals Genoa's indifference to things of the mind. Giustiniani was a Dominican friar and devoted himself principally to Oriental studies. His fame as an Arabist and Hebraist was such that Francis I called him to Paris as the first incumbent of the chair of Oriental studies in the Collège de France, which the king founded. He remained in Paris for five years, during which season he travelled in the Low Countries and England and made the acquaintance of Erasmus and Sir Thomas More. Late in life he was made bishop of Nebbio in Corsica. He perished in a storm at sea and left his library of over a thousand volumes to Genoa.

It has been observed in a previous chapter that Rome in the Middle Ages was curiously indifferent to the writing of history. The proposition is almost as true of Rome of the Renaissance. "The fourteenth century, endowed with an imperishable lustre by the earliest national works of the Italian genius, offers the historian of Roman culture material barely sufficient to fill a few pages. The intellectual aridity of the city has seldom been so great; it shocked Dante as well as Petrarch."<sup>88</sup> The most important source in the fourteenth century is some fragments of Roman history from 1327 to 1355, the chief part of which deals with the career of Rienzi. Except for some scanty annals, the prevailing form of historical composition is diaries written in the fifteenth century after the return of the papacy to Rome. The history of Rome just before Martin V's return in 1415 is meagerly related in the *Roman Diary* of Antonio Petri, a priest of St. Peter's, which deals with the years 1404-17. More im-

<sup>87</sup> Each volume has an index, but these are simple tables and not analytic indices. On Sanudo see Rawdon Brown, *Ragguagli sulla vita e sulle opere di Marin Sanuto* (Venice, 1837-38, 3 v. in 1); POTHAST, II, 997-98; Rinaldo Fulin, *Marino Sanuto* (Turin, 1880); Armand Baschet, "Histoire de la chancellerie secrète," *Les Archives de Venise* (Paris, 1870), 3-708; the same, in *Archiv des missions*, III (1877), iv, 508 ff.; Henri Hauser, *Les sources de l'histoire de France: XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1906-15, 4 v.), I, pp. 53-55; *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1527-1533*, vol. IV (London, 1871), introduction, pp. xxi-xxiii; Willy Andreas, *Die venezianischen Relationen und ihr Verhältnis zur Kultur der Renaissance* (Leipzig, 1908); A. de Reumont, "Marin Sanuto," *The Academy*, XVI (London, 1879), 95-96.

<sup>88</sup> GREGOROVIVS, VI, pt. ii, 679.



portant is the *Diarium Romanum* of Stefano Infessura, one time secretary of the Roman senate. It opens with 1295, jumps to 1403, gives the history of the first half of the fifteenth century in sundry disjointed extracts, and becomes original from Sixtus IV forward to 1492. Infessura was a layman, a member of the faculty of the university, a violent hater of the popes but an honest if prejudiced writer.<sup>39</sup> The jubilee of 1450 seems to have influenced the awakening of a short-lived interest in history in Rome just as the jubilee of 1300 aroused the imagination of Villani. A local chronicler named Paolo de Benedetti has left a vivid description of this event. But he had no continuator as a chronicler. We find only diaries, and many of them. Before adverting to these, however, one must pause to consider the unique case of a pope who was also an historian. This was Pius II (1458-64), the former Aeneas Sylvius.<sup>40</sup>

Aeneas Sylvius was a member of the great Piccolomini family of Siena. He was a distinguished humanist, a diplomat, a man of the world long before he became pope. He began his career as secretary of the council of Basel and in 1440 when secretary of Pope Felix V wrote three books of *Commentarii*, not a general history of the council, but a narration of the circumstances leading to the deposition of Eugenius IV and the election of Felix V. It is a pamphlet in defense of his master, but with historical value because it sets forth the mischievous activity of this later stage of the conciliar movement. Notable is the introductory chapter which is a vivid description of Basel, the earliest of several such sketches of the great free cities of Germany. Another early work was *De viris illustribus*, a series of biographies of illustrious contemporaries. Aeneas spent several years in Germany, most of it at the court of Emperor Frederick III, and began a history of his reign which remained uncompleted after he left Germany. A result of his residence in Austria was a *History of Bohemia*, which is little more than an account of the Hussite wars, in which Aeneas was greatly interested. Like all that he wrote it is written in Livian Latin. Nicholas V made him bishop of Siena and employed him in a diplomatic capacity which entailed travels in Germany, the Low Countries, Scotland, and England. His accounts of these journeys make racy reading, for there are pen pictures of places,

<sup>39</sup> For editions and literature see POTTHAST, II, 1032-33; also Pastor, *History of the Popes* (n. 21), IV, 422-23; and Mandell Creighton, *A History of the Papacy from the Great Schism to the Sack of Rome* (new ed., London and New York, 1907-14, 6 v.), IV, 327.

<sup>40</sup> Literature in POTTHAST, I, 19-25, and PAETOW, 323. See also Creighton (n. 39), III, 51-70, 119-23, 269-358, and index in vol. VI; the same, *Historical Essays and Reviews*, ed. by Louise Creighton (London and New York, 1903); Pastor (n. 21), vol. III; Georg Voigt, *Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini, als Papst Pius der Zweite, und sein Zeitalter* (Berlin, 1856-63, 3 v.); GREGOROVIVUS, VII, pt. i, 160-217; E. Armstrong, "Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini: Pope Pius II," *QJR*, LXIX (1909-10), 383-405; FUETER, 139-43 and index.

the hardships of travel, bad inns, and the sorts of people with whom he came in contact. The Scotch shocked him with their "savagery" and he was glad to slip across the border into more civilized England. He, and not Dr. Johnson, is the author of the famous saying that the finest sight in Scotland is the highway to England. Wherever he went, Aeneas was a sedulous book-hunter; in St. Paul's he says that he found a medieval Latin translation of Thucydides. The statement seems incredible. The *Commentaries* embrace the years from 1405 to 1463;<sup>41</sup> and the composition of them filled the author's whole life. The last portion was dictated to a secretary after he had become pope and is autobiographical in its nature; it contains an amazing account of "How I became pope."<sup>42</sup>

In his charming account of Pius II, Creighton has written:

Pius II apologizes for the fact that a pope should have any time to devote to literature. "There will be malign interpreters of our work who will say that we rob Christendom of our time, and devote ourselves to what is useless. We answer that our writings ought to be read before they are blamed. If elegance of style has no charms for the reader, he will still find much useful information. . . . The study of history was to him the source of instruction. . . . He looked upon events with reference to their results in the future, and his actions were regulated by a strong sense of historical proportion. . . . The present was to him always the product of the past, and he shaped his motive by reference to historical antecedents. . . . He never mentions anything without fully investigating its causes; he never sees a town which he does not describe with reference to its past. Pius II is the first writer who attempted to represent the present as it would look to posterity, who consciously applied a scientific conception of history to the explanation and arrangement of passing events.

In illustration of this genuine historical insight the judgment of Pius II on the life of Jeanne Darc may be quoted. Pius II tells the story with commendable accuracy and then sums up: "Thus died Joan, a wondrous and stupendous maid who restored the fallen and almost ruined kingdom of France and inflicted many serious disasters on the English. Making herself a leader of men, she preserved her modesty unharmed amid troops of soldiers and nothing unseemly was ever heard about her. Whether her work were of God or of man I should find it difficult to affirm. Some think that when the French nobles were at variance and one could not endure the leadership of another, the successes of the English drove one who was wiser than the rest to devise a scheme by which they might be induced to submit to the leadership of a maid who asserted that she was sent by heaven; in this way the conduct of the war was entrusted to her, and a supreme command was assured. This, at all events, is most certain, that it was a maid by whose leadership the siege of Orleans was raised, by whose arms the territory between Bourges and Paris was conquered, by whose advice Rheims was recovered and the coronation [of Charles VII] there performed, by whose onslaught Talbot was routed and his army slain, by whose boldness the gate of Paris was burned, by whose care and zeal the fortunes of France were secured."<sup>43</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Pastor discovered the original manuscript in the Chigi Library, *op. cit.*, II, 324, 381.

<sup>42</sup> Translated in *Nineteenth Century*, XLI (1897), 538-46. His *Rerum familiarum epistolae*, to the number of 433, were printed at Strassburg by Koberger in 1486, and deal with almost every conceivable topic of the times.

<sup>43</sup> Creighton, *A History of the Papacy* (n. 39), III, 344-47.

The pope had always evinced a great interest in geography. He read much about foreign lands and peoples, whether in his own time or in antiquity. Duke Federigo of Urbino, his close friend and one of the most cultivated princes of the age—his library was famous—encouraged Pius II to undertake a sort of historical geography of antiquity which was intended to be the first part of a universal history which the pope's restless mind projected. Strabo, Ptolemy, Pliny, Solinus, and other ancient writers were the sources. The work was written in the summer of 1461 at Tivoli, whither the pope had retired to escape the heat in Rome, but never finished.

Strictly Roman historiography in the second half of the fifteenth century and the early part of the sixteenth ran true to preceding form, and consisted of diaries as before. These informal histories are better historical sources, because of the fullness of their information and their candor, than formal narratives would have been. There are few more absorbing and amazing historical sources of the age of the Renaissance than Burckhard's *Diary* of the pontificates of Innocent VIII, Alexander VI, Pius III, and Julius II.<sup>44</sup> Johannes Burckhard was born near Strassburg and was educated in ecclesiastical law. In 1481 he went to Rome where he held the post of apostolic protonotary. Two years later he was made master of ceremonies at the papal court. He was a favorite of all the popes under whom he served, who united in conferring rich benefices upon him, and he lived in a palace in the Borgo in the style of a cardinal. It is safe to say that if any of the popes had known the nature of the information which he secretly committed to his journal, his fate would have been less fortunate. Nothing save a reading of the entire work can convey the significance and importance of the amazing information embodied in it. The *Diary* is sensational, yet true.

The *Diary* of Paris de Grassis both in time and importance is second to that of Burckhard, but very different. He was papal master of ceremonies to Julius II and Leo X, and much of the information in his work has to do with the elaborate ceremonial of not only the papal court but of the cardinals as well. Larded in between this material are observations on the conduct and character of the popes, the insolence of the Spaniards in Rome, etc.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>44</sup> *Diarium Innocentii VIII, Alexandri VI, Pii III et Julii II tempora complectens*, ed. by A. Gennarelli (Florence, 1854). This was a castrated edition and only covers the period 1484–94. A new and complete edition was prepared by L. Thuasne (Paris, 1883–85, 3 v.). See POTTHAST, I, 176–77, to which add another edition by Enrico Celani in the series *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (1906–, 2 v.). Thuasne's edition is reviewed by M. Creighton in *EHR*, I (1886), 164–67. A badly translated series of excerpts from the *Diary* has been published by F. L. Glaser as *Pope Alexander VI and His Court* (New York, 1921). See also Edith Andrews in *The Nation*, CI (New York, 1915), correspondence supplement, 12–13; GREGOROVIVS, VII, pt. ii, 634–37; and Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, (n. 39) IV, 338–40.

<sup>45</sup> The formal part of this work (*De ceremoniis*, etc.) was published at Rome in 1564. The

The prevailing type of Italian history in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it has been shown, was a greatly magnified form of the town chronicle. It was deeper and broader, but the point of view was local, even when written in Latin. Elsewhere than in the great cities the old town annals persisted in the ancient simple form. The *Annals of Piacenza* by Antonio da Ripalta extend from 1401 to 1463; Andrea Schivenoglia's *Cronaca di Mantova* covers the years 1445-84; an anonymous annalist in Ferrara filled the years between 1409 and 1502 with the record of events of his city. Giacomo Filippo Foresti, an Augustinian friar who lived all his life in Bergamo (1434-1520), was still so unemancipated from medieval tradition that he wrote a *Chronicle from the Beginning of the World to the Year 1485*; to this he later added a *Supplementum*, in which under 1493 Columbus' first voyage is mentioned. Now and then a local annalist shows wider vision than ordinary. The author of the *Cronica di Bologna* shows evident knowledge of events connected with the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and attributes the capture of the city to the avarice of the clergy in not furnishing money for payment of the Christian troops. He adds also that when the Turks took the city an immense amount of treasure was found, which, if it had been spent on fortification and defense, would have averted the catastrophe. The *Annals of Bologna*, written by a friar named Jerome de Bursellis, vividly describe the religious frenzy in 1457 when the plague broke out. For eight days the populace fasted: shops were closed and brothels shut, while the frightened people paraded in bare feet and clad in sackcloth from church to church crying "misericordia, misericordia." This revivalism spread over all Italy and culminated in the career of Savonarola.<sup>46</sup>

Another popular type of historical writing current in this period must be observed. This was historical biography.<sup>47</sup> Petrarch's *De viris illustribus* has been thought to have created this literary vogue, which the revival of antiquity confirmed, so that imitations of Suetonius, Valerius Maximus, Cornelius Nepos, and Plutarch became the order of the day. But this is too narrow an explanation. Renaissance biography was much more a natural expression of the age than it was a reflection of antiquity. The period of the Renaissance was an epoch of intense individualism. One is struck with the number of "complete" men—the many-sided man (*l'uomo universale*) who pertained to Italy alone. The acquisition of fame, the achievement of glory became a passion. The individualism of the age accounts for the popularity of biography in literature and of

entire work has never been printed. For some extracts see Creighton (n. 39), V, 305-19, VI, 367-69.

<sup>46</sup> SYMONDS, I, 473-85.

<sup>47</sup> Cp. Burckhardt, *Civilisation of the Renaissance* (n. 1), pt. iv, ch. v, pp. 328-37.

portraiture in art. To have one's biography written or to have one's portrait painted was the highest ambition of many an Italian at that time. It was the crowning and concrete recognition of a successful life, as success was measured in those days.

When we analyze the conditions of the time we understand the reason for the phenomenon. Individualism was a characteristic manifestation of *virtù*, that indefinable yet positive spirit of power and achievement which was the breath of life to men of the *quattrocento*. By this is not meant a mere egotism. Egotism was a vice from which the Renaissance was fortunately exempt. By *virtù* was meant the identification of the individual with the greatest deeds and the best culture of the epoch. The universal man, without being a genius like Leonardo da Vinci, typified the whole culture of the age, just as that culture was an emanation of the whole life of the people. This is what Leonardo Bruni had striven to show in his biographies of Dante and Petrarch, and his message was perceived and understood. The greatest Florentine historians had a conception of the unity and organic nature of historical life unperceived before, even by the greatest historians in antiquity.<sup>48</sup> "When men," said Palmieri, "have the courage and will to break with the past, to demolish tradition, to labor for freedom, then a wonderful life springs into being."<sup>49</sup> This is how Florentines regarded their own time. The concept was the birth of a new life, *vita nuova*, and not merely a re-birth of antiquity (*rinascere l'arti perduti*).

The upgrowth of princely and papal patronage, which was inseparable from the prevalent enlightened despotisms, further promoted this bent towards biography. Popes, princes, cardinals, rich bankers, and men of business were as eager to have their lives written as to have their portraits painted. While in some ways this factor of patronage was a benign influence in that it furnished a livelihood to writers and artists who otherwise would have starved, at the same time patronage opened the door to misrepresentation, suppression of truth, and the blandishments of flattery. Such suspicion is particularly attached to the papal and princely biographies. This influence was less likely to vitiate collective biographies such as Vespasiano da Bisticci's *Uomini illustri del secolo XV*<sup>50</sup> and Vasari's *Lives of the Painters*. The *Lives of the Popes*, by Platina, papal librarian to Sixtus IV, was published in 1475. His sense of historical proportion and his lack of critical faculty may be judged

<sup>48</sup> The reader is referred to Hans Baron, "Das Erwachen des historischen Denkens im Humanismus des Quattrocento," *HZ*, CXLVII (1932-33), 5-20.

<sup>49</sup> Quoted *ibid.*, 12 and note 2; from Matteo Palmieri, *Libro della vita civile* (Florence, 1829) 45-47.

<sup>50</sup> On him see Creighton (n. 39), II, 373; GREGOROVIVUS, VI, pt. ii, 630 f.; and see the index of SYMONDS, where he receives copious mention.

when it is said that he begins with the Christian era. Nevertheless the biographies of the mid-fifteenth-century popes are not without value since they constitute the only original part of the work.<sup>51</sup>

The first notable biography is Boccaccio's *Life of Dante*. This was followed at the end of the fourteenth century by Filippo Villani's *Illustrious Florentines*, including poets, artists, jurists, scholars, physicians, statesmen, and soldiers. The *Commentaries* of Aeneas Sylvius (Pope Pius II) abound with striking pen sketches of distinguished contemporaries. Jacob of Volterra's *Diarium Romanum* contains biting pen-portraits of Sixtus IV and his entourage. Without Vasari's work "we should perhaps to this day have no history of northern art, or of the art of modern Europe at all." Decembrio's description of the last Visconti duke is almost Tacitean in its strokes. The picture of the fifteenth century, says Burckhardt, would be incomplete without this unique biography, which is characteristic down to its minutest details. Yet even these pen-portraits pale when compared with the biographical sketches found in the works of Corio, Machiavelli, Varchi, and Guicciardini in the sixteenth century. The lives of some of the notable condottieri are to be noticed. There is a remarkable biography of Filippo Maria Visconti by Piero Candido Decembrio, whose father was secretary to Giovanni Maria Visconti. He was born in 1399, a famous scholar first at the court of Milan, later at Rome in the time of Nicholas V, and finally passed to the court of Alfonso I at Naples. This *Vita* of Filippo Maria Visconti is one of the most notable of the period. Decembrio's *Life of Francesco Sforza* is briefer and more discreet since he was writing of a living personage. Simonetta also was author of a Latin life of Francesco Sforza whom he knew well, being his secretary from 1444 to his death in 1466.

As to Renaissance autobiography, Benvenuto Cellini's history of himself is without a parallel in the whole field of literature and doubtless will be read with interest as long as the world lasts, while Girolamo Cardano's little book, *De propria vita*, has eclipsed his fame as a philosopher and natural scientist.<sup>52</sup>

The revival of antiquity gave the historians of the Renaissance a wider vision and an acuter interest. The politics and culture of the ancient world afforded them a standard of comparison with their own age,

<sup>51</sup> *Platina's Lives of the Popes*, English translation by W. Benham (London, 1888, 2 pts.). On Platina see GREGOROVIVS, VII, pt. ii, 631-33; FUETER, 56-58; Pastor (n. 21), IV, 446-49; Creighton (n. 39), VI, 476 and index; G. J. Schorn, "Die Quellen zu den Vitae pontificum romanorum des Platina," *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1913, no. iv; and Eugène Müntz, "Un Mécène italien au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle: Les lettres et les arts à Rome pendant la règne de Sixte IV," *RDM*, XLVIII (1881), 154-192, esp. 174 ff.

<sup>52</sup> Written in his old age, about 1576, but pervaded with the spirit of the Renaissance, then vanished.

and the Italians returned to antiquity earlier and more ardently than other European peoples because they were much less removed from it.<sup>53</sup> Two classical historians in particular were of influence—Livy and Polybius. Livy's pictured page and the division of his work into "decades" became a model of style and form. On the other hand, not the form but the spirit, not the style but the thought of Polybius were of influence. As Renaissance historiography became more interpretative, more philosophical, an intellectual kinship with Polybius was felt by the greater writers of the time. This is especially evident in Machiavelli.

But before passing on into the sixteenth century another influence remains to be noticed which derived from antiquity and heavily influenced Renaissance historiography. This is the influence of archaeology. In the fourteenth century, for the first time, historical writers discovered the value of inscriptions, coins, medals as historical sources, and the spirit of antiquity was revealed in a new guise. Hitherto, through all the Middle Ages the Italians—even the Romans—had not only been indifferent to the monuments of antiquity, but had wantonly demolished them for their own building needs. The magnificent structures which the emperors had erected were used as quarries for building blocks. Even in the middle of the fifteenth century Nicholas V (1447–55) permitted a contractor to despoil the Coliseum of 2600 cartloads of cut stone. Appreciation of the cultural value of the remains of antiquity was of slow development. Dante seems to have been unmoved by the antiquities of Verona and Ravenna. The changed spirit appeared in the fifteenth century, when collections of antiquities began to be formed.<sup>54</sup> Niccolo Niccoli in Florence about 1430 was a pioneer. Lorenzo de Medici had a museum in one of his palaces. In Rome the earliest collection of inscriptions was made by Paul II in 1457; his successor Sixtus IV founded the Capitoline Museum. Archaeology as a science of scholarship was established by Flavio Biondo (1388–1463) in three important works: *Roma illustrata*, *Roma instaurata*, and *Roma triumphata*, all of which were published after his death.<sup>55</sup> But Flavio Biondo was an historian as well as an antiquary. His *Decades*,<sup>56</sup> the only work of his published before his death, devotes twenty books to the period between the fifth century and the fall of Frederick II in 1250, and ten more books to the period ensuing until 1440. The "long" view taken in this work, united with the critical handling of sources, anticipates

<sup>53</sup> Walter Goetz, "Renaissance und Antike," *HZ*, CXIII (1914), 237–59.

<sup>54</sup> Extended treatment of this subject in GREGOROVITUS, VII, pt. ii, 584–607.

<sup>55</sup> Alfred Masius, *Flavio Biondo, sein Leben und Werke* (Leipzig, 1879); FUETER, 128–34, 157–63, and see index.

<sup>56</sup> *Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum imperii decades ab anno 472 ad annum 1440.*

Gibbon. Flavio Biondo not even yet has been estimated as he deserves to be. The *Decades* is a mile-stone in modern historiography. Burckhardt has said of it: "This book alone would entitle us to say that it was the study of antiquity which made the study of the Middle Ages possible, by first training the mind to habits of impartial historical criticism."<sup>57</sup>

Flavio Biondo reproached Petrarch for the contempt which he heaped upon the medieval period and stressed the continuity of European history from the sack of Rome in 410 A.D. to the Renaissance. He was the first historian to extract the history of the Middle Ages from the medieval chronicles and consider it as an epoch in itself. Unfortunately the point of view and the teaching was unheeded, and the Middle Ages as a field of history did not come into its own until Gibbon and the Romantic movement rescued it from oblivion and contempt. Nevertheless, Flavio Biondo put historical criticism upon so firm a basis in this great work that never again were the pages of Italian historical writing to repeat the fantastic rubbish about the Trojan or other ancient origin of Florence and Venice and Milan, while at the same time and until as late as the seventeenth century European historiography outside of Italy continued to be stuffed with fable.

One of the chief tasks lying before the growing science of historical criticism was to clear away those legends of fabulous antiquity with which each nation had invested the story of its origin. Ocampo (1499-1558) related the deeds of an uninterrupted succession of Spanish kings from Tubal, grandson of Noah. The annals of Portugal began with the Trojan War. Milton commences his history of Britain with the giant Albion and Brutus of Troy, with the stories of Locrine and Hudibras and Lear and Lud, "where to," he says, "I neither oblige the belief of other person, nor over-hastily subscribe mine own." The Four Masters, surpassing all these, began their Annals of Ireland at forty days before the Deluge. Higher claims of antiquity seem scarcely possible; yet in the time of Sweden's greatest glory, Olaf Rudbeck argued that Paradise had been located in that country, and a certain church history insisted that Adam was bishop of the little Swedish town of Kälkstad. So firmly did such fables possess the general mind, and so intimately did they seem connected with the national glory, that great credit belongs to the historians who first ventured to attack them.<sup>58</sup>

From the formation of collections of antiquities to the founding of the Roman Academy in 1478 by Pomponius Laetus,<sup>59</sup> a disciple of Flavio Biondo, was a short step. The new science of archaeology not only furnished a valuable commentary to the classical revival, it contributed also to critical method and historical interpretation.

Flavio Biondo had applied critical reasoning to the interpretation of

<sup>57</sup> Burckhardt, *Civilisation of the Renaissance* (n. 1), 246.

<sup>58</sup> J. F. Jameson, "The Development of Modern European Historiography," *Atlantic Monthly*, LXVI (1890), 325.

<sup>59</sup> For a sympathetic appreciation of him see Burckhardt (n. 1), 279-80.



history. But another form of criticism still was necessary if historical writing was to be liberated from the grip of tradition and the binding force of authority. This instrument was philological criticism applied as an auxiliary science to the study of history. The initiator of this new, bold, critical method applied to the language of historical documents—in a word, textual criticism—was Lorenzo Valla (1406–57). Old and new historical sources alike often contained facts which ran counter to accepted tradition and ecclesiastical authority. This was a moment in the history of Catholic Europe when the course of civilization had taken a strong and definite inclination away from the sphere of theology and dogma, and the papacy had to choose between working with or against the new secular current of thought. The popes committed themselves to the Renaissance. Hence Valla did not hesitate to assail the famous instrument known as the Donation of Constantine, on the authority of which the temporal power of the papacy largely reposed, and declared the document to be a forgery. He was well equipped for the task, for he had already published a notable work, *De elegantissimae latinae linguae*, in which he had made a remarkable analysis of the form and structure of the Latin language, its grammar and style. The internal evidence on which Valla based his conclusion was the incompatibility and even contradiction between statements made in the document, and the conditions at the time of its alleged origin. Instead of being, as it purported to be, a grant made by the Emperor Constantine to Pope Sylvester II in the first half of the fourth century, the Latinity of the document is that of the eighth century, and the facts related reflect the political conditions of Italy at the time when Frankish intervention in the peninsula overthrew the Lombard kingdom and established the States of the Church. “The historical setting in which alone it can be made to fit is that of Stephen’s visit to the Franks or of the years which closely follow it,”<sup>60</sup> i.e., ca. 752–756. Valla did not know it, but it is significant that later research has shown that the oldest copy of the Donation of Constantine is found in a formula-book of St. Denis, where it is inserted between a letter of Pope Zacharias and one of Pope Stephen. Valla’s achievement was nothing less than a resumption of textual criticism at the point where the Alexandrian school had left it.

Whether Valla would have been so bold if he had not had the political support of King Alfonso of Naples—Valla was a Neapolitan subject—who was then at swords’ points with Pope Eugenius IV, is a matter of speculation. But there is no doubt that the findings in the *De Constantini donatione declamatio* (1440) had the effect of an intellectual earthquake. As an example of internal criticism Valla’s achievement may be

<sup>60</sup> *Cambridge Medieval History*, II, 586.

said to have initiated the whole great movement of textual criticism in the succeeding century. The whole method of the Magdeburg Centuriators in the German Reformation was implicit in Valla's method. In his hands critical method became a missile. It is not an accident that the text was first published by Ulrich von Hutten in 1517.<sup>61</sup>

This survey of Italian Renaissance historiography has reached the verge of the sixteenth century. It is the end of a term and the beginning of a new period. For in the second half of the fifteenth century the condition of Italian politics was profoundly altered, and with the change the spirit and tenor of Italian historical writing also were changed. These changes were partly internal in their nature, and partly superinduced by the impact of external forces.

By the fifteenth century, except for Venice and Genoa, the former city-state republican form of government had everywhere broken down owing to chronic internecine strife between the patriciate (*popolo grasso*) and the lower working classes (*popolo minuto*) and so prepared the way for despotism almost everywhere. In Milan it was first the Visconti and then (1450) the Sforza; in Florence it was the Medici; in Ferrara the Este; in Mantua the Gonzaga; in Rimini the Malatesta; in Urbino the Montefeltre; in Perugia the Baglioni; in Bologna the Bentivogli, etc. These despotisms were all of one type and one spirit. They were all tyrannies; they were all imbued with the enlightenment of the Renaissance. And while these princes were flattered into believing or at least pretending that they were reviving the ancient Greek tyrannies, actually they were products of the age.<sup>62</sup> Political theory and *Realpolitik* worked hand in hand or rather were the obverse and reverse side of the same thing, and the objectivity of the political intelligence was sometimes appalling in its sincerity. It is found registered on page after page of the historians of the age, but nowhere so greatly as in Machiavelli's writings, notably *The Prince*.

The external event of supreme importance to Italy was the French invasion by Charles VIII of France in 1494, which upset the delicate balance of power which had long obtained in the peninsula, and was aggravated by Venice's endeavor to extend her dominion on the mainland to compensate her for the possessions in the Levant which she had lost—except Cyprus—to the Turks. One political combination perpetually gave way to another. This constant change of political rela-

<sup>61</sup> On Lorenzo Valla see Creighton (n. 39), III, 170–73; Pastor (n. 21), I, 13–22, and the index of vol. II; Henry O. Taylor, *Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1920), I, 47–53; Zumpt, in the *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, IV (1845), 397–434; other literature in PAETOW, 336; and the article on Valla in the *Catholic Encyclopædia*.

<sup>62</sup> On these despotisms see Burckhardt (n. 1), pt. i, chs. iii–v; and Fr. v. Bezold, "Republik und Monarchie in der italienischen Literatur des 15. Jahrhundert," *HZ*, LXXXI (1898), 433–68.

tions, this double game of being mutually friendly and mutually hostile, or of pretended neutrality as between two antagonists, became more and more the characteristic of Italian political life.<sup>63</sup> Italian politics became an international interest, the peninsula a bone of contention among the powers, and Lombardy and the Milanais the cock-pit of Europe. The result of all this turmoil was the development of a statecraft and diplomacy remarkable in history for its practical purposes, its cynicism, its duplicity, its freedom from sentiment and moral scruples, and its corruption. "Intrigues, armaments, leagues, corruption and treason [and one may add assassination] make up the outward history of Italy at this period."<sup>64</sup>

The historian who visualized, understood, and interpreted this confused and perplexing time was Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527), the greatest of all Italian historians, who may be said to have founded a new school "in a series of the most brilliant political writers who have ever illustrated one short but eventful period in the life of a single nation."<sup>65</sup> Machiavelli<sup>66</sup> was the son of a Florentine judge who does not seem to have been of noble blood as was once supposed. In his education he studied the Latin classics and the Italian writers of recent

<sup>63</sup> See B. Buser, *Die Beziehungen der Mediceer zu Frankreich während der Jahre 1434 bis 1494* (Leipzig, 1879), 155.

<sup>64</sup> Burckhardt (n. 1), 88.

<sup>65</sup> SYMONDS, I, 219; cp. Taylor (n. 61), I, ch. iv. The names and dates of these historians are as follows:

Machiavelli	1469–1527
Guicciardini	1482–1540
Nardi	1476–1556
Nerli	1485–1536
Giannotti	1492–1572
Varchi	1502–1565
Segni	1504–1558
Adrian	1513–1579
Pitti	1519–1589

<sup>66</sup> From the enormous literature available the following general references may be consulted: FUETER, 73–83; Pasquale Villari, *Niccolò Machiavelli and His Times*, tr. by Linda Villari (London, 1892, 2 v.); E. W. Mayer, *Machiavelli's Geschichtsauffassung* (Berlin, 1912), cp. the reviews in *EHR*, XXVIII (1913), 607–08 and *AHR*, XVIII (1912–13), 831–32; J. W. Allen, *A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1928), 447–501; Louis Dyer, *Machiavelli and the Modern State* (Boston and London, 1904), 285–325; SYMONDS, see index in vol. VII; Burckhardt (n. 1), 81–86, 458; GREGOROVIVUS, VIII, pt. 2, consult index; J. M. Robertson, *Pioneer Humanists* (London, 1907), 1–41; Pastor (n. 21), V, 159–69; the essay on "Machiavelli" by Thomas Babington Macaulay, often reprinted, e.g., in his *Works*, V (New York, 1866), 46–82; John Morley, *Critical Miscellanies* (London and New York, 1886–1908, 4 v.), vol. IV; Harold Höfding, *History of Modern Philosophy*, tr. by B. E. Meyer (London, 1900, 2 v.), I, 17–25; Gaetano Mosca, "Machiavelli," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, IX, 655–57; John Addington Symonds, "Machiavelli," *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (14th ed.), XIV, 575–78 reprinted from the 11th ed.; Creighton, *Historical Essays* (n. 40), 335–40; William R. Thayer, "Machiavelli's Prince," *International Journal of Ethics*, II (1892), 476–92; *ER*, CCXXVI (1917), 93–112; *North American Review*, XLI (1835), 70–94; Lord Acton, "Mr. Burd's *Machiavelli*," *Nineteenth Century*, XXXI (1892), 696–700; *London Quarterly Review*, LXXIX, 20 ff. Extracts in *Warner's Library of the World's Best Literature*, XVI (New York, 1902), 9479–94 with an introduction by Charles P. Neill.

times. He was much influenced by Polybius, whom he read in a Latin translation, for his knowledge of Greek was slight.<sup>67</sup> At the age of twenty-five (the year of the French invasion) he received a position in a government office which transacted the business relating to war and foreign embassies. When the Medici were expelled he continued to hold office and was promoted to the rank of Second Chancellor by the Grand Council in 1498. A little later he was made Secretary to the Council of Ten, a position he held for fifteen years.

His first mission of importance was to Louis XII of France in 1500. Then as a diplomatic envoy he accompanied Caesar Borgia in his reduction of the Romagna and Umbria. It was this experience which gave to him that intimate and accurate knowledge of the military profession which he displays in his writings. There is a probability that he was present at the conclave which elected Julius II as Pope. His native city was now engaged in the long drawn-out war with its rebellious subject, Pisa. This gave him an opportunity to use his military talent. The fall of the Republic and the restoration of the Medici in 1512 brought to an end his official career. The next year he was involved in a conspiracy against the Medici, which led to his imprisonment, and possibly torture. The election of Cardinal Medici as Pope Leo X brought his release; he retired to his villa and lived the life of a small landed gentleman.

The composition of *The Prince*<sup>68</sup> was begun in 1513, though it was not published until 1532. In 1516 appeared his *Discorsi* on Livy, whose name was a convenient peg on which to hang a series of essays on government. His real debt in this work is to Polybius.<sup>69</sup> The *History of Florence*, written at the request of Clement VII, was published in 1525.<sup>70</sup> The work is a penetrating, often caustic history of Florence which reflects much the same sort of thought as that found in *The Prince*. From Leonardo Bruni he got the sensible idea of beginning with the barbarian invasions instead of with Roman antiquity. As an historian Machiavelli was interested in tracing cause and effect. The *Art of War* is a pamphlet to prove that a citizen soldiery was surest guard for the preservation of liberty, but his *Life of Castruccio Castracani*, who was Machia-

<sup>67</sup> Domenichi's Italian translation was printed at Venice in 1545-53.

<sup>68</sup> The best edition of *Il Principe* is that by L. A. Burd (Oxford, 1891), which contains a remarkable introduction by Lord Acton. There are various English translations; the one in Everyman's Library is by W. K. Marriott (London, 1908).

<sup>69</sup> English translation by Ninian H. Thomson, *Discourses on the First Decade of Titus Livius* (London, 1883).

<sup>70</sup> The first English version of this work, under the title *The Florentine Historie*, was made by Thomas Bedingfield, one of Queen Elizabeth's gentlemen-pensioners, in 1595 (reprinted in the Tudor Translations, London, 1905). Other English versions are by Henry Morley (London, 1891); and by C. W. Colby (rev. ed., New York, 1901), with an introduction.

velli's ideal tyrant, is hardly more than a translation of the ancient Greek life of Agathocles.<sup>71</sup>

Machiavelli is one of the most unjustly maligned men in history. He has been execrated for "stating with a lucidity that seemed indecent the principles upon which men were often already acting in his day and have consistently acted ever since."<sup>72</sup> *The Prince* later became a manual for princes, but it was not written with that intent; it was written to give an accurate picture of government, politics, and diplomacy in the Italy of 1500. All Italy was then a political laboratory for experimentation in government. Machiavelli was a realist who exposed with the precision of a lapidary the results of his observation and experience, and who estimated men as all Italians of the Renaissance, according to their *virtù*, that is to say according to their force of character. *The Prince*, said Sir James Mackintosh, "is neither a lesson, a satire, nor a panegyric." It is a bold, even brutal analysis of the efficacy of power in the state. Machiavelli was not the inventor of the ideas which he expressed in *The Prince* nor necessarily the advocate of them. He reduced to definition and systematization the current but unorganized political philosophy of the age.<sup>73</sup>

Machiavelli's greatest successor and his only rival was Francesco Guicciardini (1483-1540).<sup>74</sup> Guicciardini was a native of Florence, having been born in that city March 6, 1482. At the University of Padua he studied law. Upon the completion of his studies he was made a professor of law at Florence. However, as he preferred active practice to academic work, he soon resigned this position. He began his diplomatic career in 1513 when he was sent as an envoy to the court of the Emperor

<sup>71</sup> Triandifillis, in *Archivio Veneto*, July-September, 1875.

<sup>72</sup> William Temple, *Nature, Man and God* (London, 1935), 61.

<sup>73</sup> It is not possible to speak of Machiavelli's influence upon the men of the Renaissance. His *Il Principe* and the *Discourses on Titus Livy* were not written until after 1512, and not published until after the author's death in 1531. The French translation of the latter appeared in 1554, and of the former in 1553. Thus it was not until after the Renaissance had reached its end that Machiavelli's ideas became widely known. The truth is that European princes had been acting in their spirit for nearly a hundred years—Louis XI, Louis XII, Francis I, Ferdinand of Aragon, Henry VIII, etc.—before *The Prince* formulated the diplomatic principles and practices of the age. In this class the popes must also be included. Indeed, the first works of Machiavelli were issued from the Vatican press under papal privilege granted by Clement VII, who had read *The Prince* in manuscript and pretended to see in it a brilliant paradox. It was the hostility of the Jesuits which finally secured the condemnation of the book. In 1559 Machiavelli was burned in effigy by the University of Ingolstadt, and in the same year Paul IV put *The Prince* and other writings of Machiavelli on the Index of Prohibited Books. See J. R. Charbonnel, *La pensée italienne au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle et le courant libérin* (Paris, 1919).

<sup>74</sup> FUETER, 84-95 and see index; the same, "Guicciardini als Historiker," *HZ*, C (1908), 486-540; SYMONDS, II, consult index; Pastor (n. 21), VI, consult index; Vincent Luciani, *Francesco Guicciardini and His European Reputation* (New York, 1936); Eugène Benoist, *Guichardin, historien et homme d'état italien au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Marseille, 1862); see review in *JS*, 1862, p. 584; Morley (n. 66), IV, 1-53; extracts in J. H. Robinson, *Readings in European History* (Boston and New York, 1904-06, 2 v.), I, 9-15 and II, 516-20; *ER*, CXXX (1869), 1-35; *QR*, CXXXI (1871), 416-40.

Ferdinand. The talent which he displayed won for him a place in the papal service. He was appointed, at various times, as governor of a number of the papal states. These states were Modena, Reggio, Lombardy, and Romagna, the task of governing the last being considered the most difficult in Italy, if not in Europe. While in the papal service he took an active part in the siege of Parma. Clement VII sent him on a diplomatic mission to France and, afterwards, to adjust his differences with the city of Bologna. This pope, however, felt that his services were not effective on the occasion of the sack of Rome in 1527 and dismissed him in disgrace. Later he was restored to papal favor and made the governor of Romagna. Resigning in 1534 he returned to Florence, and continued to take an active part in city affairs. Upon the assassination of Alexander de Medici he was instrumental in securing the accession of the younger branch of the Medicean family in 1536. Cosimo I, however, did not show his gratitude for the services of Guicciardini. The historian was flung aside as useless. In humiliation, he retired to his villa and devoted himself to the composition of his *History of Italy*. This work had not been completed at the time of his death, May 23, 1540.

It is upon the *History of Italy* that the fame of Guicciardini, in large part, rests. But this was by no means his only work. At the age of twenty-seven, he had written a *History of Florence*, covering the history of the city between the years 1378 and 1509. As early as 1523 he was busy composing a treatise upon the government of Florence. He also wrote a collection of political aphorisms, the *Ricordi*. But the *History of Italy* was the only work published during his century. Its popularity was great. Before the end of the sixteenth century the Italian editions numbered ten, the Latin three, the French three, and translations had been made into English, German, Dutch, and Spanish. The existence of the *History of Florence* was not suspected until the *Opere inedite di Francesco Guicciardini* edited by Canestrini and published at Florence between 1857 and 1867. Mention should also be made of his *Descrittione di tutti i Poesi Bassi* which was published in Italian, French, Dutch, Latin, and German editions. "It is an admirable source for the knowledge of the Netherlands in the sixteenth century."<sup>75</sup>

Of his *History of Florence* Fueter says, "With the *History of Florence* begins the modern analytical history, the political argument in history. One can truly compare the work with the *Memoirs* of Commynes. The author, as did the French author, paid no respect to literary conventions. He placed the matter above the form. Perhaps it was on the

<sup>75</sup> P. J. Blok, *History of the People of the Netherlands*, tr. by O. A. Bierstadt and Ruth Putnam (New York and London, 1898-1912, 5 v.), II, 402.

same ground, namely, that the work was not intended for publication.”<sup>76</sup> This fact, that it was not intended for publication, and the political situation at the time it was written, enabled the author to give a singularly valuable presentation of the Medici. Upon this point Villari writes, “Guicciardini, who had never experienced any very ardent enthusiasm for the Republic, and who wrote his ‘Florentine History’ in his youth, when the Medici were in banishment and no one foresaw the possibility of their return, was able to speak of Lorenzo with greater freedom and independence of mind” than could Machiavelli.<sup>77</sup> Accordingly, his portrait of the prince is much more faithful. This is one of the commendable features of the work. Others which may be mentioned are the clarity and precision of the narrative, the keen sense of affairs and the play of passions, the penetrating analysis of characters and of ambitions, the exactness of the descriptions and the clear judgments of the actions of princes, of popular leaders, and of the masses. It is in his ability to analyze men that Morley finds his greatest art as an historian.<sup>78</sup> At the same time the author had not entirely freed himself from the antiquated chronicle style. He did not always verify the narratives which he records. There is also to be found even here the fault which Ranke so sharply criticises, that is, his undue praise of himself and the assignment of an importance to his own role which it did not have.

In passing from Guicciardini’s *History of Florence* to his *History of Italy*, one passes into an entirely different field of history. When he wrote his *History of Florence*, Guicciardini was, so far as the scope of his work was concerned, no different from his predecessors or his contemporaries. Like them he was a provincial historian. But the field is now broadened. He no longer writes as the historian of a city, looking out upon the affairs of Italy only as they bear upon the history of his native Florence. He had now become the historian of Italy.

The *History of Italy*, as its author was enabled to develop it, is divided into twenty books. It begins with the entrance of Charles VII into Italy in 1494. There is not even a cursory review of Italian history before this point. In this he differs from his contemporaries. It ends with the death of Pope Clement VII and the election of Pope Paul III in 1534. A part of the introduction is quoted here not only because it sets forth the purpose of the history but also because it gives some impression of his style:

The knowledge of these things so great and diverse, may minister many wholesome instructions, as well to all men generally as to every one in particular, considering that

<sup>76</sup> FUETER, 88.

<sup>77</sup> Villari (n. 66), II, 436.

<sup>78</sup> Morley (n. 66), IV, 104.

by trial, conduct and demonstration of so many examples, all Princes, people, and patrimonies may see (as a ship driven by diverse winds) to what inconstancies human things are ordained, and how harmful are the ill-measured counsels of Princes, many times hurtful to themselves, but always hurtful to their people and subjects, specially when they are vainly carried away either with their singular errors, or private covetousness, without having any impression or remembrance of the ordinary changes of fortune, whereby turning to the damage and displeasure of others, the power which is given them for the safety, protection, and the police of the whole, they make themselves, either by want of discretion, or too much ambition, authors of innovations and new troubles.

This sentence reveals his purpose which was the didactic, the pragmatic one. He wrote his *History* for the purpose of instruction, of warning, of advice.

Comparing the *History of Italy* with the *History of Florence*, which was written thirty years previously, one notes that Guicciardini's method had not changed much from the time of the earlier work. We find the same political partiality, the same stress on egotistical motives, the same keen, unmerciful psychological analysis, the same aversion to theoretical rules, the same accurate estimate of results. But his political philosophy had changed. The thirty years which had passed since 1509 had brought many sad experiences to Guicciardini. He had seen many of his political theories broken to pieces. This led to a criticism of politics which, at times, becomes pessimistic. Furthermore, his connection with the Papal States gave to his outlook upon the history of his native Florence a universality of viewpoint which the earlier work had lacked. In his judgments of men and events, the author was more summary than he had been earlier.

Modern critical study of Guicciardini began in 1824 with the publication of Leopold von Ranke's *Zur Kritik neuerer Geschichtschreiber*.<sup>79</sup> A large portion of the works of Guicciardini became available only in the modern period, with the publication of the *Opere inedite* (1857-67). The revival of interest has fed upon these and later volumes, so that his repute today is to a considerable degree the construction of modern scholarship. For an estimate of his historical position in criticism, this is an essential point; modifications of attitude and method are involved in the approach to his status before the ten volumes of unknown writings appeared. For during the three preceding centuries Guicciardini stood, to literate Europe, as author of a single great and substantial work, the *Storia d'Italia*; an imperfect series of maxims, the *Avvertimenti* (a partial text of the *Ricordi*), and a few letters were far less widely known. Recent years have witnessed a revival of interest in, and consequently a revaluation of, Francesco Guicciardini, both as

<sup>79</sup> Ranke's harsh judgment must be accepted with caution in the light of very much new material written by Guicciardini of which Ranke did not know. See vol. II, 172-73.



statesman and as man of letters. His collateral descendant, who was responsible for throwing the family archives open to the public and for publishing for the first time the diary of his voyage to Spain in 1511, has now discovered a series of his youthful letters,<sup>80</sup> written when he was a student and overlooked both in the monumental edition of his correspondence and in the various appendices. They are of additional importance in view of the person to whom they are addressed, Alessio Lapaccini, the last of the long series of men of letters who acted as Chancellor of the Florentine Republic, and who died in harness just before the fall of the city in 1530, and the final extinction of its independence. The letters, written (in Latin) in 1500 or thereabouts, give us for the first time a picture of the youthful Guicciardini, at this time only seventeen years of age. It is already possible to see the grim, purposeful, somewhat humorless statesman who took so important a part in shaping Italy's destinies in the middle decades of the sixteenth century.

There is one estimation, however, in which all critics are agreed, and that is Guicciardini's style. His long, monotonous sentences make arduous reading. Page after page contains but two or, at the most, three sentences. Sometimes there is only one. Little wonder, then, that so friendly a critic as Villari speaks of "his laboured phraseology, his too Ciceronian periods, painfully wearisome to the reader." This, he holds, was the result of a careful and painstaking revision. But Fueter cautions his reader not to infer that the sentences are necessarily confusing as a result. Morley rightly remarks that Guicciardini "makes hard reading, but it is not the same thing as prolixity, for he does not repeat himself, nor wander from the point, nor overload with qualifications. When we find ourselves safe and sound at the thirtieth line, we have really crossed a broad piece of ground."<sup>81</sup> There was, it is said, a criminal in Italy, who was suffered to make his choice between Guicciardini and the galleys. He chose the history. But the war of Pisa was too much for him. He changed his mind, and went to the oar.<sup>82</sup> Montaigne was a contemporary of Guicciardini. This is what he wrote of him in the *Essais*:

He is a diligent historiographer, from whom we may learn (I think) as accurately as from any other, the truth of the affairs of his time (for the real "inside" history is found in archives and documents) in most of which he was himself an actor. . . . There is nothing to show that he has disguised matters through hatred, favor or vanity; this is evidenced by the outspoken judgments he passes on the great and especially those from whom he had received advancement and who had employed his services, as Pope Clem-

<sup>80</sup> *Lettere giovanili inedite di Francesco Guicciardini*. Edited by Paolo Guicciardini.

<sup>81</sup> Morley (n. 66), IV, 99.

<sup>82</sup> This famous alternative was doubtless suggested by the story of Dionysios and Philoxenos.

ent VII. . . . His digressions and dissertations . . . are good . . . but he revelled too much in them. . . . Having a subject so full and ample and almost inexhaustible, he becomes wearisome. . . . He never puts anything down to the score of virtue, religion or conscience. He always discovers for every action some ambitious motive or hope of gain.

Little need be said concerning the other Florentine historians of the sixteenth century. Filippo Nerli (1485-1536) was the author of a *History of Florence* which covered the period from 1494 to 1531. As he was married to a niece of Leo X he was favorable to the Medici.

Jacopo Nardi (1476-1563) left unfinished a *Istorie della città di Firenze* which began with the French invasion of Italy in 1494 and extended to 1553. The family to which he belonged was hostile to the Medici. He was one of the principal supporters of Savonarola. When the Medici were expelled and a democratic government instituted, he was called to important offices. Even after the return of the Medici in 1512 he was to be found in official station. This led to his exile when the Medici were again driven out, and his estates were confiscated. Most of the rest of his life was spent in Venice where he endeavored to support his family by literary work. Nardi was unable to produce an animated picture of men or of events. There is no great depth of thought but, on the other hand, no gossip about trivial matters. The criminal actions of bad men are passed over in silence. No attempt is made to analyze characters and motives. Yet he is valuable for sincerity of intention and painstaking accuracy.

Donato Giannotti (1492-1572) was a liberal in spirit and compelled to go into exile by the turn of political events. He found asylum in Venice where he wrote a *History of Florence* and a *History of Venice*. He followed Machiavelli in his interest in the mechanics of government and in political theory. He condemned, as was natural, the corruption of political life in Florence, but admired her trading spirit. His estimate of the population of Venice is an evidence of his interest in statistics.

Benedetto Varchi was born in Florence in 1493 and died there in 1565. As he was a member of the democratic party he was exiled when the Medici were restored in 1531. Later, for some reason, he returned to public favor, and in 1541, Cosimo I commissioned him to write a history of his own times. The result was his *History of Florence* in sixteen books covering the period from 1527 to 1538. It is written with independence of judgment in which his democratic temperament appears. Official documents were used in its composition. Of this *History*, Burckhardt writes, "For the first half of the sixteenth century probably no other state in the world possesses a document like the magnificent description of Florence by Varchi. In descriptive statistics, as in so many

things besides, yet another model is left to us, before the freedom and greatness of the city sank into the grave.”<sup>83</sup>

The next to be mentioned is Bernardo Segni (1500–58). He began the study of literature and law at the University of Padua. Soon, however, he tired of this life and left it to engage in commerce. In 1541 he was sent as the ambassador of Florence to the Holy Roman Emperor. His writings were numerous and varied, including works on rhetoric, political science, ethics, and poetry. He is, however, principally remembered for his *History of Florence*. This work which treats of the period from 1527 to 1554 is divided into fifteen books. His strong aristocratic leanings are revealed when he finds the secret of the ruin of Florence in the siege of 1529 and in the ambitions of plebeian leaders. He is superior to Varchi in idiomatic purity of language but not so careful to be accurate.

Adriani or Giovanni Battista (1513–79) was of a patrician family which was notable as far back as the fourteenth century. For thirty years he was professor of rhetoric in the University of Florence. He wrote a *History of His Own Times* (*Istoria de suoi tempi*) from 1536 to 1574, which the French historian De Thou regarded for its accuracy and used in the composition of his own *Historia sui temporis*.

Jacopo Pitti (1519–89) came from a family long identified with the Medici. His *History of Florence* from 1494 to 1529 is praised more for its brilliant style than its information. He excelled in epigrammatic forms of expression. Pitti may be called the last of the “dynasty” of Florentine historians.

The only formal Roman historian imbued with the spirit of the Renaissance was Paolo Giovio, or in Latin Paulus Jovius (1483–1552).<sup>84</sup> He was born in Como, studied medicine at Padua, but was more interested in the study of contemporary history. The fame of Leo X’s liberality drew him to Rome, where he became a close friend of the pope, and was Roman correspondent of Marino Sanudo. Livy was the model of Giovio’s *Historiarum sui temporis libri XLV* (*History of His Own Times*), which extends from 1494 to 1547, and is written in fluent Latin. Giovio was a versatile humanist, but not a substantial scholar. As an historian he is untrustworthy. “He relates or is silent with reference to facts according to whether he had been purchased or not. His venality opens him to grave suspicion. His morals were bad and he was unusually superstitious.” Six books of his work, according to his own statement, were lost in the sack of Rome in 1527, but there is suspicion that Giovio deliberately “lost” them in order that his work might have the fate of Livy’s. It is not improbable that Giovio sup-

<sup>83</sup> Burckhardt (n. 1), 79.

<sup>84</sup> Pastor (n. 21), VIII, 238–41.

pressed these books, the publication of which might have involved him in difficulties with living persons. A valuable series of biographies entitled *Elogia virorum illustrium*, the most important of which is a life of Leo X, partially fills this lacuna. Finally, it may be added that the term "Middle Ages," if not coined by Flavio Biondo, was at least distinguished by him as a period from antiquity. He divided antiquity from the "aetas subsequens" at the year 410 A.D., when Alaric sacked Rome. In 1469 John Andrew de Aleria, in a funeral oration commemorative of Nicholas of Cusa, praised him as a scholar who knew well the history of "Mediae Tempestatis." This is the earliest occurrence of the term.<sup>85</sup>

Next to Florence, Venice was richer in historical writers than any other state during the Renaissance.

Cardinal Bembo (1470–1547) is more celebrated as a man of letters and favorite of Leo X and Clement VII than as an historian, and most famous as a typical epicurean high churchman of the Italian Renaissance. He was author of a *History of Venice* and was official historiographer of the republic.

Far superior to the cardinal was Gasparo Contarini (1483–1542). During the wars between Francis I and the Emperor Charles V, Contarini was a political agent of Venice. In 1535 he was made a cardinal, and in that capacity favored a moderate policy towards the Lutherans in Germany and was papal delegate to the Diet of Regensburg in 1541. His *De magistratibus et republica Venetorum* was prized by Thomas Hobbes, the English publicist of the seventeenth century, as an unusual treatise on the science of political administration.<sup>86</sup>

The third, last, and greatest Venetian historian was Paruta (1540–98), one of the most remarkable and prolific writers of the time, who deserves to be remembered and his works to be read. In his *Perfezione della vita politica* (1579) he portrays, through a series of dialogues after the manner of Cicero, the ideal citizen and man of state. The *Discorsi politici* in ten books appeared in 1599, the year after Paruta's death. In the first of these books Paruta penetratingly considered the causes of the greatness and decline of the Roman Empire, and from it Montesquieu got both the title and the theme of his own remarkable *La grandeur et la décadence de l'Empire romain*. In 1579 Paruta was made official historian of the republic and wrote a *Storia di Venetia* in twelve books, resuming the narrative at the point where Bembo had stopped in 1513. The first four books were composed in Latin, but the rest of

<sup>85</sup> Paul Lehman, "Mittelalter und Küchenlatein," *HZ*, CXXXVII (1927–28), 197–213.

<sup>86</sup> Dante Gabriel Rossetti once possessed Hobbes' copy of this work, with his endorsement of its worth on the flyleaf.

the books in Italian. Paruta also was author of a *History of the War of Cyprus* (1570-73).

The spirit of the Renaissance, literary and artistic, was latest in reaching South Italy, and the culture there developed was strongly un-Italian in some features because of the blend it suffered with Angevin-French survivals and the invasion of Spanish-Aragonese elements. The monarchy of the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily was an anomalous survival in the Italy of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; the kings were influenced by Spanish megalomania and had slight conception of that enlightened despotism which prevailed in the North. The language was a medley of dialects; even the Neapolitan was a patois so rude and crude that it was impossible to use it as an instrument of literature; while the classical spirit was so absent that Latin also failed of employment.

The retardation of Neapolitan historiography, therefore, was very great. It did not appear until the reign of Alfonso I (1416-58), the Magnanimous. He was the first king who exhibited any sympathy with the Renaissance. Lorenzo Valla was his protégé; and he zealously searched for the lost books of Livy. The expatriated Greek scholars Chrysoloras, George of Trebizond, and Constantine Lascaris once taught in the schools of Naples or Palermo. Bartolommeo Fazzio (1400-57) lived all his life in Naples; his *De rebus gestis ab Alfonso Primo Neapolitanorum rege commentariorum libri decem* was the first important historical work produced in modern times in the south of Italy. Slightly younger than Fazzio was Lorenzo Bonincontri. He was born at San Miniato in 1410; his father was exiled in 1431 because of an appeal which he made to the Emperor Sigismund against the tyranny of Florence. After much wandering Lorenzo found protection under Alfonso, for whom he wrote a *History of Naples* which did not extend beyond 1436. The *Giornali Napolitani*, written in rude Italian with much Neapolitan dialect intermixed, is an anonymous compilation from many sources. It is a mere factual chronicle, but "the information, however scrappy, is always valuable."<sup>87</sup> As the fifteenth century rounded out historical writing improved. Pandolfo Collenuccio of Pesaro's *Conpendio delle storie del regno di Napoli* is a general history of Naples from the earliest times to his own day, which was dedicated to Ercole, duke of Ferrara, who had been brought up at the court of Alfonso the Magnanimous. Naturally only the contemporary years are of any value. The author was executed for trying to betray Pesaro to Caesar Borgia. Best of all writers was Angelo di Costanzo, who was born in 1507. "He was well educated, was a considerable poet, and

<sup>87</sup> Creighton (n. 39), I, 370-71.

lived the life of a man of letters. . . . [In conversation with two friends he] joined in regretting the want of any trustworthy history of Naples, and lamented the inaccuracy of Collennuccio. The older men suggested to Costanzo that he should undertake the task and promised their assistance; but within three years both were dead and Costanzo had to pursue the task unaided. He tells us in his preface of the difficulty which he experienced in finding a sure starting-point, which, however, he obtained at last in the *Giornali Napolitani*. . . . For the reason that he now felt himself on sure ground, he began with the death of Frederick II [1250] and continued his history till 1486, the beginning of the barons' war against Ferrante. . . . Costanzo's narrative remains as the best account of Neapolitan history for the period of which it treats. It is written with care and insight and is the work of a scholar and of a patriot."<sup>88</sup>

Sicily found an historian in Fazellio (1498–1570), whose *De rebus Siculis decades duae* had the distinction of being translated "in lingua Toscana."<sup>89</sup> The book was dedicated to Philip II of Spain, and printed in 1558.

Finally, in the year 1584, we come to the last eminent historical writer of the epoch of the Italian Renaissance—and it may be added, one of the greatest, although his works are now known only to the erudite. Carlo Sigonio (or Sigonius) (1523–84) was born, lived, and died in Modena, where he was professor of Greek almost all his life. He was certainly the most balanced, the most truly scholarly historical writer of the period. A student all his life, Sigonio had no heritage of animosity from the past, no self-motive of the present. His *opus magnum* was a great *History of Italy in the Middle Ages* in two parts (I, from A.D. 284 to 565; II, from 565 to 1268), each in twenty books. The terminal and dividing dates are significant of Sigonio's clear-cut analysis of the periods of medieval history. Sigonio is distinguished by his perception of the historical nature of institutions. His is the first intelligent account of the nature of Feudalism before Montesquieu. Sigonio wrote also an *Historia ecclesiastica* (to 311), some studies in ancient Greek and Roman history, distinguished by the critical, rationalistic way in which the subject is handled, and *De episcopis Bononiensibus*, or *History of the Bishops of Bologna*.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 372.

<sup>89</sup> The best and almost the only account of Neapolitan historiography is by Bartolommeo Capasso, "Le fonti della storia delle provincie napolitane dal 568 al 1500," *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane*, I (1876), 1–32, 181–210, 379–93, 581–618, and II (1877), 3–48.

<sup>90</sup> On Sigonius see J. P. Krebs, *Carl Sigonius, einer der grössten Humanisten des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Frankfort, 1840); Pierre de Nolhac, ed., *Piero Vettori et Carlo Sigonio, Correspondance avec Fulvio Orsini* (Rome, 1889); Gabriel Maugain, *Étude sur l'évolution intellectuelle d'Italie de 1657 à 1750* (Paris, 1909), 85 f.

A curious literary phenomenon of the Italian Renaissance was that when Italian influence began to spread across the Alps into other countries, the rulers of them sought eagerly for Italian scholars as royal and court historiographers. It is difficult to say whether these sovereigns felt that Italians were more competent than any of their own subjects to understand the mysteries of statecraft, or whether it was a gesture of ostentation.

As we have already seen, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, afterwards Pope Pius II, in his young days dwelt at the court of Emperor Frederick III as official historian and was the author of a history of the Hussite war and of the deeds of the emperor.

When Charles VIII of France returned from his expedition into Italy in 1494 he brought with him in his train Aemilius Paulus (or Paolo Emilio) of Verona who had such a reputation that the king appointed him royal historiographer. He was made a canon of Notre Dame by Louis XII and enjoined to write a history of France in Latin after the manner of Livy. He died in 1529, leaving a very un-Livian, tedious work entitled *De rebus gestis Francorum usque ad 1488*, in ten books.<sup>91</sup>

Two Italian scholars were in the service of the Spanish monarch Charles V. These were Peter Martyr of Anghera (1455–1526) and the Sicilian Lucas di Marinis, or Lucio Marineo (ca. 1460–1553). The former is the first historian of the New World. His *Decades de orbe novo*, begun in 1493 and published in 1530, is an epoch-making book.<sup>92</sup> Lucio Marineo was an important figure in the literary history of Spain in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. He was professor of rhetoric and classical literature at Palermo, in his youth, was invited to Spain by the grand admiral of Castile in 1486, was made professor at the University of Salamanca and later chaplain and official historiographer to the king and queen. He was a prolific writer. His works include *De laudibus Hispaniae libri VII*; *De Aragoniae regibus libri V*; *De Hispaniae memorabilibus libri XXII*, and seventeen books of *Letters, Epistolae Familiares*. His Latin style was generally good, but sometimes he was “at his florid worst.” In all his letters he makes no mention of the discovery of America, though he was a close friend of Peter Martyr. When he does mention that event in the *De Hispaniae memoriabilibus*, fol. 161,<sup>93</sup> he calls Columbus “Pedro Colon” (for the first time on record) and dis-

<sup>91</sup> Printed in 1539 and continued by various hands. It was translated into French, Italian, and German. Complete edition, Paris, 1581.

<sup>92</sup> Translated into English by Rycharde Eden, *The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India* (London, 1555). For further information on Peter Martyr see FUETER, 285–88; R. B. Merri-man, *The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and the New* (New York, 1918–34, 4 v.), II, 161, 304 n. 2, 348; J. H. Mariéjol, *Un lettré italien à la cour de Espagne (1488–1526): Pierre Martyr d'Anghère, sa vie et ses oeuvres* (Paris, 1887).

<sup>93</sup> A Spanish translation was published at Alcalá in 1539.

putes his claim to be the first discoverer of America. He relates that a coin of Augustus had been found in the New World, thus proving that the Romans had known "Los Indios," and gives a long account of the conversion of the Indians.<sup>94</sup>

The ablest of these Italian historians abroad, Aeneas Sylvius alone excepted, was Polydore Vergil (ca. 1470–1555), "the first fruit of the revival of letters in the field of English history." He was born at Urbino, studied law at Bologna and Padua, and was papal chamberlain to Alexander VI from 1496 to 1503. In 1505 he was sent to England as a collector of Peter's pence. Thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the Renaissance he became intimate with Linacre, Sir Thomas More, Colet, and Erasmus when the last visited England. Henry VII recognized Polydore's ability and he was a favorite at court. In 1507 he was made archdeacon of Wells and official historiographer. He was naturalized in 1510. For many years he collected materials, but his *Anglicae historiae libri XXVII*, a history of the reign of Henry VII, was not published until the year 1534 (at Basel). It was dedicated to Henry VIII.<sup>95</sup> A later edition continued the reign of Henry VIII to 1538. No modern and critical edition of Polydore Vergil exists although Cardinal Gasquet, when librarian of the Vatican Library, had the good fortune to discover there a manuscript of the *History* corrected by the author himself, containing many important variants from the printed text, which it may be hoped will some day form the basis of a definitive edition.

Polydore Vergil was the first historian to subject the sources of English history to real criticism. He flouted the tales of Geoffrey of Monmouth and the tales about King Arthur and the whole body of pseudo-historical classical tradition, as that Brutus, the son of Sylvius, son of Ascanius, son of Aeneas settled in Britain and gave the island its name. "What did Livy or Dionysius of Halicarnassus say of this Brutus? Nothing. Moreover, Gildas, writing about 580, says that all books perished after the exodus of the Romans." The paucity of sources for the history of the War of the Roses—from Henry VI to Richard III—makes Polydore Vergil an almost contemporary source for this period, since he must have had a personal acquaintance with many men whose memories went back to that time. For the reigns of the first two Tudor sovereigns he had to write more discreetly.<sup>96</sup> It is certain that he was an enemy of Cardinal Wolsey. His observation on the social and economic conditions

<sup>94</sup> See the interesting work of Caro Lynn, *A College Professor of the Renaissance: Lucio Marineo Siculo among the Spanish Humanists* (Chicago, 1937), reviewed in *LTLS*, 1938, p. 6.

<sup>95</sup> For editions and English translations see GROSS, no. 1854; for literature on Polydore Vergil consult the article by W. A. J. Archbold in *DNB*, LIII (1899), 250–53; for a fuller discussion of the author and his work see chapter XXXV, the historiography of Tudor England, pp. 597–99.

<sup>96</sup> Cp. the accusations made by C. R. Markham, *EHR*, VI (1891), 254 f.; and the same writer's book *Richard III: His Life and Character* (London and New York, 1906).



in England and Scotland, and plenitude of geographical information have won the gratitude of modern historians. About 1551 Polydore returned to Urbino where he died in 1555. His *Historia* marks a sharp change from medieval historiography. He wrote along the lines of the modern historian and neither in the spirit nor form of the old-fashioned chronicler.

Even the kings of Poland and Hungary had their Italian historiographers. The first truly humanistic work in Polish history was written by a Florentine scholar, Filippo Buonaccorsi (1437–96),<sup>97</sup> for Casimir III. It was a *Life of King Vladislav IV* (1440–44), written in distinguished Latin. The court historian of King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary, a famous booklover and possessor of one of the greatest private libraries of the age, was Antonio Bonfini (1427–1502).<sup>98</sup> In imitation of Livy he wrote *Rerum Ungaricarum Decades*. His style was pompous and ornate. He also translated Horace, Philostratos, and Hermogenes for the king.

<sup>97</sup> Heinrich Zeissberg, *Die polnische Geschichtsschreibung des Mittelalters* (Leipzig, 1873); FUETER, 300–01; G. dalla Santa, in *N. Archivio Veneto*, n. s., LI (1913), 134 ff.

<sup>98</sup> Guido Amadio, *La vita e l'opere di Antonio Bonfini* (Montalto Marche, 1930).

## CHAPTER XXIX

### HISTORIANS OF THE FRENCH RENAISSANCE

FRANCE was the first country beyond the Alps which reflected the influence of the Renaissance in Italy. This was natural, since political and dynastic events associated France and Italy more closely than any other country. Although in the fourteenth century the popes were resident at Avignon, and all the popes were French, many of the cardinals were Italians, and many Italians were in the papal service, notably the poet Petrarch (1304-74), whose father had been expelled from Florence in 1302 by the same faction which drove Dante into exile. Again, when King John of France was taken prisoner by the Black Prince in the battle of Poitiers (1356), in order to secure money for the enormous ransom exacted, he bargained away his daughter Isabel to the son of Giangaleazzo Visconti, the duke of Milan, for 500,000 gold florins. Of this marriage was born the lovely and unhappy Valentine Visconti, a true child of the Renaissance, who spoke Latin, Italian, French, and German; she had a library of her own, wrote a clear hand, and indited courtly letters and creditable verse. In 1387, during the Great Schism, the French pope persuaded Charles VI of France to marry his brother Louis of Orleans to Valentine, in order to effect an alliance between France and Milan for the overthrow of the anti-pope at Rome. Thus the relations between France and Italy were close. Even before this occurred, Charles V of France (1364-80) had been an ardent admirer of Italian culture; he had imported many classical manuscripts and works of art into France, and been the patron of Christine de Pisan, the only woman in literature in the fourteenth century.

The Italianate culture in France spread to Flanders in the fifteenth century under the rule of the great dukes of Burgundy, and Flemish artists resorted to Italy for learning and art, notably the two great Flemish painters, Hubert and John Van Eyck, the founders of the school of Bruges. Finally, in 1494 came the French invasion of Italy by Charles VIII, which opened wide the door into Italy, and Italian culture flowed in a flood into France.

Thus it came to pass that French historiography reflected Italian influence before England or Germany or Spain became responsive to it. The greatest figure in this change was Philippe de Commines (or Com-

mynes) (1445–1509).<sup>1</sup> In early life he was high in the service of Charles the Bold of Burgundy; but in 1472 he abruptly changed masters, deserting to the camp of Louis XI of France in the midst of war between the king and his formidable vassal. Whatever the reason for the change, Commynes was amply rewarded; he was given the title of chamberlain and councillor, a pension of 6,000 livres, and a valuable estate, and made an advantageous marriage.

Having displeased the king because of his advice that the Dauphin marry the widow of Charles the Bold (killed in 1477) he was sent from the court for a time, then acted for Louis in Burgundy and was sent on his first mission to Italy. In Italy he was so successful that he was later given charge of the relations with the countries there. As the king's health failed, Commynes' prestige increased and he became an all-powerful councillor. He was present at the death of Louis XI (1483), which he records in one of the most noteworthy passages of his chronicle.

During the aristocratic reaction which followed the king's death, Commynes was active in public affairs. He joined the faction of Louis of Orleans, the husband of Louis XI's ugly daughter Jeanne, and took a prominent part in the intrigues of the time. He had not made a wise choice, for Louis' first revolt ended in failure and Commynes was driven from court. He joined the duke again in a plot to kidnap the king, and after its failure was arrested and imprisoned in an iron cage at Loches, then in Paris, but after a few months was exiled to his estate for ten years. Yet in 1490 he seems to have recovered his pensions and by 1491 was councillor of Charles VIII and one of the negotiators of the Treaty of Senlis.

When Charles VIII undertook his Italian expedition in 1494 Commynes accompanied him, although his experience in Italian affairs led him to oppose it. He served as envoy to Venice, trying fruitlessly to prevent the formation of an alliance against King Charles. He was present at the battle of Fornova (July 6, 1495), which he describes at length, negotiated the treaty of Vercelli, and was envoy again to Venice and then Milan. Despite failures in this last embassy he remained in favor to the death of Charles VIII (1498).

<sup>1</sup> For his *Mémoires* see MOLINIER, V, no. 4663 (18 pp.); nearly seventy earlier editions are listed in POTTHAST, I, 328–30. The most recent are by B. de Mandrot (Paris, 1901–03, 2 v.: *Collection des textes pour servir*, vols. 33, 36), introduction in II, pp. i–cxxxv; and by J. Calmette and G. Durville (Paris, 1924–25, 3 v.: *Les classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge*). There are English translations by Thomas Danett (1596; republished in the Tudor Translations, London, 1897, 2 v.), and by Sir Andrew R. Scoble, *The Memoirs of Philip de Commynes, Lord of Argenton* (London, 1880–82, 2 v.: Bohn's Standard Library). For reading on Commynes see FUETER, 182–86; Henry O. Taylor, *Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1930, 2 v.), I, 282–92; B. de Mandrot, "L'autorité historique de Philippe de Commines," *RH*, LXXIII (1900), 241–57 and LXXIV (1900), 1–38; V. L. Bourrilly, "Les idées politiques de Commines," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, I (1899–1900), 93–123; Petit de Julleville, *RCC*, IV, pt. i (1895–96), 356 for a fine paragraph.

The accession of Louis XII of Orleans to the throne brought disgrace rather than the favor he expected. Commynes seems to have been absent from court until about 1505, when he received favors again. Until his death, probably in 1509, at his château, he was kept busy by his efforts to collect money owed him by the Medici bank and by law suits. At intervals he found time to write his memoirs. Intended as material for future historians, they were dedicated to the archbishop of Vienne, Angelo Cato, with the request that they be utilized for a Latin history which the archbishop contemplated. Although originally not written in books and chapters, in modern editions the memoirs are divided into eight books. The first six cover the reign of Louis XI, and the last two the Italian expedition and the death of Charles VIII. Hence, we have here two separate works.

Both works show traces of revision and correction, but errors still remain. In his dedication Commynes said that his interest lay in the "substance," and he hoped that the readers would excuse him for errors in fact. One might attribute inexactitudes to lapse of memory, for the first part was written a number of years after the events described; yet it would appear from the air of contemporaneity that the memoirs were written from notes. Although one may make allowance for haste in writing, and errors in copying, there are many errors that are inexplicable. Most compromising to Commynes' reputation as an accurate historian is that he errs in recording facts of which he had first-hand information. How, for example, could he place the death of his patron, Philip of Burgundy, a year late? How can we explain the significant errors in his history of the Italian expedition, written shortly after the event by the man best informed on Italian affairs?

In discussing the Italian venture Commynes indicated what were, according to his judgment, mistakes in policy and tactics, and criticized seriously the counsellors who had urged the invasion of Italy. He recorded important political events that he might philosophize upon them, a trait which gives the memoirs an attraction peculiarly their own. The reign of Louis XI, the most successful prince whom Commynes had known, offered valuable material for just the work he proposed. Probably intending to stop with this good example, Commynes saw in the venture of Charles VIII an example of imprudent policy that would furnish lessons of another kind, and took up his pen again.

Time has in large measure proved the depth of Commynes' reflections and vindicated his name against the charges of false judgments, and of descriptions colored by personal feelings. He has left a remarkable series of pen pictures of the men of his day whom he had known personally or by reputation.

Primarily a political historian, his memoirs were used as a manual of statecraft in the following century, and through the medium of translations into Latin, Italian, English, German, Spanish, Portuguese, and Danish. Henry IV liked to read the work; Emperor Charles V called it his breviary, and Melanchthon listed it among the studies suitable for a prince. Skeptical of the abilities of princes, Commynes hoped that they might profit from the lessons he had drawn from history, and wrote:

It is a great advantage to princes to have read histories in their youth, in which may be seen in plenty the meetings, the great frauds, cheats and perjuries, which some of the ancients committed towards each other, taking and killing those who had put trust in their assurances. I do not say that all did so. . . .

I cannot help blaming ignorant princes. Almost all lords are surrounded by clerks and men of the long robe [judges] as is natural, and they are useful if they are good and very dangerous if they are bad. . . . Do not think that God has established the office of king or prince to be exercised by fools. . . .<sup>2</sup>

A precursor of Machiavelli, Commynes has been likened to the Italian. Both merely formulated the best of the dominant practices of their times, Machiavelli in a body of rules, Commynes in occasional reflections.

Commynes' name is linked to that of Montesquieu as well as that of Machiavelli. His years of active service and his native shrewdness made him as able as any man of his age to appreciate the "spirit of the laws" of foreign countries. The most interesting of his studies in comparative government are the pages dealing with the Venetian and the English governments. He makes a remarkable contrast between the French and English forms of government. He is surprised at the power of the English parliament and wonders if there is not too much despotism in France. Reflecting on the political evils of the time, he is impressed by conditions in England. "In my opinion," he says, "of all the countries in the world that I know, England is the one in which public interests are best treated, where there is least violence done the people and where no buildings are broken and destroyed in war, but the grief and loss falls on those who make war" (Bk. V, 19).

We find in Commynes neither the diplomat, nor the lettered savant who tried for literary effect, nor the pedant who endowed his characters with the virtues of the ancients. Forceful and vigorous, this Renaissance portrait painter was a master in describing what he had seen. Endowed with a native wit he gave color and clarity to the episode; he recounted an adventure, such as that of the Venetian embassy, so that

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, *Horae Sabbaticae: Reprints of Articles Contributed to 'The Saturday Review'* (London, 1892, 3 v.), I, 78-79; for the whole of his interesting article on Commynes see 55-123.

it lives. In his justly famed account of the last days of Louis XI the historian shows real artistry, in describing Louis' dread of death, his attempts to ward it off, and his final resignation when he realized that he had met at last an antagonist too formidable for him. We do not look in Commynes' pages for the chivalric heroes and the picturesque narration of Froissart. With the exception of two engagements, Montlhéry and Fornova, Commynes usually devotes only few lines to battles. The account of the battle of Fornova, probably the best writing in the history of the Italian campaign, differs entirely in tone from Froissart's accounts of battles. Drawing on his observation rather than his imagination, Commynes described encounters as he saw and judged them.

He was interested in the cultures of peoples as well as in their laws. In Italy he observed many things: the humanity of the Italian peasants, the width of the Grand Canal, the praiseworthy piety of the Venetians. Like Villehardouin before Constantinople, Commynes was astonished at the magnificence—the marbles, tapestries, and gilt—of the “most triumphant city” that he had ever seen. Like a connoisseur he appraised the sculptures and acquired a taste for the arts, which he showed in his library and architecture at home. The contrast between the English and French as races intrigued him. The French were more skilful in negotiating treaties so that the English complained that what they gained in battle they lost to the French in treaties. Noticing the faults of his countrymen, he defends them against the remark “that in their attacks they are more than men, but less than women in their retreats” (Bk. VIII, 13). He remarks very sensibly that any nation is less daring at the end of a campaign. In short, we find that Commynes' *Memoirs* “probably contain a larger amount of general and permanent interest than any other book of the fifteenth century.”<sup>3</sup>

Commynes is a transition figure in time and in spirit. He wrote at the time when the Valois kings had driven the invader from their country, triumphed over the last independent feudal principalities, and governed by means of institutions modern in general outline. His history concludes the series of mediæval chronicles and begins modern political history.

French in blood, but Flemish in birth-place, Robert Gaguin (1433–1501)<sup>4</sup> was born in Artois, and educated in a convent. He continued his studies at the University of Paris. The year 1471, which saw Gaguin at Rome, was a significant date in the history of culture. The preceding year Guillaume Fichet had been licensed to set up a printing shop. The

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 55.

<sup>4</sup> MOLINIER, V, no. 4668; Abel Lefranc, “La civilisation intellectuelle en France à l'époque de la Renaissance: Gaguin,” *RCC*, XIX, pt. i (1910–11), 393–401.

second work printed, the *Orthographia* of Gasparino Barzizza of Bergamo, was prefaced by a letter to Gaguin, praising his part in the French Renaissance, and containing the first French mention of the name of John Gutenberg as the inventor of printing.<sup>5</sup>

Appointed minister general of the Trinitarians in 1473, Gaguin divided his energy between protecting the interests of his order, attending general chapter meetings, teaching rhetoric, translating, and writing. In his treatise on Latin verse (*De arte metrificandi*, 1473) he developed some new theories and in his biographical verse on Alexander of Hales he left an epitaph worthy of the memory of the "irrefragable doctor." At the death of Jean Castel (1476), the historiographer of Louis XI, Gaguin first tried to realize his plan for a Latin history of France from the beginning to his own time. He chose Latin so that all peoples could find in this universal language a record of the glory of the French. Two years later, he renewed his plea, insisting that the merit of the king offered historical material and would not gain immortality unless recorded. Although he pleaded that royal support was necessary for this, he failed to gain the approval he desired.

Gaguin acted as envoy for Louis XI and Charles VIII several times. As a cleric whose habit would conceal his official character, he acted unofficially for Louis XI in trying to prevent the marriage of Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian of Austria, and to secure her hand for the Dauphin. A month's trip to Strassburg, Mainz, and Cologne was so fruitless that Gaguin remained in disgrace, until the death of the king in 1483. Under Charles VIII he acted as ambassador to the new pope, Innocent VIII, and was sent to Italy in 1486 to urge the rights of René of Anjou to Naples. Although his mission was unsuccessful, he was sent in 1489 to England as part of an embassy to attempt a treaty of peace and alliance with Henry VII.

In 1492 Gaguin was sent on a delicate mission to Germany to explain the king's action in marrying Anne of Brittany in 1491, while Maximilian was arranging his own betrothal to her. Charles' action had aroused much indignation in Germany, and although Gaguin was highly esteemed and lauded in verse by several Germans, the humanist Wimpheling sent him letters and verse virulent in their attack on France. Gaguin answered in a restrained tone, defending the king, and tried to calm Wimpheling in a personal interview, but the latter wrote still another diatribe.

The remainder of Gaguin's life was spent in the theological and literary controversies of his era. He became doctor at the University of Paris

<sup>5</sup> The letter is dated January 1, 1471. Because of his encouragement Gaguin deserves to rank with Fichet and Jean Heynlin in promoting the development of printing in Paris.

in 1480, and was named dean in 1483. As his health failed he gave up many of his duties and devoted himself to the writing, revising, and publishing of works of varied character until his death in 1501.

The most prominent French humanist of this period, Gaguin contributed to the history of ideas. For a study of humanism his letters are excellent. He himself had a collection of his letters and discourses published in 1498. A cultured man, he had made many acquaintances in his travels and numbered Erasmus among his correspondents.

Gaguin's principal work was the *Compendium de origine et gestis Francorum*. Failing in his attempt to persuade the king to commission him to write a Latin history of France, he had written the work independently between 1483 and 1495, the date of its first printing. His humanism, love for *belles lettres*, and classical Latin style, are apparent in this as in his various translations. Dissatisfied with the editions and aiming at a finished product, he had the history printed five times (1495, twice in 1497, twice in 1500-01), and revised it until the year of his death. The first edition brought into the world of letters the fame of another humanist, Erasmus, who wrote a commendatory letter to Gaguin. Used in the first edition to fill a blank page, in the second the letter appeared as a preface. In this letter, flattering as it is, the dominant traits of Gaguin's work are given in two phrases: "fides et eruditio," good faith and erudition.

The first part of the work, which extends from ancient Gaul to the year 1499 of the French monarchy, is an abridgment of the *Grandes Chroniques* to 1461. Gaguin discarded legendary material, such as the Charlemagne epic, and questioned the information on the origins of Gaul. Although he mentions the tradition that the Franks were descended from the Trojans, he adds phrases that show his doubt. Though he showed good judgment on the whole, however, he was not above the prejudices of his time, and could believe that Jews had crucified a boy in Paris in 1179. Well informed, widely travelled, and cultured, Gaguin observed the affairs of his time with interest and a certain detachment. A characteristic example is his comment that "it would be easier to reconcile a wolf and a lamb than an Englishman and a Frenchman," and that he had heard that the English children were given a bow and a figure of a Frenchman, and told: "Go, my child, learn to kill a Frenchman." Throughout his work he exhibited a live patriotism and a pride in French deeds and culture which gives his work a truly national character.

As his history approaches his own time it is especially interesting for the political and internal events of France. In a few lines he pictures the glee and optimism of the Parisians when wounded Burgundian



prisoners were brought to Paris after the battle of Montlhéry, or describes the consternation in Paris during the pest and the collapse of the bridge Notre-Dame (October 25, 1499). His value was recognized in the sixteenth century, when nineteen editions of the French translation appeared.

Claude de Seyssel (1450–1520)<sup>6</sup> was the author of a polemical history in defense of the policy of Louis XII, whom he dubbed the Father of the People. Seyssel's tendentious works, especially the *Great Monarchy of France* (1519), are important for their economic and political details. Another historian of the time of Louis XII was Jean d'Auton (1467–1528), author of a *Chronicle* extending from 1499 to 1508. More important are the *Mémoires* of Marshal Fleuranges, who participated in the Italian campaigns between 1506 and 1516. They were written in 1524–26 when Fleuranges was in prison, but not published until 1753. Although Fleuranges' chronology is faulty and there are errors of facts, some of his passages are important, especially those of which he was an eye-witness. An example of his style is the curious tale of the destruction of Michelangelo's statue of Julius II which was put up in Bologna to celebrate the recovery of the city by the Holy See; the Bolognese, however, with the aid of the French, revolted and got back their former rulers.

In the city of Boulone [Fleuranges relates, there stood] over the portal of the church, on high, a pope all in massive copper, which Pope Julius had caused to be made, which was as large as a giant, and could be seen from a great distance. The Bentivolles, having a spite at it, put ropes round its neck, and, by strength of men, pulled it down, and broke the neck of it. Then incontinent the Sieur de Bentivolle had it melted, made a double cannon of it, and in six days fired it at the castle.

Aside from the active participants in political events or professional scholars, other men also tried their hands at the writing of history but none has much originality or value. One may mention the Breton *Chronicles* of Bouchart (1524), the *Epitome* of Rozier (1528), and the *History* of Bourdigné (1529). The *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, extending from 1515 to 1536 and containing various proclamations and treaties, was neither a journal nor written by a bourgeois. The author, whose book has no chronological consistency but is rather a chaotic collection of facts, was probably a Paris churchman. The actual bourgeois point of view, however, is represented by Nicolas Versoris, an advocate at the parlement of Paris, in his *Le livre de raison*, covering the period from 1519 to 1530. Versoris was a royalist and Gallican Catholic and probably expresses the opinions of the middle classes. As for aristo-

<sup>6</sup> MOLINIER, V, nos. 5396 and 4671. See Ch. Dufayard, *De Claudi Seisselii vita et operibus* (Paris, 1892); A. Jacquet, "Le sentiment national au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle: Claude de Seyssel," *RQH*, LVII (1895), 400–40, esp. 421–27; M. de Seyssel-Cressieu, *La maison de Seyssel, ses origines, sa généalogie, son histoire* (Grenoble, 1900, 2 v.).

cratic and humanistic ideas, the most typical representatives are the three distinguished brothers Du Bellay<sup>7</sup>—Jean, Martin, and Guillaume. Jean (1492–1560) was a cardinal and diplomat, whose secretary was no less a person than the German historian Sleidan. He is remembered mainly as a poet. Martin du Bellay (d. 1559), soldier and administrator, was the author of *Mémoires* which have historical value for the period from 1513 to 1522. From the point of view of historiography, the most famous of the brothers was Guillaume (1491–1543), known as Sieur de Langey, a diplomat and soldier, who not only wrote his *Mémoires*, but also planned a Latin history of the reign of Francis I. While on his diplomatic missions, Guillaume du Bellay collected documents and worked on the composition of his *Octades*, which, in imitation of Livy's *Decades*, was to be arranged in groups of eight (rather than ten) books. He never finished his work, although three of the books were edited by his brother Martin and included in his own *Mémoires*. The preserved fraction of the *Octades* is written in imitation of the Italian humanists, with a tendency toward recording those events of which the author was a participant.

The writing of chronicles and histories underwent a revolutionary change with the deepening of the spirit of the age. The France of Francis I not only participated in the political events of the epoch, but internally the country was stirred by the moral and intellectual movement of the sixteenth century. There was an outburst of extraordinary mental activity; politics was laicized, diplomacy was organized, institutions were critically investigated, literature took on new and manifold forms. The ideas aroused by the revival of the classics inspired in Frenchmen a taste for literary beauty. The medieval Latin in which the new works were presented to the ever-widening reading public was polished and made elegant to conform to the classical models.

But Latin was no longer so familiar even to the élite as formerly and was alien to the vital stream of daily life. The French language, on the other hand, was not yet a proper vehicle for literary expression. The credit of making the French language a literary tongue belongs to Henri Estienne (1528–98),<sup>8</sup> who was a publisher, translator, and philologist.

<sup>7</sup> *Mémoires de Martin et Guillaume du Bellay*, ed. by V. L. Bourrilly and F. Vindry (Paris, 1908–19, 4 v.: Société de l'histoire de France, no. 104); *Ambassade en Angleterre de Jean du Bellay*, etc., ed. by V. L. Bourrilly and P. de Vaissière (Paris, 1905: Archives de l'histoire religieuse de la France, II).

<sup>8</sup> Léon J. Feugère, *Caractères et portraits littéraires du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (new ed., Paris, 1859, 2 v.), II, 1–204; A. Sayous, *Études littéraires sur les écrivains français de la Réformation* (2nd ed., Paris, 1881 and 1854, 2 v.), II, 68–138; PATTISON, I, 67–123; Basil L. Gildersleeve, *Quarterly Review of the Methodist Church, South*, new series, IX (1855), 1–21; A. A. Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Estiennes, ou Histoire de la famille des Estienne et de ses éditions* (2nd ed., Paris, 1843); Jean Pierre Nicéron, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres dans la République des lettres* (Paris, 1729–45, 43 v. in 44), XXXVI, 270–86.

After translating into Latin an *Anthologie grecque* and a *Thesaurus Graecæ linguae*, Estienne, a Protestant who hated Italianism, devoted his talent not only to attacking the use of Frenchified Italian words then in fashion but also to establish the French tongue. His *Deux dialogues de langage français italianisé* (1578) was a satire on the Italianizers, while his *La précellence du langage français* (1579) was a study of French philology. Estienne's work was monumental, although many of the Italian words which he attacked were retained by usage. French was permanently enriched by such expressions of Italian origin as *sécretaire d'état*, *négociateur*, *nonce*, *salve* (artillery), *fantassin*, *escadron*, *drapeau*, *créature* (of a great man). Aside from Latin and Italian, Greek also influenced the French tongue. One of the great translators from the Greek was Jacques Amyot (1513-93), bishop of Auxerre, who rendered Plutarch into "naïve, natural, graceful and vigorous French."<sup>9</sup> Another development favorable to the vernacular was the use of French as a court language. The result of all this activity was a multiplication of the printing presses, with Lyons becoming the most important book-producing center in Europe.

<sup>9</sup> Feugère (n. 8), I, 487-506; René Sturel, *Jacques Amyot, traducteur des Vies parallèles de Plutarque* (Paris, 1908); Joseph de Zangroniz, *Montaigne, Amyot et Sahat, étude sur les sources des essais* (Paris, 1906); Auguste de Blignières, *Essai sur Amyot et les traducteurs français au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1851); the article on "Amyot" in Bayle's *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (various editions); and QR, CX (1861), 460-62.

## CHAPTER XXX

### HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE GERMAN REFORMATION <sup>1</sup>

IN SPITE of the fact that Germany responded to the influence of the New Learning out of Italy, nevertheless, the spirit and method of Renaissance historical writing soon perished in Germany. Leopold von Ranke thought that medieval Germany passed immediately over into the epoch of the Reformation and there was no such thing as a distinct type of German humanism. He did not use the word "Renaiss-

<sup>1</sup> FUETER, Bks. II-III; Preserved Smith, *History of Modern Culture* (New York, 1930-34, 2 v.), I, ch. ix and bibliography on pp. 629-30; Mandell Creighton, *A History of the Papacy from the Great Schism to the Sack of Rome* (new ed., London and New York, 1907-14, 6 v.), VI, 1-29; P. S. Allen, *Age of Erasmus* (Oxford, 1914), 268-75; WEGELE; L. Häusser, *Deutschlands literarische und religiöse Verhältnisse im Reformations Zeitalter* (Frankfort a. M., 1868, 3 v.); Emil Menke-Glückert, *Die Geschichtsschreibung der Reformation und Gegenreformation* (Leipzig, 1912); Paul Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung und Geschichtsschreibung in Deutschland unter dem Einfluss des Humanismus* (Leipzig, pt. i, 1910; Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, VI), cp. *EHR*, XXVII (1912), 598-99; M. Töppen, *Geschichte der preussischen Historiographie* (Berlin, 1853); Georg v. Below, *Die Ursachen der Reformation* (Munich and Berlin, 1917); Ludwig Wachler, *Geschichte der historischen Forschung und Kunst seit der Wiederherstellung der literarischen Kultur in Europa* (Göttingen, 1812-20, 2 v. in 5); Ferdinand Christian Baur, *Die Epochen der kirchlichen Geschichtsschreibung* (Tübingen, 1852); PATTISON; Emil C. Scherer, *Geschichte und Kirchengeschichte an den deutschen Universitäten* (Freiburg i. Br., 1927); Ludwig Geiger, *Renaissance und Humanismus in Italien und Deutschland* (Berlin, 1882; in *Allgemeine Geschichte in Einzeldarstellungen*, ed. by Wilhelm Oncken), cp. the review in *HZ*, LI (1883), 526-33; Johannes Janssen, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Freiburg i. Br., 1878 ff., 8 v.: later editions by Ludwig Pastor, I-III in 18th, IV-VI in 16th, VII-VIII in the 14th, 1897-1903), also tr. from the German by M. A. Mitchell and A. M. Christie as *History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages* (London, 1896-1912, 16 v.); *Cambridge Modern History*, I (1909), 734-47, II, 690-718, 728-33, III, 736-69, 786-99; Henry O. Taylor, *Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1920, 2 v.); Gustav Wolf, *Quellenkunde der deutschen Reformationsgeschichte* (Gotha, 1915-23, 3 v.), I, 294-481; Georg v. Wyss, *Geschichte der Historiographie in der Schweiz* (Zürich, 1895); Friedrich v. Bezold, *Geschichte der deutschen Reformation* (Berlin, 1890; in *Allgemeine Geschichte in Einzeldarstellungen*, ed. by W. Oncken); Leopold v. Ranke, *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation* (first ed., Berlin, 1839-47; vols. I-VI of his *Sämmtliche Werke*; hist.-critical ed. by P. Joachimsen, Munich, 1925, 5 v.); Kurt Kaser, *Das Zeitalter der Reformation und Gegenreformation, 1517-1660* (Stuttgart, 1922); *Catalogue of the Historical Library of Andrew D. White* (Ithaca, Cornell Univ. Press, 1889-94, 2 v.); Ernst Schäfer, *Luther als Kirchenhistoriker. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Wissenschaft* (Gütersloh, 1897); Franz v. Krones, *Grundriss der oesterreichischen Geschichte* (Vienna, 1881-82, 4 v. in 1), 434-35, 462-66, 474-86, 492-97.

In addition to the above general works, see the separate articles in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, and the following: G. Ritter, "Die geschichtliche Bedeutung des deutschen Humanismus," *HZ*, CXXVII (1923), 393-453; Moriz Ritter, "Studien über die Entwicklung der Geschichtswissenschaft: das Zeitalter des Humanismus, der Reformation und Gegenreformation," *ibid.*, CIX (1912), 261-341; L. Geiger, "Neue Schriften zur Geschichte des Humanismus," *ibid.*, XXXIII (1875), 49-125; H. Baron, "Zur Frage des Ursprungs des deutschen Humanismus und seiner religiösen Reformbestrebungen," *ibid.*, CXXXII (1925), 413-46; E. Troeltsch, "Renaissance und Reformation," *ibid.*, CX (1913), 519-56; G. Pariset, "L Allemagne et la réforme jusqu'à la paix d'Augsbourg (1555)," *RSF*, III (1901), 308-30; anon., "Influence of the Reformation upon English Literature," *London Quarterly Review*, IV (1855),

sance" in either his *History of the Latin and Teutonic Nations* or his *History of the Popes*. Burckhardt also believed that this term had legitimate application only to Italy.<sup>2</sup>

In Italy the new light which broke from ancient literature was cultivated for its humanistic value; in Germany classical literature was cultivated for its educational value. It is characteristic that in Germany the study of classical literature was first pursued in the school at Deventer, the seat of that pietistic brotherhood known as the Brethren of the Common Lot, of which Thomas à Kempis was a distinguished figure. In Italy the classical revival made men indifferent to the Christian religion, or alienated them from the Church and even gave rise to infidelity. In Germany, on the other hand, the new studies took a religious direction. This change is evinced in Reuchlin's *Hebrew Grammar*, the first of its kind, and Erasmus' study of the *New Testament*. On either side of the Alps the tendency of the age was in a direction opposed to, if not hostile to, the authority of the Church. But there was an important difference in the mental attitude. In Italy it was negative, indifferent, or unbelieving; in Germany it was in a direction increasingly hostile to the authority of the Church and intensely believing. Luther's doctrine of justification by faith had its antecedent in German humanistic piety.<sup>3</sup>

On the eve of the Reformation there was a rapid intellectual growth in Germany. Schools were founded, classics were translated, grammars were compiled, and libraries were collected. Between 1456 and 1460 three universities—Greifswald, Freiburg, and Basel—were established. Ingolstadt and Trier were founded in 1472, Tübingen and Mainz in 1477, and Wittenberg in 1502. Four years later, Elector Joachim of Brandenburg founded a university at Frankfort-on-the-Oder for the study of Roman law.

Not all the German humanists were historians, but their thought was distinctly historical, for the revival of classical studies stimulated an interest in antiquity and the study of language and grammar. Manuscripts of the classics were diligently searched for in all the monasteries and, once discovered, required textual criticism and editing. The greatest of these critics was the Italian Lorenzo Valla (1406–57), whose work, especially his acute *De Donatione Constantini Magni*, which disproved the genuineness of the alleged Donation of Constantine to the

289–329; A. Katterfeld, "Beiträge zur Geschichtschreibung des Schmalkaldischen Krieges," *FDG*, XXI (1881), 355–80; Van Dyke, "Literary Activity of Maximilian," *AHR*, XI (1905–06), 16–28; Preserved Smith, "A Decade of Luther Study," *Harvard Theological Review*, XIV (1921), 107–35; and G. Krüger, "Literature on Church History, 1914–20. III: The Reformation and the Counter-Reformation," *ibid.*, XVII (1924), 1–49.

<sup>2</sup> Carl Neumann, "Ranke und Burckhardt," *HZ*, CL (1934), 485–96.

<sup>3</sup> On this transition see Creighton (start of n. 1), VI, 5–7.

Church, had far-reaching effects. Valla influenced not only Erasmus, but also men like Ulrich von Hutten and Reuchlin. Erasmus applied the critical method in his *Annotationes* on the Vulgate (1505); and Reuchlin (1455–1522), having pursued truth in France and in Italy, where he discovered Pico della Mirandola, devoted himself to the study of Greek and Hebrew, and in 1506 published a Hebrew grammar, *De rudimentis Hebraicis*. The Hebrew grammar confirmed the religious tendencies of German humanism and made the Scriptures in their original a court of appeal in religious matters; as a reward the Inquisition burned Reuchlin's books. The humanists, however, appreciated Reuchlin's work and, in revenge on the Catholic Schoolmen, collaborated in the *Epistolae obscurorum virorum* (1515). The book, suggested by Crotus Rubeanus (John Jäger), a young Erfurt professor, consisted of a series of fictitious epistles written by vagrant students and monks in dog-Latin and ridiculing their humanistic opponents. In 1517 Valla's *De Donatione* fell into the hands of Ulrich von Hutten,<sup>4</sup> who published it with an audacious dedication to the pope; and a copy was sent to Luther.

Connected with the humanists, although not historians, were the scientists. Gerhard Kremer, known as Mercator (1512–94), was commissioned by Emperor Charles V to manufacture a terrestrial and celestial globe. He became cosmographer to the duke of Jülich and Cleves and invented the Mercator system of projection; his chief works are *Tabulae geographicae* (1578–84) and *Atlas* (1595). Martin Waldseemüller, or Waltzeemüller, who preferred the Greek name Hylacomylus (1470–1514), a professor of geography at St. Dié, had the distinction of giving the name of *America* to the new continent. He was the author of *Cosmographie introductio*, published in 1507, and a collaborator in an edition of Ptolemy, issued at Strassburg in 1513. Georg Agricola, originally Landmann (1494–1555), was a physician, geologist,

<sup>4</sup> Ulrich von Hutten, a wandering poet who died in 1523, was another contributor to the *Epistolae obscurorum virorum*. His writings have been edited by Eduard Böcking, *Ulrichi Hutteni equitis Germani Opera quae reperiri potuerunt omnia* (Leipzig, 1859–61, 5 v., and 1864–69, 2 v. of supplement). See the *Cambridge Modern History*, II, ch. xix and bibliography; David F. Strauss, *Ulrich von Hutten* (4th ed., Bonn, 1878); Fritz Walser, "Die politische Entwicklung Ulrichs von Hutten während der Entscheidungsjahre der Reformation," *Beiheft XIV of the Historische Zeitschrift* (1928).

On the other humanists, see SANDYS, II, ch. xvi; M. Hermann, *Albrecht von Eyb und die Frühzeit des deutschen Humanismus* (Berlin, 1893), cp. the review in *ASI*, ser. 5, XIII (1894), 163–70; on Beatus Rhenanus see *Sitzungsberichte der k. Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Vienna), LXXI, 431, 643–90, 323–76, and LXXVIII, 313–40; Karl Hartfelder, "Der Historiker Hubertus Thomas Leodius," *FDG*, XXV (1885), 273–89; Wilhelm Wattenbach, *Peter Luder, der erste humanistische Lehrer in Heidelberg, Erfurt, Leipzig und Basel* (Carlsruhe, 1869); the same, "Sigismund Gossembrot als Vorkämpfer der Humanisten und seine Gegner," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Ober-Rheins*, XXV, 56–69; Ludwig Geiger, *Johann Reuchlin, sein Leben und seine Werke* (Leipzig, 1871); Franz v. Soden and I. K. Knaake, *Christoph Scheurl's Briefbuch, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Reformation und ihrer Zeit* (Potsdam, 1867–71, 2 v.); Karl Schottenloher, *Jakob Ziegler aus Landau an der Isar, ein Gelehrtenleben aus der Zeit des Humanismus und der Reformation* (Münster, 1910).

and mineralogist. His great work is *De re metallica* (Basel, 1546), which was rendered into English by Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Hoover; a German translation appeared at Freyberg in 1806-10. Agricola, who was the first to raise mineralogy to a science, also wrote *De ortu et causis subterraneorum*, *De animantibus subterraneorum*, and *De natura fossilium*.

Of the humanist historians John Trithemius (1462-1516) was the most encyclopaedic. A student of Greek and Hebrew, a friend of the Emperor Maximilian, Trithemius became abbot of Sponheim at the age of twenty-five. Apart from his numerous historical works, Trithemius also wrote some mystical and esoteric books, *De septem intelligentis libellus*, and *Steganographia*. His historical books include Chronicles of Hirsau and Sponheim, biographical works on church writers and German rulers, histories of the Franks, the Dukes of Bavaria, and the Counts Palatine of the Rhine. He seems to have used many lost sources, but his work was not critical, and he relied too much upon his fantasies. Theoretically, however, Trithemius had a high conception of the duties of historians. "The mouth that lies," he wrote, "kills the soul, and the author who mixes truth and falsehood brings to history confusion." "History," according to Trithemius, "brings home the past, teaches wisdom and, pointing to the deeds of the ancients, shows us always what to do and to allow. It strengthens faith, stimulates hope, and kindles the fire of love. It gives wisdom (*scientiam*) to the small and inflames the spirits of the weak to virtue."<sup>5</sup>

Unfortunately for him, Trithemius' execution as an historical writer fell far short of his intentions. "His historical writings reflect the same credulity in the selection of early sources, though on contemporary affairs he shows both caution and sound judgment. To him the value of history cannot be contested—*quaedam memoriae conservatrix, virtutisque exemplar et prudentiae comes*; and the two main canons which he lays down—strict adherence to truth and an attractive style—are altogether unexceptionable. But unfortunately he wrote in an age when history and fable had not been separated; and the earlier portions of each of his principal historical works . . . belong entirely to the realm of fancy. Certain it is that two of the chroniclers upon whose authority he laid special stress—Hunibald, the alleged contemporary of Clovis, and Megenfrid, described as a monk of the great Abbey of Fulda in the early eleventh century—contain a mass of puerile fables and are entirely unknown to modern research."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Quoted in WEGELE, 75.

<sup>6</sup> R. W. Seton-Watson, "The Abbot Trithemius," in *Tudor Studies Presented to Albert Frederic Pollard* . . . by His Colleagues and Pupils, ed. by Seton-Watson (London, 1924), 85 ff.

Contemporary with Trithemius was Albert Kranz, theologian and diplomat (1450–1517);<sup>7</sup> he was rector of the University of Rostock, professor of theology at Hamburg, and Hanseatic envoy to France and England. Although a pious Catholic, Kranz was not blind to the abuses of the Church. He was the author of histories of Lower Saxony, and of the Scandinavian and Slavonic peoples, which contain many fables; despite his lack of critical sense, Kranz insisted that truth was the first law of history.

A different type of historian was Sebastian Franck (ca. 1499–1542),<sup>8</sup> who wrote in a vigorous and idiomatic German style. Unlike most of his contemporaries, Franck displayed a remarkable tolerance. He was alienated by Lutheran dogmatism, believing that the true Church consisted of “all pious and good-hearted men in all the world, even among the heathen.” He was the author of a world history, *Chronicon* (1531), a *Weltbuch* (1534), and a *Sprichwörterammlung* (1541). The *Chronicon* covers the period from antiquity to the time of Charles V, and although it contains many credulous statements, is unique in the attention it pays to social conditions.

A distinguished group of scholars and historians centered around the person of Emperor Maximilian I, who was himself the author of a history of his own time and that of his father, Frederick III. One of Maximilian's protégés was Jacob Wimpheling,<sup>9</sup> who wrote the *Epitome rerum Germanicarum* (1505), an uncritical work which is important only because it was the first history of Germany based upon original sources. Wimpheling's aim was to write a purely patriotic history with excessive praises of the German emperors, especially the living Maximilian.

<sup>7</sup> Kranz was the author of *Saxonia; Metropolis seu historia de ecclesiis sub Carolo magno in Saxonia inslauratis, 780–1504; Vandalia; Chronica regnorum aquilonarium*. See POTTHAST, I, 700–01; J. M. Lappenberg, “Des Albert Kranz Biographien der Erzbischöfe Ansgar und Norbert,” *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte*, II, 637 ff.; C. Mönckeberg, “Der theologische Charakter des Albert Kranz,” *ibid.*, III (1851), 394–413; N. Wilke, *Leben des berühmten Doct. Alberti Crantzii* (2nd ed., Hamburg, 1729).

<sup>8</sup> On Franck see Karl Hagen, *Deutschlands literarische und religiöse Verhältnisse im Reformationszeitalter* (Erlangen, 1841–44, 3 v.); Hermann Bischof, *Sebastian Franck und die deutsche Geschichtschreibung* (Tübingen, 1857); Carl Hase, *Sebastian Franck von Wörd, der Schwarmgeist* (Leipzig, 1869). Friedrich Latendorf republished Franck's *Erste namenlose Spruchwörterammlung vom Jahre 1532* (Posneck, 1876). For a critical catalogue of literature on Franck see Birlinger in *Alemannia*, IV (1876), and Dahlmann-Waitz, *Quellenkunde der deutschen Geschichte* (9th ed. by H. Haering and others, Leipzig, 1931), no. 9364.

<sup>9</sup> On Wimpheling, see P. v. Wiskowatoff, *Jacob Wimpheling, sein Leben und seine Schriften. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Humanisten* (Berlin, 1867); O. Hense, “Jakob Wimpheling, eine Charakteristik,” *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte*, II (1872), 321–39; Ernst Bickel, *Wimpheling als Historiker* (Marburg, 1904); Charles Schmidt, *Histoire littéraire de l'Alsace* (Paris, 1879, 2 v.), I, 1–188, II, 317–40; G. Knod, “Zur Bibliographie Wimphelings,” *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, V (1888), 463 ff. A lost work of Wimpheling's is *De Arte impressoria*; J. Janssen was informed of this manuscript in Rome in 1864, but could not find it. See his *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes* (n.1 above), I, 11, n. 1, and the citations on pp. 9–11, 121, and *passim*.



A greater scholar than Wimpfeling was Conrad Celtis (1459–1508),<sup>10</sup> the poet-laureate whom Maximilian made professor of rhetoric and poetry at the University of Vienna. Celtis wrote little history; his contributions lay in the field of teaching, editing, and inspiring. In 1500 he issued Tacitus' *Germania*, first published at Bologna in 1473, and a year later he caused the publication of two important medieval sources, the dramatic works of Roswitha and the *Carmen de gestis Oddonis*; these were followed by an edition of Guntherus Ligurinus, which Celtis found in manuscript form in the Abbey of Ebrach; it was illustrated by Dürer. At the time he died, Celtis was planning a *Germania illustrata*, a comprehensive history of Germany which was to include genealogical and ethnographic studies.

Conrad Peutinger (1465–1547),<sup>11</sup> the historiographer of the city of Augsburg, was a friend of Celtis, who gave him a copy of a remarkable Roman road-map of the third century which he had discovered. This was the celebrated *Tabula Peutingeriana*,<sup>12</sup> which was not published until 1591.

Unlike most of his humanist contemporaries, Peutinger sympathized with the Reformation and was personally acquainted with Luther. His chief historical contribution was a work on inscriptions, *Romanae vetustatis fragmenta in Augusta Vindelicorum et eius dioecesi* (1521); and he was himself a collector of manuscripts and coins. Peutinger's history of ancient Germany, *Sermones conviviales de mirandis Germaniae antiquitatibus*, is of interest only because it points out that the left bank of the Rhine was Germanic before the time of Caesar. Like Celtis, Peutinger issued a series of medieval German sources and influenced Beatus Rhenanus to publish an edition of Procopius. Peutinger also discovered the manuscript of Diodorus of Sicily and the Byzantine *Chronicle* of Zonaras. As an historian Peutinger was interested in the German emperors, and the author of a work on the Babenberg Margrave Leopold the Pious and a *De Caesaribus et imperatoribus Romanorum* which begins with Julius Caesar and includes—and herein lies its originality—the Eastern Roman emperors; a German edition was published at Strassburg in 1541.

<sup>10</sup> On Celtis see Cl. Engelbert Klüpfel, *De vita et scriptis Conradi Celtis Protucci* (Freiburg, 1827, 2 v.); Joseph Aschbach, *Die früheren Wanderjahre des Conrad Celtis* (Vienna, 1869); F. v. Bezold, "Konrad Celtis, 'der deutsche Erzhumanist,'" *HZ*, XLIX (1883), 1–45, 193–228; Karl Hartfelder, "Konrad Celtis und der Heidelberger Humanistenkreis," *ibid.*, XLVII (1882), 15–36.

<sup>11</sup> On Peutinger see the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin, 1862–1936, 16 v. in 47), VI, pt. i, p. xlvii; J. G. Lotterus, *Historia vitae atque meritorum Conradi Peutingeri* (Augsburg, 1783); Herberger, "Konrad Peutinger und sein Verhältnis zu Kaiser Maximilian," *Jahresbericht des historischen Vereins von Schwaben und Neuburg für die Jahre 1849 und 1850* (Augsburg, 1851). His correspondence was edited by E. König (Munich, 1923).

<sup>12</sup> TEUFFEL, II, sec. 412, 6.

Two scholars whom Maximilian employed on diplomatic missions, Pirckheimer and Cuspinian, also contributed to contemporary historiography. Willibald Pirckheimer (1470–1530)<sup>13</sup> studied law at Pavia and was a friend of most of the humanists. His main historical work, *Bellum Suiense*, narrates the war against the Swiss in 1499, but relies chiefly on Etterlin's *Kronika*; the most important part of the *Bellum* is that section which deals with Pirckheimer's own experiences. More significant are Pirckheimer's translations from the Greek; he rendered into Latin seven books of Xenophon, Ptolemy's *Geography*, and the writings of Gregory of Nazianzen. Pirckheimer's friend, John Cuspinian (1473–1529),<sup>14</sup> was perhaps the ablest historian of Maximilian's circle. Cuspinian, whom the emperor loaded with gifts and honors, was curator of the University of Vienna, attorney for that city, and chairman of the imperial privy council. Like Celtis and Peutinger, Cuspinian too edited valuable sources. He issued Latin editions of the poet-geographer Dionysius of Alexandria; the works of the grammarians Priscianus and Rufus Anianus; the Roman history of Florus; the breviary of Sextus Rufus (published in 1553); Jordanes' *History of the Goths*, and Otto of Freising's great histories, the *Chronicon mundi*, and the *Res gestae Friderici (I) imperatoris*. "Among the new and recent chroniclers," Melanchthon wrote of one of his works, "Cuspinian has brought together so many wondrous deeds and events with so much usefulness and charm that I do not know whether anything more perfect and rich has appeared in our time. Therefore, dear reader, in all faithfulness I wish to recommend this *Cronicka* for others to read."<sup>15</sup>

The Reformation arrested and finally destroyed the humanist movement in Germany. As the conflict intensified, the thought and expression of the age became more and more theological and dogmatic; four-fifths of all the books published in German in the first years of the Reformation dealt with religious problems. Even the artists were drawn into the controversy; Dürer and Cranach, violent Lutherans, used their graphic art to ridicule the monks. There are some periods of history which have to be not rewritten, but *unwritten*, and perhaps of no period is this so true as of the Reformation. From its inception ignorance, traditional interpretation, and prejudice conspired to obscure and to mutilate the

<sup>13</sup> His writings were edited by M. Goldast, *Opera Willibaldi Pirckheimeri, politica, historica, philologica et epistolica* (Frankfort, 1610). See *Germaniae ex variis scriptoribus perbrevis explicatio* (Nuremberg, 1530); *Thesaurus Historiae Helveticae* (Zurich, 1735); O. Markwart, *W. Pirckheimer als Geschichtsschreiber* (Zurich, 1886); P. G. Drews, *Willibald Pirckheimer's Stellung zur Reformation* (Leipzig, 1887); for his autobiography see Dahlmann-Waitz (n. 8), no. 7840.

<sup>14</sup> His *Opera* were printed at Frankfort in 1601. See N. Gerbelius, "Vita Cuspiniani," in Cuspinian's *De Caesaribus atque imperatoribus Romanis* (Strassburg, 1540); Karl Haselbach, *Johannes Cuspinian als Staatsmann und Gelehrter* (Vienna, 1867).

<sup>15</sup> Quoted in WEGELE, *op. cit.*, p. 109 note.

facts. There is an enormous volume of contemporary historical writing which must be discounted or discarded.

Luther himself was no historian, but he impressed his personality and ideas upon the culture of the epoch, e.g., the Peasant Revolt (1525) which threatened to become a mass movement and destroy the privileges of the feudality and bourgeoisie. Luther found himself compelled to espouse the cause of the princes and to advocate the slaughter of the "murderous and plunderous hordes of peasants." "They should," Luther wrote of the unfortunate peasants, "be knocked to pieces, strangled and stabbed, secretly and openly, by everybody who can do it, just as one must kill a mad dog." The result was that the German Reformation became a reactionary movement, benefiting mainly the princes and thereby perpetuating German decentralization on the one hand and secular absolutism on the other. Fearing the masses, Luther was forced to construct a theory of the "religion of the state," which was to supersede that of the Church. The great reformer's conception of the absolute state paved the way for the idea of "divine right of kings," which took form in the seventeenth century as soon as the religious wars ended. A distinguished British scholar has pointed out that Luther "was sharply instrumental in destroying, not merely the fact, but even the principle of liberty, so far as individuals were concerned, throughout Germany."<sup>18</sup>

The historiography of the period accurately reflected the dominant ideas. Protestant history became the handmaiden of Protestant theology and Protestant politics. The *Chronicle* of John Carion (1499-1537) is a case in point. Carion's book was a history of the world from Adam to 1532, divided into seven world-cycles. Philip Melanchthon (1497-1560), the "teacher of all Germany," who contributed greatly to classical teaching in the sixteenth century, undertook to revise Carion's *Chronicle*, but instead of doing so, he literally rewrote it and made a new book. He reduced the seven cycles to three, each of two thousand years duration. He observed that during the first two thousand years, from the time of creation to Abraham, men lived without law; the second cycle, from Abraham to the birth of Jesus, was the reign of law; the last 1500 years was the cycle of the gospel (*Evangelium*). Melanchthon's authority for the first cycle was the Bible; for the second, heathen and classical writers; and for the third, the Christian fathers. Melanchthon furthermore avoided Carion's method of dividing history according to the subject-matter, and substituted smaller territorial units for the original description of the four world monarchies, Babylonian, Assyrian, Persian, and Roman.

<sup>18</sup> J. N. Figgis, *Studies of Political Thought from Gerson to Grotius, 1414-1625* (Cambridge, 1907), 75.

Melanchthon's revised book became a work of Lutheran propaganda. It set a precedent for sixteenth-century historical writing with a theological content and purpose. To Melanchthon, as well as to Luther, history was the work of God and its study a Christian duty. The hand of God was the guiding force in fashioning world events. In the period of fierce religious conflict there was room for no other history.<sup>17</sup>

The Reformation not only left its imprint upon the ideology of historiography but also contributed to the development of church and territorial history. Among the Lutheran writers of this type were David Chytraeus (1531–1600), a favorite pupil of Melanchthon and author of a *History of the Confession of Augsburg*; George Spalatin (1484–1545)<sup>18</sup> who wrote the *Annales Reformationis*; and, greatest of all Protestant historians, John Sleidan.

Sleidan, or Sleidanus (1506–56),<sup>19</sup> was a diplomat in French service, handling the diplomatic correspondence between France and the Schmalkaldic League; he distrusted the Catholic policy of Charles V and finally became a partisan of the Reformation. While carrying on his diplomatic work at Strassburg he found time to translate Froissart (1537) and the *Memoirs* of Commines (1545–48), as well as to copy all the documents concerning the Reformation period which passed through his hands.

In the summer of 1545 Sleidan began the composition of his celebrated work which he finished ten years later under the title, *Commentariorum de statu religionis et reipublicae, Carolo V caesare, libri XXVI*. This production was so remarkably impartial that it pleased no one.

<sup>17</sup> Reinhold Seeberg, *Die Stellung Melanchthons in der Geschichte der Kirche und der Wissenschaft* (Erlangen, 1897), an academic address in honor of the 400th birthday of its subject; K. Hartfelder, "Melanchthon als Praeceptor Germaniae," *Monumenta paedagogica Germaniae* VII (1889); R. Fester, "Sleidan, Sabinus, Melanchthon," *HZ*, LXXXIX (1902), 1–16. An English translation of Carion's *Chronicle* also appeared at London in 1550.

<sup>18</sup> On Spalatin see Eduard Engelhardt, *Georg Spalatin's Leben* (Leipzig und Dresden, 1863); A. Seelheim, *Georg Spalatin als sächsischer Historiograph* (Halle, 1876); Julius Wagner, *Georg Spalatin und die Reformation der Kirchen und Schulen zu Altenburg* (Altenburg, 1830). On Chytraeus, see Otto Krabbe, *David Chytraeus* (Rostock, 1870, 2 pts.).

<sup>19</sup> There is a large bibliography on Sleidan, cp. FUETER, 247 and Dahlmann-Waitz (n. 8), nos. 9876 and 10001. See F. W. Kampschulte, "Ueber Johannes Sleidanus als Geschichtschreiber der Reformation," *FDG*, IV (1864), 57–69; Hermann Baumgarten, *Ueber Sleidans Leben und Briefwechsel* (Strassburg, 1878); the same edited *Joh. Sleidans Briefwechsel* (Strassburg, 1881); P. Weltz, *Étude sur Sleidan, historien de la réforme* (Strassburg, 1862); Adolf Hasenclever, *Sleidan-Studien: die Entwicklung der politischen Ideen Joh. Sleidans bis zum Jahre 1545* (Bonn, 1905); Menke-Gluckert, *Die Geschichtschreibung der Reformation* (n. 1), ch. iv; and three articles by J. Rathgeber, G. Bourgeois, and V. L. Bourilly respectively in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français*, XXII (1873), 337–51, XXIX (1880), 85–88, and L (1901), 225–42. Sleidan's famous *Commentarii de statu religionis et reipublicae Carolo V caesare* [1517–55] was first printed at Strassburg in 1555; best modern ed. by J. G. Böhme (Frankfurt, 1785–86, 3 v.); German translation by F. A. Stroth, ed. by J. S. Semler (Halle, 1771–73, 4 v.). An English translation of the *Commentaries* by John Daws appeared in 1560, and another one by G. Bohun in 1689. A French translation appeared at Geneva in 1557, and another one at Lyons in 1599; still another French edition came out at the Hague in 1767.

It was a great contemporary history, containing a voluminous collection of original documents, and was soon translated into French and English. Although Sleidan had no sense of portraiture and little consistency, his work gained its vigor from the author's realization that he was depicting a stirring age: *Maxima sunt igitur atque summa quae nostra haec vidit memoria.*

The *Commentaries* cover the period from 1517 to 1555 and are divided into twenty-six books. Sleidan's work is factual, discursive, digressive, recording minor and out-of-the-way incidents such as the overflowing of the Tiber River, and is devoid of interpretation. Nevertheless Sleidan had a magnificent conception in his plan to write a history of an empire; he fully recognized the importance of political forces and, true humanist that he was, he did not permit his religious views to color his outlook. Although a Lutheran, he was sufficiently detached to record non-Protestant events. His work, therefore, is neither theological sermonizing nor political propaganda. He attempted to list all that happened in the reign of Charles V, making the *Commentaries* the most important single source of the Reformation era.

Catholic writers in Germany for a long time avoided touching the question of the history of Christianity and the medieval Church, and confined their controversy to issues of theology and attacks upon the personality and morals of Luther. Like other and previous movements of religious reform, German Protestantism was an attempt to restore primitive Christianity and to get back to the "Jesus of history." Protestantism claimed that the Roman Church, instead of being a simple, spiritual organization, as in the apostolic age, in process of time had become a corrupted, degraded, perverted institution, having built up its authority on falsified history and "tradition" without semblance of truth to sustain it. The Roman Church was slow to take alarm. Yet the historical method was a most dangerous form of attack. Lorenzo Valla had proved the alleged Donation of Constantine to be a forgery, and even the papacy admitted it to be such. What might not be done with other historical documents on which the Church rested its authority? In the hands of Protestant historians history became a missile. The effect was to found a new type of history—Ecclesiastical History—to institute a new historical method, and to give a new and powerful impulse to the study of history.

For this attack upon the historicity of the Roman Church, the Lutherans found their scholar in the person of Matthias Flacius, an Istrian whose surname was Illyricus (1520–75). Flacius had studied in Italy and in Germany. In Wittenberg he met Martin Luther, under whose influence he became a Protestant and finally professor of Old

Testament literature at the University of Wittenberg, where he had theological squabbles with Melancthon and was compelled to leave. He lived at Magdeburg, Jena, Regensburg, and Frankfort (where he died), always quarrelling about dogma and alienating friends and supporters.

Flacius did his great work at Jena. In collaboration with six colleagues he composed the monumental *Magdeburg Centuries*, which became a landmark in European historiography and culture. Aleman and Copus managed the finances, while Wagner travelled through Denmark, Scotland, Austria, and Bavaria in search of books and manuscripts. Many nobles and dignitaries, such as Councillor Niedbrück, curator of the Royal Library at Vienna, aided the project with financial and other contributions. It was first conceived in 1553 and lasted for over twenty years, until the death of Flacius.<sup>20</sup>

The *Centuriae Magdeburgenses* is divided into thirteen volumes, the first of which was published in 1559 and the last in 1574, one year before Flacius' death. The work, written by centuries—whence its name—does not extend beyond the thirteenth century. The stress is wholly upon church history; the work was a denial of the Italian humanists' thesis that world movements proceed from human sources. The doctrine of the *Centuries* is purely theological, conceiving secular world history as a struggle between God and the Devil. Not man, but God, is the prime mover in history; world events are the result of divine and not human action. History, therefore, is the record of God's will.

The *Centuries* had a blighting effect upon historiography, especially in Germany, where the princes found it to their interest to adopt its political outlook. Like Luther, Flacius took the side of the princes in their secularization of Church property and in the materialization of the Lutheran Church, practices which the Lutherans were so quick to condemn in the Roman Church. From the point of view of critical scholarship the *Centuries* were harmful, for they replaced historical research by apologetic literature in favor of the local Protestantism of the territorial princes. Even technically the *Centuries* were a retrogression upon the humanist annals, substituting, as they did, a mechanical and chronological method—each cycle being confined to the rigorous and meaningless limits of a century—for the progressive and organic development of a subject.

Although the *Centuries* contain a mine of data, the whole work is uncritical, the facts are undigested, and some matters are pure fic-

<sup>20</sup> On Flacius Illyricus and the *Magdeburg Centuries* see FUETER, 309-14; Wilhelm Preger, *Matthias Flacius Illyricus und seine Zeit* (Erlangen, 1859-61, 2 v.); P. Polman, "Flacius Illyricus," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, XXVII (1931), 27-73; Ernst Schaumkell, *Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Magdeburger Centurien* (Ludwigslust, 1898).

tion, e.g., Pope Joan. There is a subjective bias throughout; the pope is always anti-Christ and the Catholic Church, being dominated by the pontiff, is the empire of anti-Christ. The *Centuries* sharply attacked the authenticity of those documents upon which the Church based its origins, and herein perhaps lies the importance of this monumental Protestant work; for, despite all weaknesses, the *Centuries* constituted a tremendous challenge to the historic basis of the Roman Church and made both Protestants and Catholics historically-minded. The very method of attack—the use of history to destroy an ancient historical institution—was a stimulus to the study and development of historical research, for the Catholics could not permit the onslaught to go unchallenged and were compelled to turn to history and find ammunition for a counter-offensive. This was done by Cardinal Baronius in his equally erudite, and equally partisan, *Annales Ecclesiastici* (1588–1607), which like their Protestant prototype were divided by centuries.<sup>21</sup>

At this point, however, before continuing with the influence and importance of the Counter-Reformation upon historical studies, one must first observe the awakening of interest in the history of the Middle Ages in general as a result of the new interest in the history of the Church in particular. A swarm of medieval annals and chronicles began to appear from the German presses. In 1532 the earliest collection of *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, printed from good manuscripts, was published at Basel. It included Einhard, Widukind, Liutprand of Cremona, the *Vita Henrici IV*, the *Chronicle of Mainz* (1142–1251), Aeneas Sylvius' *History of Bohemia*, and Wimpfeling's *Epitome*. In 1566 a similar collection: *Germanicarum rerum celebriores vetustioresque quatuor chronographi*, was published at Frankfort. Among these "old and celebrated" writers were Turpin's *Chronicle* of Charlemagne and Roland, Regino of Prüm's *Chronicon*, and Sigebert of Gembloux' *Chronographia*. Lambert of Hersfeld's *Annales* was included, but it had already been printed in 1525. In 1574 Simon Schardius published a collection of works by German historians in four volumes, beginning with Trithemius and Wimpfeling. The set is a valuable one for German history in the reign of Charles V, as it marks the progress and one of the aims of historical study in Germany. The introduction has an account of the manner in which the editor thought that historical works ought to be edited. In 1584 Reuber printed at Frankfort (new edition by G. C. Joannis, 1726) in a single tome another collection of medieval German historians, including Einhard, the Frankish annals, Liutprand of Cremona, and Robert the Monk's *History of the First Crusade*. The same year saw an edition of Widukind, Thietmar of Merseburg, Helmold's *Chronicon Sla-*

<sup>21</sup> On Baronius and the historiography of the Counter-Reformation, see the next chapter.

*vorum*, Arnold of Lübeck, and others by Reiner Reineccius, who has the merit of having been the first German historical scholar who in his own writings carefully cited the sources from which he drew his information. In 1609, on the eve of the Thirty Years' War, another tome appeared, notable for its inclusion of the principal sources for the relations between the Germans and the Slavs in the Middle Ages. It contained the *Gesta* of the bishops of Hamburg by Adam of Bremen, and Hel mold's *Chronicon Slavorum*.<sup>22</sup>

It goes without saying that in these tumultuous years of German history minor historical works made their appearance, which are not without value. Heinrich Hugo's *Villinger Chronik von 1495-1533* (ed. Christ. Roder, 1883) is a primary source of the history of the Peasants' War. Another chronicler of the Peasants' War, farther south in the Tyrol, was Georg Kirchmeier. He was a local justice at Kloster Neustift near Bozen. He was a sensible and honest man of affairs, who felt the need of reform in many quarters. The work is really an autobiography from 1529 to 1553. Heinrich Gresbeck, who first allied himself with the Anabaptists of Münster and later betrayed them, wrote up the history of this violent incident vividly and shamelessly. The memoirs of Sebastian Schärtlin are recollections of a soldier of fortune related in a straightforward way, unlike the braggadocio and worthless reminiscences of Götz von Berlichingen whom Goethe made famous. A better example of the German soldier of the period is the recollections of a Silesian Junker named Hans von Schweinichen, a work which also interested Goethe. It is an incomparable series of anecdotes, personal experiences, and pen portraits. Hans was not an educated writer but he knew how to tell a tale. The finest memoirs of Germany in the epoch of the Reformation are those of Bartholomew Sastrow, who died when mayor of Stralsund in 1603. They were written in his old age for his grandchildren, but he remembered having met the Emperor Charles V. An authentic account of the Turkish War in 1529-30, following the relief of Vienna, is Melchior Soiter's *De bello pannonico* (Augsburg, 1538). He took part in the war. The second part is a military treatise, and the third a systematic account of the military system and resources of the Turks.

When the Reformation movement extended over the boundaries of Germany it stimulated an interest in history in Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary. In Poland Martin Kromer (1512-89) wrote an excellent *History of Poland* in the vernacular. Soon after the Polish language was displaced by Latin through the influence of the Jesuits. In Hun-

<sup>22</sup> For a valuable account of these—and other similar editions—see A. Asher, *A Bibliographical Essay on the Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum* (London and Berlin, 1843), a rare book.



gary a Lutheran pastor, named Kasper Heltae (1520–75), a descendant of the ancient Saxon settlers in Transylvania, translated the Bible into Hungarian and wrote a *History of Hungary* down to the battle of Mohacs in 1526.

The Reformation took deeper roots in Bohemia than in the other non-German lands, mainly because of the Hussite tradition. The first Bohemian historian to write a history of his own time, and not merely a chronicle, was a silk merchant named Bartos or Bartoch. An advocate of the ideas of Luther and the Bohemian Brethren, Bartos was driven from Prague, but he returned in 1529 and spent the rest of his life in writing a *History of Prague* from 1524 to 1530 in the Bohemian language. The book was not published until 1851, although fragments of Bartos' work were included in Pontanus' *Bohemia Pia* (Frankfort, 1608). The Utraquist Hajek of Liboczane (d. 1553) compiled an uncritical *Chronicle of Bohemia*, published at Prague in 1541. The book, based upon archive material, had a long-lived success. In the course of a century and a half Hajek's work saw three German and one Latin editions (Prague, 1596; Nuremberg, 1697; Leipzig, 1718; the Latin edition was published by Dobner at Prague in six volumes, 1764–86, and reprinted in 1819). Hajek, who died in 1553, influenced his contemporary John Skala, known as Dubravsky or Dubravius, who was Bishop of Olmütz. In 1550 he published *Historiae Regni Bohemiae* in thirty-three books, extending to the reign of Ferdinand I.

The "New History" born of the German Reformation also spread among the northern nations. In Denmark, ever since Saxo Grammaticus four hundred years before, historical writing had slumbered until Christian Pedersen (1480–1554) brought the chronicle of Saxo up to date, edited it, and published it for the first time, in 1514.<sup>23</sup> The only important original historical production in Denmark in the sixteenth century was the *Skibby Chronicle*, attributed to Paul Helgeson (ca. 1480–1540), a liberal Catholic and humanist and admirer of Erasmus who was compelled to flee the country in 1534 when Denmark became fiercely Lutheran. The manuscript of the *Skibby Chronicle* was found after his flight. In 1553 King Frederick established the office of royal historiographer, but the post fell to uncritical and pious antiquarians.

Literary conditions in Sweden were no better. The Renaissance made hardly a perceptible impression, and the Reformation failed to awaken the Swedish imagination. Olaus Petri (1497–1552), a Carmelite monk, was a student at Wittenberg in 1516 and introduced Lutheranism into Sweden, and amid many labors found time to write a *Chronicle* which is the earliest prose history of Sweden. Olaus Magnus (1490–

<sup>23</sup> It was translated into modern Danish by A. S. Vedel in 1575; cp. POTTHAST, II, 1000.

1558), bishop of Upsala, was the only Catholic historical writer. His *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* has some value for the light it casts upon social institutions. When compelled to leave the country the author carried his manuscript away with him to Rome, where it was printed in 1555. It was many years before critical historical study took root in Sweden. In the seventeenth century Sweden developed a severe case of megalomania owing to the achievements of Gustavus Adolphus. Olaf Rudbeck (1630-1702), learned in medicine, anatomy, botany, mathematics, physics, and music, also tried to write history. He was convinced that ancient Sweden was the Atlantis of Plato. His *Atlantica*, or a history of Sweden in antiquity, in four volumes, extends only to the time of Abraham. Sweden had once been Paradise, Japhet after the Flood resettled it and founded the Gothic kingdom in Sweden. In the same class with *Atlantica* was Bang's *Church History* (1575), in which it was solemnly stated that Adam was the first bishop of Kalstad.

## CHAPTER XXXI

### THE INFLUENCE OF THE COUNTER-REFORMATION ON HISTORICAL STUDIES <sup>1</sup>

GERMAN Protestant historical scholarship, notably the Magdeburg Centuriators, had attacked the historical claims of the Church and sought to undermine its most cherished tradition, the doctrine of the Petrine Supremacy. As a part of the Church's program of Catholic Restoration inaugurated at the Council of Trent (1542-63) Rome resolved to answer history with history.<sup>2</sup> Since the

<sup>1</sup> The periodization of history always stresses a particular concept. The term "Renaissance" is descriptive of the classical revival. "Reformation" was a concept of German Protestantism, in whose eyes the Church required reformation. "Counter-Reformation" is a Protestant appellation for what is known to Catholics as the "Catholic Restoration." The term Counter-Reformation was first used by the German historian Leopold von Ranke, who in 1843 wrote in his *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation*: "Auf das Zeitalter der Reformation folgte das der Gegenreformation." Historians were slow to adopt the phrase. It was first employed by Ranke's pupil von Sybel, and then by Sybel's pupil Maurenbrecher. An alternative term to the Protestant "Counter-Reformation" is "Catholic Reaction." See A. Elkan, "Entstehung und Entwicklung des Begriffs 'Gegenreformation,'" *HZ*, CXII (1914), 473-93.

For reading see FUETER, 326-29, 337-42, 345-50, 356-57; WEGELE, a valuable and standard work; Preserved Smith, *History of Modern Culture* (New York, 1930-34, 2 v.), I, chs. ix and xii; A. R. Pennington, *The Counter-Reformation in Europe* (London, 1899); A. W. Ward, *The Counter-Reformation* (London, 1899, and reprints: Epochs of Church History); Martin Philippon, *The Age of the Reformation* (Philadelphia and New York, 1905: *A History of All Nations*, ed. by J. H. Wright, vol. XI); SYMONDS, VI-VII. "The Catholic Reaction"; E. Rodocanachi, *La réforme en Italie* (Paris, 1920-21, 2 v.); Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, tr. from the German by F. I. Antrobus and R. F. Kerr (St. Louis, 1898-1928, 16 v.), vol. X, ch. 12 on through vol. XVI; Augustin and Alois de Backer, *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus* (1869-76, 3 v.; 2nd ed. by C. Sommervogel, Brussels and Paris, 1890-1909, 10 v.); Emil Menke-Glückert, *Die Geschichtsschreibung der Reformation und Gegenreformation* (Leipzig, 1912); Louis Ellies Dupin, *Histoire de l'Église et des auteurs du seizième siècle* (Paris, 1701-03, 5 v.), and *Bibliothèque des auteurs ecclésiastiques du dix-septième siècle* (Paris, 1708, 7 v.); P. Polman, *L'Élément historique dans la controverse religieuse du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Louvain, 1932); cp. a review in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, XXIX (1933), 457-59; W. T. M. Gamble, *The Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Its Inheritance in Source-Valuation and Criticism* (Washington, D. C., 1927: Catholic Univ. of America, Studies in Medieval History, I); Count Lützw, *Lectures on the Historians of Bohemia* (London, 1905); Frantisek Palacky, *Würdigung der alten böhmischen Geschichtsschreiber* (Prague, 1830). Of periodical literature, see Gabriel Monod, "La Réforme catholique," *RH*, CXXI (1916), 281-315; Paul Frédéricq, "Les récents historiens catholiques de l'inquisition en France," *ibid.*, CIX (1912), 307-34; anon., "Historians of the Council of Trent," *DR*, XXXIII (1852), 184-219; Moriz Ritter, "Studien über die Entwicklung der Geschichtswissenschaft: Das Zeitalter des Humanismus, der Reformation und Gegenreformation," *HZ*, CIX (1912), 261-341; and B. Erdmannsdörffer, "Zur Geschichte und Geschichtsschreibung des dreissigjährigen Krieges," *ibid.*, XIV (1865), 1-44.

<sup>2</sup> "C'est dans l'emploi de la critique historique que les catholiques cherchent le moyen de convaincre le protestantisme de n'être pas resté fidèle à la doctrine chrétienne. . . . De leur côté, les protestants recourent à la même tactique pour combattre ce reproche; d'autre part, ils fouillent les origines et les différentes époques de l'histoire de l'Église, pour montrer à cette

Reformation was essentially an appeal to history—trying to prove that the Church had degenerated from its pristine purity<sup>3</sup>—the Counter-Reformation was forced to take up the same instrument to prove the contrary. Hence the whole era of religious conflicts is one of incalculable significance for the development of historical scholarship. The man chosen by Rome to challenge the historicity of the *Centuries*, and to refute the Lutheran heretics, was Caesar Baronius (1538–1605),<sup>4</sup> a Neapolitan of noble birth. A student of theology and jurisprudence, Baronius went to Rome at the age of nineteen and there became one of the first disciples of St. Philip Neri, the founder of the Oratory. Two years later Baronius became a teacher in Neri's Congregation, lecturing, until he died at the age of sixty-nine, on ecclesiastical history. These lectures, for which Baronius prepared by working at all hours of the day and far into the night, became the basis of his famous *Annales Ecclesiastici*, the answer to the *Magdeburg Centuries*.

While the Centuriators worked with a staff of ten people, Baronius (who was made a cardinal for his services and once came within a few votes of being elected pope) never employed an amanuensis, making all notes and extracts in his own hand—an amazing feat, considering the mass of material contained in the *Annals*. But Baronius had one advantage over the Magdeburg compilers; unlike the Lutherans, the cardinal had access to the rich Italian libraries and to the priceless Vatican archives.

The first volume of the *Annals*, issued at Rome from the Vatican press in 1588 (an ill-fated year in Catholic history) had an immediate success. "The book was translated, commented, supplemented, continued till, not its faults, but its very completeness, arrested its circulation."<sup>5</sup> Baronius, though he began his studies at twenty-one, did not begin to print until he was forty-nine; by the time of his death at sixty-nine he was writing the thirteenth volume. All the twelve huge volumes had a success "little short of supernatural." Edition after edition was taken by all the monasteries, cathedral chapters, Jesuit

Église catholique qu'elle aussi elle est d'hier, qu'elle n'a plus rien de commun avec l'Église du Christ et des apôtres." Quoted from Gustave Lanson, "La critique historique au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *RCC*, XVIII, pt. ii (1910), 242, the whole article, 241–50.

<sup>3</sup> "The discovery had been made that the Church, as it existed, was an institution which no longer corresponded to its original; that it was a corrupted, degraded, perverted institution. . . . This thesis was worked out by the 'Magdeburg Centuries.' In this Protestant delineation, the Church starts in the apostolic age in perfect purity and is perverted." Mark Pattison, *Isaac Casaubon, 1559–1614* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1892), 322.

<sup>4</sup> On Baronius see GUILDAY, 153–89, with bibliography; Alfonso Capececiatello, *The Life of St. Philip Neri* (London, 1926), II, 1–31; Pattison (n. 3), 323–41; and FUETER, 327–29.

<sup>5</sup> Pattison (n. 3), 325. The *Annales* were continued down to 1565 by Raynaldus and Bozovius, who added 9 volumes (1546–77); Laderchi continued the work, adding 3 volumes to 1571 (1728–77). Mansi published the complete edition in 38 volumes (Lucca, 1738–59). One and a half centuries later Theiner continued the series to 1590 (Rome, 1886 ff.). The best text is the Antwerp edition of 1610.

colleges, princes and prelates throughout the Catholic world. It seemed as if the Protestants would be smothered in a mass of books.

The *Annals* were of course a direct answer to the *Centuries*. With great patience and detail Baronius took up every point made by the Centuriators and tried to refute it. The work begins with the birth of Christ and ends with the year 1198, that is, one volume is devoted to each century. In a dry, schematic manner, Baronius, subordinating everything to chronology and not emphasizing theological problems, lists the years and names of the popes and emperors, basing it all on an overwhelming array of historical data. "The unsupported theory of the Protestant history is refuted by the mere weight of facts." His chief thesis is that the Church, far from having degenerated, as the Protestants insisted, had actually remained pure. "Baronius exhibited the visible unity and impeccable purity of the church founded upon Peter, and handed down inviolate, such at this day as it had ever been."<sup>6</sup>

Baronius was not an historian, but a compiler. His work has no charm, no style, no form; it is an ecclesiastical encyclopedia. "Utterly devoid of all attempt at form," says Ranke, ". . . without a trace of elegance even in the detached phrases."<sup>7</sup> Another impartial critic was moved to irony by the contemplation of the works of both the Centuriators and Baronius.

An ecclesiastical historian [wrote Le Clerc] ought to adhere inviolably to this maxim, that whatever can be favorable to heretics is false, and whatever can be said against them is true; while, on the other hand, all that does honor to the orthodox is unquestionable, and everything that can do them discredit is surely a lie. He must suppress, too, with care, or at least extenuate as far as possible, the errors and vices of those whom the orthodox are accustomed to respect, whether they know anything about them or no; and must exaggerate, on the contrary, the mistakes and faults of the heterodox to the utmost of his power. He must remember that any orthodox writer is a competent witness against a heretic, and is to be trusted implicitly on his word; while a heretic is never to be believed against the orthodox, and has honor enough done him in allowing him to speak against his own side, or in favor of our own. It is thus that the Centuriators of Magdeburg, and thus that Cardinal Baronius have written; each of their works having by this means acquired an immortal glory with its own party. But it must be owned that they are not the earliest, and that they have only imitated most of the predecessors in this plan of writing. For many ages, men had only sought in ecclesiastical antiquity, not what was really to be found there, but what they conceived ought to be there for the good of their own party.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Pattison (n. 3), 325. In the preface Baronius says that his purpose is: "Catholicae ecclesiae visibilem monarchiam a Christo domino institutam, super Petrum fundatam, ac per ejus legitimos verosque successores, Romanos nimirum pontifices, inviolate conservatam . . . per singula tempora demonstrare" (*ibid.*, 326 note).

<sup>7</sup> *History of the Popes of Rome during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, tr. by Sarah Austin (Philadelphia, 1841, 2 v.), I, 288-89.

<sup>8</sup> Jean le Clerc, *Parrhasiana* (London, 1700), I, 168; cp. Henry Hallam, *Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries* (4th ed., New York, 1880, 4 v. in 2; and later reprints), II, pt. ii, ch. 2.

Baronius' work put the Protestants on the defensive, as the Centuriators had put the Catholics on the defensive earlier. So imposing appeared the huge tomes of the Roman cardinal that for a time no one dared to question their authority; it looked as if the positions of the two religious groups were now reversed and Protestant scholarship had been eclipsed by Catholic erudition. All that the Reformed camp could do, for the moment at least, was to call Baronius "a great deceiver."

But the battle of the books could not stop there. If the Protestants were to maintain their intellectual position, it was necessary for them to make a reply—and an effective one—to Baronius' *Annals*. The man finally chosen to "review" Baronius was Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614),<sup>9</sup> a Swiss Calvinist of French descent, who was professor of philology at Geneva, Montpellier, and Paris. Casaubon, the son-in-law of the famous printer Henri Estienne, lived the life of a typical scholar: he suffered poverty, worked hard, and was the father of eighteen children. Overburdened with a heavy teaching load on wretched pay, Casaubon went to Paris, where for ten years the tolerant Henry IV supported him fitfully. At the assassination of Henry IV, the Protestant scholar moved to England, where James I gave him a pension of £300.

Now Casaubon was free from financial worries and could indulge in his long-cherished desire to destroy the "credit of the Catholic historian." He was, from the point of view of pure scholarship, the right man for the task, being undoubtedly the foremost Greek scholar of his time and a philologist of extraordinary acuteness. As far back as 1598 the mild-mannered Casaubon had read Baronius' first volume and had been, at first glance, so impressed by its obvious erudition that he wrote the author a letter of admiration. Baronius, believing that the Calvinist scholar was making tentative overtures to Rome, sent him his eighth volume, adding that "He rejoiced to find him knocking at the gate of the Church, for no less could he understand by his commending the work of an orthodox man." Later Pope Clement VIII sent word to Casaubon that he might have a pension of 1300 crowns "if he chose to go to Rome for it."

But as the volumes of the cardinal continued to pour from the Vatican press, and as Casaubon had leisure to examine them, he became

<sup>9</sup> The best account of Casaubon in any language is the biography by Mark Pattison (n. 3 above), cp. the reviews in *ER*, CXLIII (1876), 189–222, and *BQR*, LXII (1875), 487–522; L. J. Nazelle, *Isaac Casaubon, sa vie et son temps, 1559–1614* (Paris, 1897). Casaubon's chief contribution to scholarship was the editing of a number of classics, including Strabo (1587), Notes on the Four Gospels and Acts of the Apostles (1587), Dionysius Halicarnassus (1588), Aristotle (1590), Epistles of Pliny, Seneca, etc. (1591), Theophrastus (1592), and Apuleius' *Apologia* (1594). His own intimate and revealing diary, the *Ephemerides*, was edited and published by John Russell (Oxford, 1851, 2 v.).

shocked, with a true scholar's sense of outrage, at Baronius' chronological errors, mistranslations, and total ignorance of Greek! Casaubon found it incredible that a cardinal of the Church of Rome, who was writing *the* authoritative history of its earliest days, should be totally ignorant of Greek, the language of the Gospels and the early Church Fathers, not to mention Hebrew, another language foreign to the pious soul of the cardinal. At first Casaubon thought that Baronius was a deliberate liar; he simply could not believe that a man of the cardinal's position and reputation should not have known better. He communicated his suspicions to Paolo Sarpi, the doughty Venetian enemy of the papacy; but Sarpi, though no admirer of the cardinal's scholarship, vindicated his character, telling Casaubon that Baronius was really an honest man but an ignorant one. "Those who know the man," the formidable Venetian friar informed his friend, "will not easily be persuaded to think him dishonest. It is want of mind, of critical knowledge. I knew him at Rome, before he put himself in the road to preferment, or had got the itch of writing, at the time when the cure of souls was his only business. I never knew a more simple being. He had no opinions of his own; he caught up the opinions of those he lived with, and obstinately maintained them till some new person supplied him with a new one. He was without judgment, if you please; but *dolus malus* [evil fraud] there was none about the man. I cannot think that he is an antagonist worthy of you; and it has always been matter of surprise to me, that his work should have stood so high, as it has, in public esteem." <sup>10</sup>

Further study convinced Casaubon that Sarpi was right in his judgment; Baronius' faults were not those of dishonesty, but lack of knowledge. "This vast historical edifice, with its grand front and stately chambers, was a house of cards, which a breath of criticism would demolish in a moment." The work could not stand criticism; one Benedictine scholar found two thousand errors in Baronius, and a German one, Lucas Holstein, discovered no less than eight thousand. Casaubon now set to work to destroy Baronius. Unfortunately for the usefulness of his critique, he started with a wrong method. Instead of confining himself to exposing Baronius' ignorance of Latin and his consistent use of apocryphal tales and fables as if they were true, Casaubon wrote his *Exercitationes* in the spirit of a class-room exercise in historical criticism. He jotted down casual notes on the first volume of the *Annals*, passage by passage, in chronological order but without any unity or argument; this took up 800 pages—and Casaubon intended to do the same for the next eleven volumes! Though the *Exercitationes* was, technically, a

<sup>10</sup> Sarpi, *Epist.* 811, quoted in Pattison, *Isaac Casaubon* (n. 3), 330.

devastating criticism, it was so ponderous and unreadable that even Casaubon's friends declared it a failure. It hardly affected the reputation of Baronius. However, the critical historical scholar is constrained to agree with Gibbon's judgment that Baronius had "sunk to the lowest degree of credulity which was compatible with learning."

The second battle-front in the historiographical war was in Italy and Spain, where it was fought mainly by the Jesuits. The soldiers of Jesus used two types of weapons, negative and positive; they repressed hostile thought and expressed favorable opinions. The instruments of suppression were the Inquisition and the Index; the medium of promotion was historical writings. The *Index librorum prohibitorum*, which strangled all free thought in the Mediterranean world, appeared in 1595. It was, to quote Sarpi, "the finest secret which has ever been discovered for applying religion to the purpose of making men idiotic."<sup>11</sup> Briefly stated, the Index, which was enforced by the Inquisition, forbade, under the penalty of excommunication and confiscation of property, the publication of any work whatsoever without a special license. Most books, especially controversial, libertarian, or biblical, were absolutely prohibited. Space forbids a detailed account of this deadly institution, whose result was disastrous to Spanish and Italian civilization, "a dagger drawn from the scabbard to assassinate letters."<sup>12</sup>

Under the blighting stranglehold of the Index, authors in Catholic countries were permitted to write only works in defense of the Church; and the chief defenders of Rome were the Jesuits. Italian thought, viewed from the high point of the Renaissance, declined absolutely and relatively, as the Index and the Inquisition cut off the peninsula from the rest of Europe. No historian appeared to continue the great tradition of Machiavelli. The Italian list of historians in this period is practically exhausted with the mention of such names as Pigna, Porzio, Bentivoglio, a low water-mark indeed.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> P. Sarpi, *Istoria del Concilio Tridentino di Pietro Soave* [pseud.], 2nd ed. (Geneva, 1629), II, 91.

<sup>12</sup> Aonio Paleario, quoted in SYMONDS, VI, 154. On the Index see also Henry Charles Lea, *Chapters from the Religious History of Spain* (Philadelphia, 1890), 56-71; *Cambridge Modern History*, II, 686-88; "The Roman Index," *QR*, CXCVI (1902), 587-620.

<sup>13</sup> Giambattista Pigna (1530-75), professor of rhetoric at Ferrara, was the author of *Historia de principe di Este* (Ferrara, 1570). See Girolamo Tiraboschi, *Bibliotheca Modanensi, o notizie della vita e delle opere degli scrittori natii*, etc. (Modena, 1781-86, 6 v.), IV, 131-54.

Camillo Porzio (1526-80) published a history of the conspiracy of the Neapolitan barons against Ferdinand I in 1486, *Coniuria dei baroni* (Rome, 1565). In 1568 he began a history of Italy from 1544 but completed only two books (Naples, 1839, and Florence, 1855). Though an imitator of Sallust, he is untrustworthy. See Francesco Torraca, *Discussioni e ricerche letterarie* (Leghorn, 1888); FUETER, 149-50; G. Sforza, in *ASI*, ser. 5, XII (1893), 149-57; Beltrani, "Degli studii su C. Porzio," *Rivista Europea* (1870); Leopold v. Ranke, *Zur Kritik neuerer Geschichtschreiber* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1824), 79-109.

Giulio Bentivoglio (1579-1644) was a papal diplomat and cardinal. He was the author of a history of the revolt of the Netherlands, *Guerra di Fiandria* [1559-1609] (printed 1632;



The Jesuits not only wrote much of the Catholic history of this period but also histories of their own order. The most ambitious attempt in this direction is the great co-operative work known as *Historia Societatis Jesu*, begun by Nicolas Orlandinus (d. 1606), who brought it down to the death of Loyola. Orlandinus was succeeded by Franciscus Sacchinus (d. 1625), professor of rhetoric at the Collegium Romanum, who devoted eighteen years of his life to the continuation of the *Historia*. "I do not describe wars . . . of nations against each other," he wrote, "but wars of the human race against the monsters and the powers of Hell—wars not embracing single provinces, but every land and every sea—wars, in which not earthly power but the heavenly kingdom is the prize."<sup>14</sup> In this "tone of Jesuitical exaltation" he wrote four thick volumes of partisan history, bringing it down to the year 1580.

The "towering figure" of the Counter-Reformation period was undoubtedly the Venetian scholar Pietro (called Paolo) Sarpi (1552–1623).<sup>15</sup> Sarpi was born in Venice, the son of a small merchant, and

1639), a shallow work of a partisan outsider. His *Memorie*, to the year 1601, were published at Amsterdam in 1648. The *Relationi* of his diplomatic missions appeared in Venice, 1633. His collected letters appeared posthumously (Brussels, 1713); an English translation of them was published in London, 1764. See FUETER, 156; for Bentivoglio's quarrel with Strada see below, chapter XXXIII, p. 574, n. 4.

<sup>14</sup> Quoted with comment in Ranke, *History of the Popes* (n. 7), II, 370, cp. 370–72. The *Historia* was not continued until the year 1710, when Jouveny published a "compilation of fragments" for the last fifteen years of Aquaviva's administration. In 1750 Julius Cordars published the last instalment before the dissolution of the Jesuit Order, sketchily describing the events from 1616 to 1625. But none of the later Jesuit historians compared with Orlandinus or Sacchinus. See FUETER, 345–55; and "Theory of Jesuit History," *DR*, XXXVI (1854), 451–94. The author of this article, on pp. 458–59, quotes the statement of E. Veuillot that in the course of 300 years the Jesuits produced no less than 10,000 writers, but of course not all of these were historians.

<sup>15</sup> There is a vast literature on Sarpi. For his famous history of the Council of Trent, see below, n. 26. His other collected works can be found in the *Opere* (Helmstat and Verona, 1761–68, 8 v.). His *Lettere* were edited by F. L. Polidori (Florence, 1863–82, 2 v.), by Castellani, *Lettere inedite* (1892), and by Karl Benrath, "Neuaufgefundene Briefe von Fra Paolo Sarpi," *HZ*, CII (1909), 567–73. A translation of some of his *Letters* was published by E. Brown in London, 1693. Sarpi's *Counsels* (*consulte*), communicated by the friar to the Venetian Signory concerning matters of Church and State, are preserved in manuscript in the Frari Archives at Venice.

On Sarpi's life and works see FUETER, 337–40; Arabella G. Campbell, *The Life of Fra Paolo Sarpi* (London, 1869); Alexander Robertson, *Fra Paolo Sarpi, the Greatest of the Venetians* (London, 1894); Gaetano Capasso, *Fra Paolo Sarpi e l'interdetto di Venezia* (Florence, 1879); Alessandro Pascolato, *Fra Paolo Sarpi* (Milan, 1893); Balan, *Fra Paolo Sarpi* (Venice, 1887); Andrew D. White, *Seven Great Statesmen* (New York, 1919), 3–52; T. A. Trollope, *Paul the Pope and Paul the Friar* (London, 1870); SYMONDS, VII, 84–127; G. Rein, *Paolo Sarpi und die Protestanten* (Helsingfors, 1904); L. Emery, *Religione e politica nella mente di Fra Paolo Sarpi* (1924); Aristarco Fasulo, *Fra Paolo Sarpi* (Rome, 1923); Karl Benrath, *Paul Sarpi, ein Vorkämpfer des religiösen, ein Bekämpfer des politischen Katholizismus* (1910: Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte, Heft 100); for Sarpi's patriotic and religious opinions, see the letters of Christoph von Dohna, published by Moriz Ritter in *Briefe und Acten zur Geschichte des dreissigjährigen Krieges* (Munich, 1870 ff.), II, 75–89, 99–104, 113–15, 125–26. Of periodical literature, consult Horatio F. Brown, "Paolo Sarpi," *Scottish Review*, XXX (1897), 251–82; anon., "The Catholic Revival of the Sixteenth Century," *QR*, CLXV (1887), 273–97, and "Fra Paolo Sarpi," *ibid.*, CLXXVI (1893), 373–403; R. N. Carew Hunt, in *CQR*, CIX (1929), 262–77, cp. also XXIII, 135–55; S. Ehse, "Hat B. Sarpi für seine Geschichte des

at the age of thirteen entered the minor Order of the Servites, assuming the name Paolo. He displayed such brilliance even as a boy that the Duke of Mantua appointed him court theologian, a position the young Venetian held for four years, during which time he devoted himself to mathematics and Oriental languages. From Mantua, at the age of twenty-two, Sarpi went to Milan and became the protégé of Cardinal Borromeo, from whom he learned much about the Council of Trent. In 1579 the young man was sent to Rome by the Servite Order to transact certain business for the Venetian convent. For several years Sarpi remained in the capital of Christendom, where he had the opportunity of making intimate contacts with three successive popes, with Grand Inquisitors, and other influential prelates. In 1588 the thirty-six-year-old Sarpi, then already one of the best-educated men of his age, returned to Venice, prepared and equipped to defend his native Republic with the sharpest pen ever wielded by an Italian writer.

Sarpi—the “terrible friar”—was a sickly man with an unconquerable spirit. Though he suffered much from ill health, he refused to treat himself as an invalid and displayed only contempt for pain and danger. “He who thinks too much of living,” the ascetic friar wrote, “knows not how to live well. One is bound to die once; to be curious about the day or place or manner of dying is unprofitable. Whatsoever is God’s will is good.”<sup>16</sup> He lived in a bare cell, adorned only with an hour-glass, a picture of Christ, and a crucifix hung over a human skull. He cared as little for comfort as he did for display, and was remarkable, despite his vast erudition, for his modesty. His intellectual endowments can only be compared to those of his compatriot, but not contemporary, Leonardo da Vinci. Like Leonardo, Sarpi made many brilliant, though tentative, scientific discoveries and a number of ingenious experiments. Aside from his proficiency in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, his knowledge of canon and civil law, his mastery of classical and historical scholarship, Sarpi was also acquainted with every branch of mathematics and natural science. He experimented with chemistry, mechanics, mineralogy, metallurgy, physiology; he dissected bodies for his studies in anatomy; he worked in magnetism, optics, on the valves in the veins, and the uvea in vision; he foresaw the telescope and thermometer; he wrote a treatise on psychology and metaphysics. Such was the man who took it upon himself to fight the whole might of the papacy and to defend the Venetian Republic against papal aggression.

The political situation in this period was this: the papacy, aided by

Konzils von Trient aus Quellen geschöpft, die jetzt nicht mehr fliessen?” in *Historisches Jahrbuch*, XXVI (1905), 299–313, and the same, “Nochmals Paolo Sarpi als Geschichtsquelle,” *ibid.*, XXVII (1906), 67–74; C. C. Casati, in *RQH*, V (1868), 293–94.

<sup>16</sup> *Lettere*, ed. by Polidori (n. 15), I, 239.

the secular power of Spain and led by the Jesuits, was making efforts to enforce its sovereignty over Italy. Venice, being the greatest independent secular state in Italy, bore the brunt of the ecclesiastical attack. The Republic was, in fact, the strongest obstacle to complete papal control of the peninsula. Not that Venice was not zealously Catholic; on the contrary, the once-mighty Republic was a faithful daughter of the Church. "Who talks of Calvinists?" Doge Donato said sharply in answer to a papal attack; "we are as good Christians as the pope, and Christians we will die in spite of those who wish it otherwise." But the Venetians held the "modern" theory of the separation of Church and State; they saw no reason why the Holy Father, residing in Rome, should control the business and political affairs of a rich Republic that had been, for a thousand years, able to take care of herself. Venice was not opposing the Roman Church, but the Curia. In the sharp conflict with Venice, the papacy threw an interdict on the Republic (1606), and the latter, with the benefit of Sarpi's keen counsel, defied the ban and ordered the formidable friar to attack Rome on ecclesiastico-legal grounds. For twenty years Sarpi hurled learned and biting treatises at the papacy and the Jesuits, whom, intellectually, he defeated all along the line. In 1607 five assassins, universally believed to have been instigated by Rome, stabbed Sarpi and left him for dead; but the formidable friar recovered and, when shown the dagger (stylus), remarked sardonically: "I recognize the *style* of the Roman curia."<sup>17</sup>

Sarpi now prepared his great work, a *History of the Council of Trent*. Before we analyze this famous combination of history and polemic, it is necessary to settle the question of Sarpi's religious and political ideas. Sarpi, be it said at the outset, was not a Protestant, as his enemies have charged, but he had Protestant sympathies. "I should be delighted," he wrote in 1611, "to witness the advance of the Reformation, for it would tend to advance the interests of mankind."<sup>18</sup> He detested papal autocracy, Jesuit intrigues, and religious intolerance. "I hate superstition more than impiety, for the impious man hurts himself only, and does not try to propagate his opinions, whereas superstition is

<sup>17</sup> The papacy of course denied having instigated the attempt; yet the assassins were helped to escape by the papal nuncio and were not arrested until one year later; see the *Cambridge Modern History*, IV, 671. Cesare Cantù (*Gli eretici d'Italia, discorsi storici*, Turin, 1865-67), who made a careful investigation of the subject, says that the papacy had nothing to do with the attempt on Sarpi's life, but points out that, in this period, political assassination was "encouraged, ordered, paid, applauded as an ordinary and very natural fact." Poma, the chief assassin, wrote to a friend: "There is not a man in Christendom who would not have done what I did." And Sarpi himself wrote: "The customs of our country are of such a nature that those who are in a position like mine could not lose the favor of government without at the same time losing life." See Cantù, "Fra Paolo Sarpi et la doctrine de l'assassinat," *RQH*, III (1867), 254-57.

<sup>18</sup> Quoted in "Historians of the Council of Trent," *DR*, XXXIII (1852), 193; for Sarpi see 189-97.

contagious, and he who is infected with it does his best to infect others." <sup>19</sup> Such ideas account for his hostility to Rome and friendship for the Protestants, especially so as his mind was of a scientific temper, unable to accept what is unproven or dogmatic. "I never venture to deny anything on the ground of impossibility, for I am well aware of the infinite variety in the operations of God and Nature." <sup>20</sup>

His political ideas were closely connected with his religious tenets. He vehemently denied papal supremacy over the State, urging a sharp distinction between Church and State. "I imagine that the State and the Church are two realms, composed, however, of the same human beings. The one is wholly celestial, the other terrestrial; each has its proper limits of jurisdiction, its own arms and fortifications. Nothing is held by them in common, but there should be no occasion for the one to declare war upon the other. . . . I take the word Church to signify an assembly of the faithful, not of priests only; for when we regard it as confined to those, it ceases to be Christ's kingdom, and becomes a portion of the commonwealth in this world, subject to the highest authority of State, as also are the laity." <sup>21</sup>

In this spirit Sarpi took up the task of writing a history of the Council of Trent. The reason for his choice of subject was the clear realization, borne out by time, that the Council, while it purified the Church, also was of incalculable significance in sharply splitting Europe into two halves: a narrow Church and isolated Catholic Europe on the one hand, and a Protestant North Europe going its own way in a relatively free spirit. With the insight of genius, Sarpi saw the damage which the Council inflicted on the spirit of western civilization, which had hitherto been a unity. "This Council," Sarpi wrote, "devised and formed by godly men to reunite the Church . . . hath so established the schism, and made the parties so obstinate that the discords are become irconcilable." <sup>22</sup>

Sarpi was the first writer to undertake a history of the great Council, although the subject had been mentioned by Sleidan, Goldast, and De Thou. The Venetian began his work with a definite motive, that of discrediting one of the foundations of the Church, and with a clear-cut

<sup>19</sup> *Opere* (n. 15), VI, 4.

<sup>20</sup> *Lettere*, ed. by Polidori (n. 15), I, 229-30.

<sup>21</sup> Sarpi to J. Gillot in 1609, *ibid.*, I, 312. In his opposition to Rome's claims to temporal sovereignty, Sarpi continued the tradition of many medieval thinkers, such as Dante, Egidio Colonna, William of Ockham, and Marsiglio of Padua. As Machiavelli said in his *Prince*, "The people nearest to Rome are those having least faith in it." Over a century before Sarpi, in 1527, Francesco Vettori of Florence wrote: "Whoever carefully considers the law of the Gospel will perceive that the pontiffs, although they bear the name of Christ's Vicar, yet have brought in a new religion which has nothing Christian in it but the name." See Horatio F. Brown, "Paolo Sarpi," *Scottish Review*, XXX (1897), 267, 271.

<sup>22</sup> Quoted in "The Catholic Revival of the Sixteenth Century," *QR*, CLXV (1887), 289; see 284-89 for a good account of Sarpi.

method, that of writing history on the basis of genuine sources and with a sparkling style.

It is my purpose [Sarpi states his own position frankly] to write the History of the Council of Trent. For, though many renowned historians of our age have touched upon separate points thereof in their various works, and Johann Sleidan, a very accurate writer, has related the previous causes which gave rise to it with infinite diligence, yet were all these matters put together, they would not present a circumstantial narration. As soon as I began to concern myself with the affairs of mankind,<sup>23</sup> I felt a great desire to obtain a thorough knowledge of that history; and when I had gathered all that I found written regarding it, whether such documents as had been printed or those that had been scattered about in manuscript, I began to seek further among the papers left by the prelates and others who had taken part in the Council, and so to examine such intelligence as they had furnished in regard to the matter, with the votes they had given, as recorded either by themselves or others, and all information transmitted by letters from the city of Trent at the time of the Council. In doing this, I have spared no pains or labour, and have had the good fortune to procure a sight of whole collections of notes and letters from persons who took a large part in those negotiations and transactions. When I had thus brought together so many documents, furnishing more than sufficient materials for a narrative, I resolved to put them in order and form a connected relation of them.<sup>24</sup>

We must remember that Sarpi had been acquainted with many men, such as Olivo and Borromeo, who had played a rôle in the Council; he also had access to the secret Venetian archives and to much private correspondence. Arnaud de Ferrier, one of Charles IX's representatives at Trent in 1562, later ambassador to Venice and chancellor to Henry of Navarre and who before his death became a Protestant, furnished Sarpi with matter. Hence, on the basis of sources alone, his history is noteworthy. Where his archival materials did not suffice, Sarpi used older historians, Paolo Giovio, Guicciardini, De Thou, and mainly Sleidan—"the notorious Lutheran partisan"<sup>25</sup>—from whom he copied whole passages. But wherever he borrowed from others, printed or unprinted, Sarpi had the rare gift of so weaving his material that it always formed a literary unity. Though writing with a definite thesis, Sarpi never falsifies or perverts; he was much too subtle to be a liar. "I speak falsehood never, but truth not to everyone." The book is tendentious, hostile, bitter; but never dishonest. His galling wit and rapier-like style could cut mercilessly into the Jesuits—his *bêtes noires*—without the need of distorting facts. His cold and sharp style flayed the Jesuit intriguers who used "every disreputable art of packing and of corruption." Hence Sarpi's *Storia del Concilio Tridentino* has long

<sup>23</sup> "No religious man," Sarpi used to say, "ought to hold aloof from politics" (Letter 30).

<sup>24</sup> Quoted from the Appendix of Ranke's *Popes* (n. 7), in the translation of E. Foster (London, 1891, 3 v.), III, 106-07; for Ranke's criticism of Sarpi and Pallavicini see 103-38; in the translation of S. Austin (Philadelphia, 1841, 2 v.), II, 290-304.

<sup>25</sup> *DR*, XXXIII (1852), 194.

made "delightful reading" and is as a work of art, "the most attractive produced in Italy during the century."<sup>26</sup>

The Protestants hailed the work with enthusiasm. Milton called Sarpi "the great unmasker of the Tridentine Council." Sarpi himself doubted his work. "I take it for granted," he wrote (Bk. III, 1), "that my work will not have a great number of readers, and will be soon forgotten, not so much on account of the faults . . ., as from the nature of the matter, and I judge them by what has happened to many similar works. But without troubling myself to think whether this history will endure for ever or for long, it is enough for me that it should for the present be serviceable to those for whom I write it. If there be anyone who can turn it to his profit, for him let it be written. Posterity will judge of it according to the conjectures of times and affairs."

Posterity has been favorable, although Rome banned the work even before it was printed, and while it circulated in manuscript. Sarpi's book aroused admiration in men like Gibbon, Hallam, Macaulay, Samuel Johnson, and even the judicious Ranke. Carlo Botta, the Italian historian, calls the *History of the Council of Trent*, "one of the most manly and robust works that was ever produced by human genius."<sup>27</sup> Macaulay said that "Fra Paolo is my favourite modern historian."<sup>28</sup> Rawdon Brown, the historian of Venice, compared Sarpi to Shakespeare: "The one and the other are perfect writers."<sup>29</sup> And Ranke, the most poised of professional historians, though he criticizes Sarpi's tendentiousness, speaks highly of his style and concludes that, by his method of criticism, Sarpi "laid open a new path." His work "is the first example of a history in which the whole development of the subject is accompanied by unceasing censures."<sup>30</sup>

<sup>26</sup> For the sentence from Sarpi and various comments quoted in this paragraph see Preserved Smith, *History of Modern Culture* (n. 1), I, 263-67.

Sarpi's history was first published at London in 1619 as *Historia del Concilio tridentino di Pietro Soave Polano*, this pseudonym being an anagram for Paolo Sarpio Veneto. It was printed without the author's knowledge; Sarpi had loaned his manuscript to Marco Antonio de Dominis, who took a copy of it to London. The sub-title of the work, which was dedicated to James I, read: "In which are unveiled all the Artifices of the Court of Rome to prevent the Truth of Dogmas from being made plain, and the Reform of the Papacy and of the Church from being dealt with." The 2nd Italian edition appeared at Geneva in 1629; there were several French translations, of which one of the best is that of Le Courayer, published in 1736 with valuable notes. In the three years following the first Italian edition, between 1619 and 1622, three Latin editions appeared. An English translation was issued by Sir Nathanael Brent at London in 1620; the reprint of this in 1676 contains also a life of Sarpi [written by Fulgenzio Micanzio]. But Brent's version was so imperfect that in the following century Samuel Johnson began a new one, which he did not complete. Most recent Italian version is the edition by Giovanni Gambarin (Bari, 1935, 3 v.: *Scrittori d'Italia*, nos. 151-53).

<sup>27</sup> Robertson, *Fra Paolo Sarpi* (n. 15), 146.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 147.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 147-48.

<sup>30</sup> For Ranke's criticism see above, n. 24. Preserved Smith, *History of Modern Culture* (n. 1), I, 267 writes: "My final judgment is that, whereas the Venetian historian's narrative was occasionally warped from the strict truth by bias, it generally conformed to the better standards of criticism and of accuracy prevailing when it was written."

The *History of the Council of Trent* has obscured the little known fact that Sarpi was also

Sarpi's great history of the Council of Trent had a similar effect as the *Magdeburg Centuries*: it put Rome on the defensive, especially since the Venetian's work was full of sarcasm and malice. Once again a refutation was in order, and the papacy chose Terentio Alciati, a Jesuit of the Collegio Romano, to make a reply to Sarpi. Alciati collected and compiled a vast amount of data, but died (in 1651) before he could complete his work. Goswin Nickel, the Jesuit general, then selected Sforza Pallavicino (1607-67) for the task, in the same spirit, to quote Pallavicino, "as a condottiere appoints one of his soldiers."

Pallavicino<sup>31</sup> came from a princely family, but relinquished title and fortune to enter the Society of Jesus. After serving as professor of theology at the Collegio Romano and confessor to Pope Alexander VIII, Pallavicino was, despite his objections, appointed cardinal (1659). In order to refute Sarpi, Pallavicino ransacked the archives and libraries of Rome, having full access to secret and unpublished documents. With so much rich material he could have written a comprehensive history of the Council. Unfortunately he was not at liberty to be an impartial historian, but was in duty bound to refute the great Venetian step by step. "I desire," Pallavicino says in the opening pages of his work, "to begin my narration at the precise point where Soave [Sarpi] begins his, in order that, by always proceeding in company with him, I may place the reader on his guard, to the end that I may guide him through cer-

the author of a large number of historico-polemical works. He translated Gerson's *A Treatise and Resolutions on the Validity of Excommunications*, to which Cardinal Bellarmine made a reply, and Sarpi a counter-reply in his *A Defence against the Opposition Made by Bellarmine to Gerson*. Another treatise of Sarpi's was an attack on Paul V, *Considerations of the Censures of Pope Paul V against the Serene Republic of Venice*, carrying on the title-page a pointed quotation from the Psalms (CIX, 28): "Maledicent illi, e tu benedices." Two other treatises on the same subjects were: *A Particular History of the Things that Passed between Pope Paul V and the Serene Republic of Venice*, giving the facts of the case, and *The Rights of Sovereigns Defended against the Excommunications and Interdicts of the Popes*, stating the principles of the struggles between secular governments and the papacy.

In 1610 Sarpi published a more considerable work, *A History of Ecclesiastical Benefices*, tracing the subject from the time of the Apostles to the unscrupulous nepotism of Paul V. Gibbon called this a "golden volume." In 1611 Sarpi produced *The Origin, Forms, Laws, Customs, and Uses of the Inquisition in the City and Dominion of Venice*, proving how Venice resisted the papal Inquisition. Two years later (1613), the Venetian friar published two treatises: *Sanctuaries for Offenders and Immunity of the Clergy*, attacking the clerical abuse of sanctuaries as "cages of unclean birds" and "dens of thieves"; Grotius called the *Sanctuaries* Sarpi's "great work." Sarpi's *History of the Uscocks* criticized those Dalmatian pirates who damaged Venetian commerce "under the special patronage of the Church." His *System of Education given by the Jesuits* is a sharp indictment of the Society of Jesus, pointing out that "never from their schools came forth a son obedient to his father, loving to his country, and dutiful to his prince."

<sup>31</sup> See FUETER, 340-42; *DR*, XXXIII (1852), 184-90, 197-202; and Ranke's criticism (see n. 24). The *Istoria del Concilio di Trento* of Pallavicino was published at Rome, 1656-57; a Latin translation by Giattino appeared at Antwerp in 1670, in 3 vols.; a French translation was published at Paris, 1844-45, 3 vols.; and a German translation by T. F. Klitsche at Augsburg, 1835-36, 8 v. in 4. Pallavicino was also the author of an incomplete *Della vita di Alessandro VII libri cinque* (Prato, 1839-40, 2 v. in 1).

tain passages lest he should stumble through ignorance, where through bad faith he seeks to lead him down into the precipice."

The first volume of Pallavicino's *Istoria del Concilio di Trento* was published at Rome in 1656. It is packed full of rich data, much of which had not been at Sarpi's disposal. But, forced to make a selection, the Jesuit historian naturally chose what was favorable to the papacy and its cause and suppressed (not unlike Sarpi) what was unfavorable; the documents, for example, showed that if the pope had shown a more conciliatory disposition toward the Protestants there would have been a chance of reconciliation; but Pallavicino omitted data which proved that papal obstinacy prevented the Protestants from being represented at the Council.

Pallavicino gives a list of "errors"—361 of them—which he attributes to Sarpi. He is nowhere consciously dishonest, although his treatment of certain documents is biased. But the "errors" of which he accuses Sarpi are frequently either trivial or untrue. Where Pallavicino is unable to refute Sarpi, he flatly says that the Venetian was wrong; that he had made statements without proof. Sometimes the Jesuit historian, to make out a good case, tears documents out of their context and presents them for a special purpose. Thus, for instance, in refuting Sarpi's statement that there was a treaty between the pope and the king of France, Pallavicino quotes Suriano for the statement that the Holy Father was not allied with France, whereas Suriano says that there was no treaty in actual writing. The Jesuit historian's main purpose is to discredit Sarpi, to place the papacy in a favorable light, and to throw the blame of the shortcomings of the Council on the Protestants.

The *Istoria* is, therefore, not only partisan but also lacks what Sarpi's work possessed: style and brilliance. Where the Venetian friar was terse and clear, the Roman Jesuit was "obscure, diffuse, and shallow." Often, out of sheer incapacity, Pallavicino passed over important matters without seeing their significance. "His intellect," Ranke concludes his fair analysis, "has something weighty and cumbrous in its character. His talent was for the most part displayed in making phrases and devising subterfuges: his style is overloaded with words."<sup>32</sup>

In one sense the whole historiography of Catholic Europe in the sixteenth century was a part of the historiography of the Counter-Reformation. But the historiography of the Thirty Years' War (1618-48) was a particular and final phase of the epoch. So prolonged a

<sup>32</sup> Appendix to his *Popes*, tr. by Foster (1891), III, 137.

As Pallavicino attacked Sarpi, so Heidegger attacked Pallavicino, or rather vindicated Sarpi, in his *Tumulus Concilii Tridentini* (Zurich, 1690, 2 v.). Then Reding, *Oecumenici Tridentini veritas inextincta* (4 v.), counter-vindicated Pallavicino in this endless battle of the books.



general European war inevitably brought forth a number of critics and defenders, apologists and narrators. The various accounts differ in their approach, their method, their subject matter; some have a religious point of view, others are national, still others are polemical, and many are personal. Perhaps the best way to treat this complex subject is to follow it chronologically.<sup>33</sup>

Among the polemical writers, the first in point of time is Caspar Scioppius (1576–1649) from the Palatinate; he studied in Heidelberg and Ingolstadt, and, at the age of twenty-two, joined the Catholic Church. He became a prominent philologist and jurist, devoting much of his restless energy to fighting the Protestants in a violent and bitter manner. His hand was “against all the world,” including Cicero, “whom he spared as little as he did his own contemporaries.”<sup>34</sup> This “most foul-mouthed of the literary gladiators of the century”<sup>35</sup> threw the first bomb in the Thirty Years’ War in the form of a vehement polemic, *Classicum Belli Sacri* (1619), instigating the Catholic princes against the “heretical and rebellious” Protestants. Matthias Bernegger, a Protestant teacher of history at Strassburg, made a stinging reply in his *Proelium Pacis Occenta Scioppiano Belli Sacri Classico* (Strassburg, 1620).<sup>36</sup>

The War started in Bohemia in 1618, where the tradition of religious dissent dated back to the time of Hus two centuries before. Two contemporary Bohemians wrote accounts of this period, interestingly enough, in the vernacular rather than in Latin. One was Count William Slavata (b. 1572), councillor and friend of Emperors Ferdinand II and III; the other was Paul Skala, a Protestant.

Slavata, originally a member of the Bohemian Brotherhood, joined the Catholic Church, and was one of the officials thrown from the window of the palace at the time of the famous “Defenestration” of Prague which started the Thirty Years’ War. As a high official of the emperor, Slavata was largely responsible for the restoration of Catholicism in Bohemia. Hence his *Memoirs*, covering the period 1608 to 1619, have great historic importance, though they are partisan.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Historians have divided the Thirty Years’ War into five periods: the Bohemian, 1618–20; the Palatine, 1621–23; the Danish, 1626–29; the Swedish, 1630–35; and the French, 1635–48. For a comprehensive bibliography see the *Cambridge Modern History*, IV, 801–70.

<sup>34</sup> Hallam, *Literature of Europe* (n. 8), II, pt. iii, 370.

<sup>35</sup> *Cambridge Modern History*, IV, 113.

<sup>36</sup> On Scioppius (in German: Schoppe), see the article by M. Hoche in *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, XXXIII (1891), 479–84; on his opponent Bernegger see Wegele, *ibid.*, II (1875), 412–13. Contemporary literature includes *Classicum Belli Sacri: Der mächtige Alarm welchen unlängst . . . Caspar Scioppius . . . gemacht* (1619); *Ein gründliches und ohnpassionirtes Bedencken: Was von des abtrünnigen Hans Caspari Scioppi bluiddürstigen Buch gen. Classicum Belli Sacri zu halten* (1619); and Justus Meier, *Juris publici quaestio capitalis: Sintne Protestantes jure Caesareo haeretici, et ultimo supplicio afficiendi . . . Contra sanguinarium G. Scioppii Classicum tractatum* (Strassburg, 1623).

<sup>37</sup> See Count Lützow, *Lectures on the Historians of Bohemia* (London, 1905), 72–73. Slavata’s

Paul Skala ze Zhore (b. 1583) is an historian of more importance than Slavata. A Protestant, he was educated at the University of Wittenberg, and, upon returning to his native city, began an active participation in politics, finally joining the court of Frederick V, the short-lived king of Bohemia, whom he followed into exile.

While living in retirement at Freiburg in Saxony, Skala devoted his time to historical studies. His *Historie Cirkevni*, written in Czech, is the "most extensive as well as the most valuable" history of the Church in Bohemia, beginning with the conversion of the heathen and ending with the "terrible subjection" of Christianity to the "yoke of anti-Christ," that is, the year 1623. The last portion of the work gives vivid accounts of the recent period in which Skala himself had participated; his account of the "Defenestration" is especially brilliant.<sup>38</sup> Mention should also be made of two minor contemporary Bohemian historians, Andrew of Hebenfeld, author of the *Bellum Bohemicum*, an account of the battle of White Mountain, in which Andrew fought; and Paul Stransky, who while in exile in Holland wrote *Repubblica Bojema* (1643).

Sweden's participation in the great war stimulated an interest in historical studies in that country. In 1644 Queen Christina ordered Philip Bogislaus Chemnitz to write an account of the war, giving him permission to use the archives and correspondence, especially the papers of Oxenstierna. Chemnitz had made his reputation by his famous anti-Imperialist pamphlet, *Dissertatio de ratione status in Imperio nostro Romano Germanico* (1640), written under the pseudonym Hippolitus a Lapide. Four years after he began, in 1648, he published the first part of *Der königlich schwedische in Teutschland geführte Krieg*, or *Bellum Sueco-Germanicum*, covering the period to 1636; the second part appeared in Stockholm in 1653, and the last two, to the year 1646, finally were printed in Stockholm in 1855-59. It is an interesting reflection on the linguistic situation in Europe that the first three parts of Chemnitz' Swedish history were written in both German and Latin, and the fourth section in German only. The history, though critical and full of source materials, lacks unity and style; it is a dry, chronological, detailed work of an official nature. Chemnitz' theory was that the Habsburgs were responsible for the war, and that Gustavus Adolphus therefore acted on the defensive, against Austrian domination.<sup>39</sup>

*Memoirs (Paměti)* were edited by Josef Jireček in the *Monumenta Historiae Bohemica*, ed. by A. Gindely (Prague, 1865-70).

<sup>38</sup> Lützow (n. 36), 73-81. The *Historie Cirkevni* was edited by K. Tiefertunk in 2 v. in the *Monumenta Historiae Bohemica*.

<sup>39</sup> On Chemnitz see M. Ritter in *HZ*, CIX (1912), 333-36; WEGELE, 358; the article by Fr. Weber in *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, IV (1876), 114-16; F. Gallati, 'Der königlich schwedische in Teutschland geführte Krieg' des Bogislav Philipp von Chemnitz und seine Quellen (Frauenfeld, 1902); Benjamin Chapman, *The History of Gustavus Adolphus and of the Thirty*

Almost the exact antithesis of Chemnitz, at least as regards the treatment of the subject, was Francis Christoph Khevenhüller, Count of Franckenburg (d. 1650), the Austrian statesman who wrote *Annales Ferdinandeae* in twelve volumes with many engravings. The work, unlike that of Chemnitz which deals only with Sweden, covers the whole period of the War. Naturally it is pro-Habsburg and pro-Catholic; but despite inaccuracies and an inevitable bias, it is one of the most valuable sources on the Thirty Years' War.<sup>40</sup>

On the French side we have the works of Cardinal Richelieu and Marquis de Feuquières. In view of Richelieu's position and rôle in the Thirty Years' War, his *Mémoires* are of paramount importance; as a source on the period the work is invaluable, despite its natural pro-French bias. The material for the book was collected by trained assistants who probably drew up the first draft. The cardinal himself, however, revised the final composition. Isaac Manasses de Pas, Marquis de Feuquières, saw active service in the War as a soldier and diplomat, participating in the campaigns of 1636-38. His *Lettres inédites*, containing much rich material, did not appear until two and a half centuries after the events they record.<sup>41</sup>

A large number of foreigners, participants and visitors, left records of the Thirty Years' War. Most of them are not of a high caliber, either intellectually or historically, and it would be an improper use of space to detail them. One may mention Robert Munro's *Expedition* (London, 1637); Sydnam Pointz' *Relation*; Vittorio Siri's *Mercure*; Thomas Carve's (or Carew, the Irish call him O'Corrain) *Itinerarium* and his *Rerum Germanicarum, 1617-41, Epitome* (1641); Caraffa's *Commentaria* (Cologne, 1639); Geleazzo Priorato's *Istoria della guerra* (3 v., Venice, 1640); General Raimondo Montecuccoli's *Memorie della guerre* (Latin edition, Vienna, 1718; French edition, Paris, 1712, and Amsterdam, 1770).

Not much more can be said of most of the contemporary German

*Years' War* (London, 1856). Chemnitz' work was edited and continued by Samuel Pufendorf (1632-94), who, after serving Sweden, transferred his loyalties and activities to Brandenburg. Pufendorf belongs, therefore, to a later period and will be considered also in connection with the development of political theory; see FUETER, 249-52, and Ritter, *loc. cit.*, 336-41.

<sup>40</sup> *Annales Ferdinandeae. Oder Wahrhafte Beschreibung Kayser Ferdinandi II* (Leipzig, 1721-26, 12 v.); see also Bernhard Czerwenka, *Die Khevenhüller: Geschichte des Geschlechts, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna, 1867); Adam Wolf, *Geschichtliche Bilder aus Oesterreich* (Vienna, 1878-80, 2 v.), vol. II; Dahlmann-Waitz, *Quellenkunde der deutschen Geschichte* (9th ed., Leipzig, 1931), no. 10601.

<sup>41</sup> On Richelieu's *Mémoires* see M. Ritter in *HZ*, CIX (1912), 332-33; and d'Avenel in *JS*, 1858, pp. 154-76, 496-520, and 1859, pp. 107-25, 300-18; also Richard Lodge, *Richelieu* (London, 1896). Richelieu's *Lettres, instructions diplomatiques, et papiers d'état* were edited by Avenel (Paris, 1853-77, 8 v.). For Feuquières, see *Mémoires de M. le marquis de Feuquières . . . contenant ses maximes sur le guerre* (London, 1736-50, 5 v.), and *Lettres inédites des Feuquières*, ed. by Ét. Gallois (Paris, 1845-46, 5 v.).

historians and compilers, whether Protestant or Catholic. Michael Caspar Lundorp (b. 1580) was a peculiar phenomenon of a Lutheran who wrote pro-Catholic and pro-Habsburg history. His *Bellum Sexennale civile Germanicum*, written in German (Frankfort, 1622–23), describes the first years of the war. Another pro-Habsburg work is that of the Jesuit Christopher Ott (b. 1612) who wrote a *Historia nova seculi nostri XVII* (Innsbruck, 1682), dealing with the reign of the Habsburgs during the Thirty Years' War. Another group of historians, those connected with the *Theatrum Europaeum*, need only be mentioned in passing; among them were John Peter Lotich (1598–1669), Gotthard Arthur (b. 1570), and Eberhard Wassenburg.

The Thirty Years' War in destroying the material bases of German culture also Balkanized the Empire. Few intellectual works of any importance appeared in Germany until the time of Leibniz. Historical scholarship reached a low-water mark, especially after the Peace of Westphalia, which, by smashing the Imperial Constitution, split Germany into innumerable petty principalities with their particularist loyalties and petty interests. With the exception of Seckendorf's (1626–92) *Commentarius historicus* (Leipzig, 1694), no German history of any value appeared for almost a century. German scholarship and thought did not revive until the period of the *Aufklärung*, the era of Enlightenment, in the eighteenth century.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>42</sup> See B. Erdmannsdörffer, "Zur Geschichte und Geschichtschreibung des dreissigjährigen Krieges," *HZ*, XIV (1865), 1–44; on the disastrous cultural effects of the war see also S. K. Padover, "Who Are the Germans?" in *Foreign Affairs*, XIII (1934–35), 509–18.

## CHAPTER XXXII

### HISTORIANS OF THE WARS OF RELIGION IN FRANCE (1559–89), AND OF THE REIGN OF HENRY IV (1589–1610)<sup>1</sup>

THE year 1559 marks a new stage in French history and historical writing. Hitherto the Reformation had been mainly restricted to the small bourgeois and artisans, the *gens timides* who were not given to fighting; but in the last years of Henry II the new religion began to make converts among the nobility, the men of the sword who would fight for their ideas and make a political issue of religious principles. The time was ripe for a conflict of ideas, because France was deeply involved in international politics, and because the royal authority was facing strong opposition. In Germany the Reformation had long been reduced to a question of power-politics, and the French crown, fighting the Catholic emperor, had as little scruples in allying itself with the Lutheran heretics as it had in allying with the Turks.

In 1559 the protracted dynastic wars which had begun in 1494 were temporarily ended by the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis; at the same time the Huguenots, as the French Calvinists were called, consolidated their ever-increasing numbers and perfected their organization. Supported by aggressive petty nobles and rich merchants, Calvinism had an excellent organizational machine, based upon local consistories, provincial synods, and national meetings; it automatically became a formidable political power, threatening the crown. In the next thirty years France was ruled by a line of weak kings and a corrupt court; hence the conflicting parties—Catholic, Huguenot, and *Politique*—had more or less free range for their activities, each, under the cloak of religion, striving to win control over the throne. The religious wars were fought both by the sword and the pen, and the pen became increasingly more “historical.” The excessive and impassioned claims of the politico-religious parties caused curious minds to investigate the origins and meaning of institutions. Each group needed an elaborate rationale for its activities and the resulting intellectual speculation brought great gains both to historiography and political theory.

Every faction had its own historians. Henry IV encouraged d’Au-

<sup>1</sup> Henri Hauser, *Les sources de l’histoire de France* (Paris, 1906–15, 4 v.), vol. III. *Les guerres de religion, 1559–1589*, and vol. IV. *Henri IV, 1589–1610*. These two volumes are comprehensive and complete surveys.

bigné to write his history, and Catherine de Medici supported La Popelinière for the same purpose. The "moderate" Catholic De Thou's history was condemned at Rome, while that of the moderate Protestant La Popelinière was censured by the synod of La Rochelle. With few exceptions, therefore, the historians must be judged and classified according to their party affiliations. For the sake of historical methodology it is also necessary to divide the works written according to types, of which there are roughly four: memoirs, chronicles, national histories, and universal histories.

The memoirs were generally written by men of action, military, diplomatic, or ecclesiastical. Sometimes the authors were motivated by a boastful spirit, more often by a need for justification or direct defense against accusers. Occasionally, notably in the case of Monluc, memoirs were written because the authors believed their careers worthy to be remembered. It needs also to be emphasized that the Renaissance had had a far-reaching effect upon the development of personality, possibly as a reaction to the Middle Ages when men were supposed to cherish a sense of humility. Dynastic wars, explorations, and the revival of the classics all tended to put a premium upon aggressive personalities, adventurers, condottieri, soldiers of fortune, navigators, and buccaneers. The classics gave a justification and set a model, for Caesar's *Commentaries* and Plutarch's *Lives* became more than just literary patterns. "Plutarch," said the contemplative Montaigne, "is the Man for me," and, probably expressing the best thought of the age, he insisted that histories should be written by men who had had practical experience.

The only good Histories are those that have been writ by the Persons themselves who commanded in the Affairs whereof they write, or who have participated in the Conduct of them, or, at least, who have had the Conduct of others of the same Nature. . . . What can a Man expect from a Physician, who will undertake to write of War; or from a mere Scholar, treating upon the Designs of Princes? <sup>2</sup>

Written long after the events had taken place and often based merely upon unsupported memory, the memoirs are frequently inaccurate and must be read with caution, especially as autobiographers generally have a tendency to emphasize that in which they are personally concerned. The value of the memoirs, on the other hand, lies in their color, in the personal element, in their intimate touches, in their revelation of purposes which formal historians frequently overlook—in short, in the vast range of imponderabilia not found in official documents.

Of the Huguenot memoirists the best-known is François de la Noue (1531–91), a gallant Breton gentleman surnamed *Bras-de-fer*. He was a famous and brilliant commander who served under Coligny and

<sup>2</sup> *Montaigne's Essays*, tr. by C. Cotton (London, 1743), II, 97–98.

Condé, and was known both for his daring and humanity. He was taken prisoner at Jarnac and Moncontour in 1569, lost his arm at Fontenay-le-Comte in 1570 (and supplied its place with an iron one, whence his surname); commanded the forces of La Rochelle; was imprisoned by the Spaniards 1580-85; and was mortally wounded at Lamballe in 1591. While a Spanish prisoner of war, La Noue composed the *Discours politiques et militaires*, twenty-six discourses in all, the last of which has been called his memoirs. The first four discourses paint a vivid picture of the anarchy of contemporary France, the remedy for which, the pious soldier points out, lies in a closer observance of the Decalogue; in the following discourses he proposes education as a cure for the corruption of the nobility. The rest of the book deals with military tactics and political theory, as well as autobiographic "observations on several things" that happened to him between 1562 and 1570, although La Noue is modest and self-effacing. Despite his rigorous Calvinism, La Noue is fair to his opponents, curious about ideas, and his style is simple, direct, and vivacious. There is a surprising tolerance in this puritanical Calvinist; he was deeply hurt by the religious wars; and, considering all Frenchmen as brothers, he advocated a union of the moderates and the Huguenots. He displayed a remarkable analysis of the mental condition of the sixteenth century and deplored that French youth of his early days read too much of Amadis de Gaul and their elders too much of Machiavelli; he condemned the delusion of military grandeur and the fantastic and fruitless campaigns in Italy for three reigns.

The most fascinating Catholic memoirs are those of Blaise de Monluc (1503-77), a Gascon soldier who was the complete antithesis of the tolerant La Noue. Where the Huguenot soldier was just and modest, the Catholic soldier was cruel and vain. Monluc was typical of the brave and boastful military men of the age, hot-tempered, reckless, quarrelsome, but at the same time blunt and frank. These qualities must be stressed, for they permeate his famous *Commentaries* which Henry IV called the "soldier's Bible" and which others have dubbed a "military breviary." Surprising as it may seem in a soldier, Monluc's analysis of the contemporary political forces showed keen penetration.

In 1570 Monluc, wounded when a "Harquebuze-shot clapt into his face," retired to his estate in Gascony and devoted the next seven years of his life to managing his ancestral acres and to dictating his memoirs. The book, Monluc frankly confesses, was an apology "pour la deffense de mon honneur et reputation," against the accusations of treason, bribery, and cowardice. Many pages, therefore, are devoted to what he claims to be his acts of generosity, disinterested services, and loyalty to the king.

The *Commentaries* cover the period from 1521 to 1576. While for the period up to 1561 he used documents and notes—Pasquier and De Thou both say that Monluc kept a record of his activities with a view to writing a history later, an opinion which is rejected by Monluc's editor—he relied largely upon his memory for the early years, and boasted that "God had given him a great memory." His style is as racy as his memory is vivid. He had a gift for pithy and illuminating expressions and despite his vanity and boastfulness his memoirs are one of the great books of the sixteenth century. He wrote, as he said, "with the pen of a soldier, and a Gascon, who has writ his life truly, and in the stile of a soldier." Proud of the success he had achieved in life, proud of his literary ability, the Gascon soldier was sure that he had written a great book. "Do not disdain," he advises his potential readers, "you who desire to follow arms instead of reading *Amadis de Gaule* and *Launcelot du lake* to spend sometimes an hour in reading what I have done, and in taking notice of what I have been, in this treatise which I leave behind me."<sup>3</sup>

Less valuable are the memoirs of Gaspard de Tavannes (1509–73), who, like Monluc, was a courageous and brilliant soldier, a Catholic and a marshal. His *Mémoires* were not written by himself but by his son Jean, a zealous Leaguer, in the years 1616 to 1621, when Jean was in exile. The book, for which the elder Tavannes' papers were utilized, was intended as a defense of his military activities, covering the period of the civil wars to 1573. They were written about half a century after the events, a fact which explains their confused chronology and gratuitous interpolations.

Intellectually far above Tavannes was the soldier and diplomat Michel de Castelnau (1520–92). A man of high scholarship and charming moderation, Castelnau acquired wide experience on his diplomatic missions to Germany, Italy, Spain, England, and Scotland. He participated in various battles, was ambassador to London from 1575 to 1585, and was one of the first Catholics to join Henry IV. Castelnau's *Mémoires*, treating of the years from 1559 to 1570, were written in England and published by his son about forty years later, in 1621, for the author had no intention of giving his life to the public. The book, therefore, is of extraordinary value as a source, based as it is upon an intimate knowledge of distinguished personalities—including Queen Elizabeth

<sup>3</sup> *Commentaires de Blaise de Monluc, maréchal de France*, ed. by Paul Courteault (Paris, 1911–25, 3 v.: Collection de textes pour servir, nos. 45, 49, 50); Courteault, *Blaise de Monluc, historien: étude critique sur le texte et la valeur historique des Commentaires* (Paris, 1908), with bibliography on pp. xxi–xlvi; Charles Normand, *Les mémorialistes: Monluc* (Paris, 1897). There is an abridged English translation of Monluc by A. W. Evans (The Regent Library, London).



whom Castelnau admired—and secret diplomatic transactions. Castelnau, said Le Laboureur, the editor of the French edition of 1659, “knew the designs and secret springs” of all the important leaders of his time.

Except for the last portion of the work, in which he records his reflections on the internal history of France, Castelnau confined himself to his own experiences. Aware of the dangers inherent in the doctrines of the Protestant Reformers, he was not blind to the shortcomings of the Catholics. He opposed violence in religious matters. “My son,” he comments in connection with the religious wars, “you may judge from hence, that the Spiritual sword, that is, the good example of the pastors of the churches, their charity, preaching, and other pious works are better means to extirpate heresy, and restore those who have erred, to the right way, than the Temporal one, which destroys and sheds our neighbour’s blood. The more the people endeavor to remove it by violent means, the more they increase it.”<sup>4</sup>

As a stylist Castelnau also ranks high. He wrote with admirable succinctness and clarity. The following is his picture of Paris in 1560:

Paris is the capital of all the kingdom, and one of the most famous in the world, as well for the splendour of its parlement (which is an illustrious company of thirty judges attended by three hundred advocates and more, who have reputation in all Christendom of being the best seen in human laws and acquainted with justice) as for its faculty of theology and for the other tongues and sciences, which shine more in this town than in any other in the world, besides the mechanic arts and the marvellous traffic which render it very populous, rich, and opulent; in such sort that the other towns of France and all the magistrates and subjects have their eyes directed thither as the model of their decisions and their political administrations.

The works of Pierre de Bourdeilles (1540–1614), known as Brantôme, do not strictly belong among memoirs, but they should be listed here because they are biographic in content. Brantôme was a courtier, adventurer, and something of a diplomat; he admits that he was always “joggling, meandering, vagabonding,” and in the course of his wanderings he met many distinguished persons. Keeping notes on his observations, he later composed a series of more or less scandalous books, the most important of which are *Lives of Illustrious Ladies*, *Lives of Illustrious Men and Great Captains*, and *Spanish Rodomontades*. Sensitive to spectacular events, pomps, tournaments, balls, Brantôme describes these in vivid terms, always with an eye to the dramatic and the corrupt. He is superficial, uncritical, credulous, possessing the gifts of the

<sup>4</sup> Michael de Castelnau, *Memoirs of the Reigns of Francis II and Charles IX of France*, tr. into English by George Kelly (London, 1724), 425–26. The French text is printed in J. F. Michaud and B. Poujoulat, *Nouvelle collection des mémoires pour servir à l’histoire de France*, etc. (Paris, 1836–39, 32 v.), IX, i, 403–554; and in C. B. Petitot, *Collection complète des mémoires relatifs à l’histoire de France* (Paris, 1819–29, 131 v.), vol. XXXIII.

clever journalist rather than those of the meditative historian. Although he utilized some sources, such as Monluc and Sleidan, he copied carelessly. To give verisimilitude to his scandalous tales, he prefaces his remarks by the words "He said to me . . ." when he means "I have read that . . ." Perhaps he was conscious of his defects, for he defended himself on the ground of irresponsibility. "Of that," he said, "which I have learned from others, if I make a mistake, I am not responsible for it"; and again, "whether the account is true or false, I shall not take the pains to find out."<sup>5</sup>

The journals or *Mémoires-Journaux* of the sixteenth century were a continuation of their medieval prototypes. The difference was one of detail. Whereas the medieval chronicle recorded events without comment, its Reformation continuator, the Journal, went into greater detail and elaboration. Unlike the memoirists, the journal writers had little regard for form of presentation, merely recording events as they occurred; but like the memoir writers the journalists were also party members, upholding their particular factions.

One of the best chroniclers of this sort was Pierre Victor La Palma, known as Palma-Cayet (1525-1610), a Catholic who became a Calvinist and finally returned to the original faith at the time when Henry IV became converted. Henry IV, wishing to perpetuate the memory of his reign, appointed Palma-Cayet his official chronographer. The two products of Palma-Cayet's pen were the *Chronologie novenaire*, covering the period from 1589 to 1598, and the *Chronologie septenaire*, concluding the events up to 1601; the latter work was written first and is inferior to the former.

The *Chronologie novenaire* is a carefully planned and closely reasoned book. One French historian has called it the "most eminent monument of historical erudition in the time of Henry IV." The work, as its title indicates, is divided into nine books, each dealing with one year, beginning with the reign of Henry IV and the outbreak of hostilities with the League and Spain, and ending with the Peace of Vervins in 1598. Not only does the author trace the main occurrences but he also elaborates the rise and fall of political parties and records the principal developments in contemporary Europe. This is not only a work of interpretation but it is also enriched by important documents which are

<sup>5</sup> For the complete edition of Brantôme's works see *Oeuvres complètes de Pierre de Bourdeille, seigneur de Brantôme*, ed. by Ludovic Lalanne (Paris, 1864-82, 11 v. in 10: Société de l'histoire de France, no. 40); see also Lalanne, *Brantôme, sa vie et ses écrits* (Paris, 1896: same collection, no. 87). English translations: extracts in *Warner's Library of the World's Best Literature* (New York, 1896-98, 30 v.), IV, pp. 2319-27; *Illustrious Dames of the Court of the Valois Kings*, by Pierre de Bourdeille and C. A. Saint-Beuve, tr. by K. P. Wormeley (New York, 1912). *Recueil des dames, par Pierre de Bourdeille, seigneur de Brantôme*, ed. by Roger Gaucheron (Paris, 1926). See L. Pingaud, "Brantôme historien," *RQH*, XIX (1876), 186-225; and H. Omont, "Notice sur les manuscrits originaux et autographes des oeuvres de Brantôme," *BEC*, LXV (1904), 5-54, 687-88.

sometimes quoted in full. Palma-Cayet's knowledge of official documents and contemporary political writings gives his work an authenticity and authority which few other histories of the time possess. Unfortunately he did not have a philosophical mind. He analyzes events, but has no mind for cause and effect. He is blind to the self-interest of parties and leaders and ignores motives. His services, therefore, are those of an erudite and a careful editor.

Politically, if not religiously, Pierre de L'Estoile (1546-1611)<sup>6</sup> resembled Palma-Cayet. Although a Catholic, L'Estoile was a firm *politique*, a moderate, and steered clear of political factions. A Parisian bourgeois and jurist, L'Estoile had a wide reading knowledge and a passion for collecting engravings, medals, books, pamphlets, and broadsides. He was in the habit of noting all events, trivial or important, which attracted his attention and the result was a journal of priceless value to the student of social and political life of the time.

L'Estoile's *Mémoires-Journaux*, extending from 1574 to 1611, is a mine of detailed information. At the head of all his manuscript pages he wrote: *Mihi et non aliis*, thus indicating that his *journaux* were intended for himself and not for the public; he was therefore free to express himself and escaped the temptation of flattery and the fear of injury. On the other hand, the journals have the weakness of their virtue. Writing for himself, only, the author had no need to arrange his materials chronologically or pay any attention to construction. Important facts are mixed with trifling anecdotes; superstitious beliefs, astrological observations, the mention of epidemics, the details of home life, vital statistics and prices, are scattered throughout the journals. The result is a hopeless confusion, but it must be stressed that even trivia may have social value and anecdotes possess historic significance. L'Estoile must also be credited with a keen sense of observation and a lively style which is sometimes bold and caustic.

Intellectually L'Estoile is important for the doctrines and ideas which he held, for they are probably an exact mirror of the mentality of the upper bourgeois. He was honest, straightforward, sincere, and a moralist to boot. He attacked the prevalent hypocrisy of the factions, accusing them of disguising their selfish interests behind a religious cloak. He himself is an advocate of order, of moderation, of decency, and his invective is levelled against the greedy and reckless adventurers, especially the Catholic League, for which he had a positive hatred and whose sermons he never failed to ridicule.

<sup>6</sup> *Mémoires-Journaux de Pierre de L'Estoile*, ed. by G. Brunet and others (Paris, 1875-96, 12 v.). Berthold Zeller, *Henri VI et Byron, Sully et l'Alliance anglaise, 1600-1604: extraits des Économies royales de Sully et des Mémoires-journaux de L'Estoile* (Paris, 1888).

A different type was Claude Haton (1534–1605),<sup>7</sup> a parish priest, near Provins in Champagne, of peasant origin and an ardent Catholic. His *Mémoires* begin with the year 1543 and end in 1586, although only the matter covering the period from 1553 to 1582 has been preserved. The work is divided into three books, each chapter of which records one year. A country priest, Haton is vitally interested in everyday events and begins his chapters with a discussion of the seasons, prices, deaths, robberies, and calamitous accidents.

Obviously the word memoir does not apply to Haton's work, which is in reality a chronicle resembling the journals of L'Estoile. Haton's editor, Bourquelot, has divided the work into four categories: general history, local history, meteorological phenomena, and anecdotes. The first is based upon Haton's residence in Paris and his reading of contemporary political writings; but here the author's contribution is of no great significance, except in showing the effect which national events had upon a typical French village. In this connection Haton records the decline of commerce and the increase of the feeling of insecurity as a result of the religious wars. As regards local history, the author is rich in detail on all phases of his town's life, politics, economics, and administration. He records prices, weather, agriculture; his description of the severe winter of 1564 is unique in contemporary historiography.

Stylistically Haton is prolix and verbose; he never fails to give detailed accounts of persons' genealogy, but omits portraiture. His reflections, however, are often sound and precise, for Haton expressed the opinions of the common people and especially the Catholic villagers. His compassion for the poor is as touching as it is rare; he sympathizes with the villagers suffering war, famine, epidemic, and tax-burdens, and vigorously criticizes those who cause public misery, especially the Protestants, whom the author accuses of being largely responsible for the anarchy of the age. For this reason the otherwise humane priest approved of the eradication of the Calvinists. Nevertheless, Haton also realized that a large part of the blame fell on the nobility and monarchy.

While the best memoirs and journals were written by Catholics, the reverse was the case with regard to histories. Historians were still groping for a technique and methodology; but ideas were becoming crystallized and historiography was undergoing rapid changes. The boldest and most learned men of the time were applying their intellects to scientific methods and critical scrutiny of institutions. Many of them—Pasquier, Fauchet, La Popelinière—were Protestants or liberals, and almost all were men of the robe, lawyers, councillors, or judges. While

<sup>7</sup> *Mémoires de Claude Haton, contenant le récit des événements accomplis de 1553 à 1582, principalement dans la Champagne et la Brie*, ed. by Felix Bourquelot (Paris, 1857, 2 v.).

J. J. Scaliger in his *Opus de emendatione temporum* (Paris, 1583) founded the science of chronology, Pasquier in his *Les recherches de la France* (1611) sketched the history of institutions; at the same time Bodin's *Methodus* and La Popelinière's *Histoire des histoires* (Paris, 1599) laid the foundation for a method and critique of history. These bold efforts, one may say at this point, were immature, for not only were political passions too strong to permit scientific detachment but there was also a dearth of published documents upon which to base vital generalizations; furthermore the auxiliary sciences were as yet poorly developed. Not until the seventeenth century, in the Age of Erudition, were these shortcomings corrected.

Insofar as the historical sense prevailed at this period, it was common only to the Protestants and the *Politiques*; the Catholics, distinguished though they are for their memoirists, have no single historian of importance. The cause for that is not so much the rigidity of the Catholic censorship as the fact that Catholics had no historical thesis to defend. As in Germany, so in France the Protestants, being the aggressors in their challenge to Rome, drew heavily upon the historic argument to strengthen their position. The Catholic position remained that of tradition, of authority, of eternal truth; their dogmas, being beyond discussion, had no need of proof.

Regnier de la Planche's (d. 1580) *Histoire de l'estat de France . . . sous le regne de François II* (1576) is frankly a partisan work, expressing the author's strong prejudices and violent dislike for the Catholics. He also wrote *Le Livre des marchands* (1565), a pamphlet against the House of Lorraine.

Like La Planche, Pierre de la Place (1520-72) was also a Protestant partisan; he lost his life in the massacre of St. Bartholomew. He wrote a concise and accurate *Histoire de nostre temps* (1565), dealing with the brief period from 1559 to 1561. Among the most informing and the sanest of Huguenot historical sources are the *Mémoires* of Philippe de Mornay, seigneur Duplessis-Mornay (1549-1623). No soldier, he was a political leader, diplomatist, scholar, and gentleman. More erudite was his friend Jean de Serres (1540-98), famous as a Huguenot theologian, philosopher, and historian. A graduate of the Geneva academy which was founded by Calvin, he became in turn principal of the college of Lausanne, rector of the academy of Nîmes, for which city he also went on diplomatic missions, and finally pastor of Orange. In 1596 De Serres, who dreamt of a conciliation between the two churches, was appointed royal historiographer by Henry IV.

De Serres' best work is *Commentariorum de statu religionis et reipublicae* which deals with the religious wars under Henry II, Francis II,

and Charles IX; in it the author defends the Protestants against the accusation of sedition, placing the responsibility for the trouble on the Guises. So great was the success of the book that four editions were published in 1572. This encouraged the author to continue his history to the year 1576, drawing many of his data from La Place and Hotman. Despite his ardent defense of the Reformers and the invective he hurls at the Valois, De Serres is generally reliable and exact; no less an authority than von Ranke has called the last part of the *Commentaries* "perhaps the best source for this period." De Serres' second book, *Inventaire général de l'histoire de France depuis Pharamond jusques à présent*, appeared in 1597 in two volumes. De Serres himself only wrote the history up to 1422, from which date it was continued by another Protestant historian who concluded with the reign of Henry IV. The continuation is neither accurate nor impartial and has much less value for the sixteenth century.<sup>8</sup>

The Politique lawyer Pierre Matthieu (1563–1621) was a moderate Catholic and although a partisan of the Guises he rallied to Henry IV after the latter's conversion and became the king's official historiographer. The king encouraged Matthieu to write a truthful and unsparing history, promising to give him particulars of his life and reign. Matthieu compiled a *Histoire des derniers troubles de France sous Henri III et Henri IV*, which was published in two volumes in 1594 and revised four times in the next six years. Among Matthieu's other historical works are a *Histoire de Saint Louis*, a *Histoire de Louis XI*, a *Histoire mémorable des guerres entre les deux maisons de France et d'Autriche, 1515–98*, a *Histoire de France . . . durant sept années de paix du règne de Henri IV* (Paris, 1605, 2 v.), and a *Histoire de France sous les règnes de Francois Ier . . . Henri IV et Louis XIII* (Paris, 1631, 2 v.).

Matthieu has the faults and virtues of an official historiographer. He is no blind partisan, but neither is he a detached historian, despite his attempt at truthfulness. The compelling motive in Matthieu is patriotism, the *culte de pays* which has the force of religion. At the command of Henry IV he compiled history to justify the policies of the French throne after 1515, to deny French territorial ambitions for the Low Countries, to defend France's pacific aims. Despite the tendentiousness of his work, Matthieu is important for his mass of material and otherwise unknown facts, for he had prepared himself for his task by reading

<sup>8</sup> An English translation, by Edward Grimeston, appeared at London in 1607, entitled *A General Inventorie of the History of France* (enlarged 2nd ed., 1611). A. de Gallier, *Jean de Serres, historiographe de France* (Lyons, 1873); C. Dardier, "Jean de Serres, historiographe du roi," *RH*, XXII (1883), 291–328, and XXIII (1883), 28–76; review of Gallier's work in *RQH*, XIV (1873), 707–08.

the essential pamphlets, memoirs, and documents, which he cites accurately, though he interprets them badly. Often, however, he omits important data and what he mentions he is either unable or unwilling to analyze. His prose is turgid, pompous, and full of distracting digressions.

Three authors who wrote universal histories in this period were La Popelinière, D'Aubigné, and De Thou. Lancelot Voisin de la Popelinière (1540-1608), a Huguenot, was a prominent participant in the wars of religion. His *Histoire de France enrichie des plus notables occurrences survennues en Province de l'Europe et pays voisins, soit en paix, soit en guerre, tant pour le fait seculier que ecclésiastique depuis l'an 1550 jusques à ces temps* (La Rochelle, 1581, 3 v.) is the best historical product of the age. The very title is arresting, mentioning as it does the history of Europe in war and in peace, in secular as well as in ecclesiastical matters.

Many of the events La Popelinière recounts he had witnessed himself. Detached and unruffled, he wrote dispassionate and impartial history which antagonized his fellow-Protestants. Even D'Aubigné accused him of having "sold his pen and his conscience to the Catholics," although he admitted that his "indefatigable labor as an historian is without parallel." The latter statement is true, for La Popelinière gave his life and fortune to the cause of a high historiographic ideal and died in poverty.

Not only is La Popelinière's French style clear and concise, but in his power of analysis and tracing complicated threads of events and phenomena he is unsurpassed. His work is the first critical and philosophic treatment of history in the French language, scrutinizing and weighing facts in the light of ideas. So acutely aware was La Popelinière of the need of an historical critique and method that in 1599 he published a *Premier livre de l'idée de l'histoire accomplie*, in which he wrote the memorable words that "History has no other purpose and no other end than the profit which one derives from truth."<sup>9</sup>

The last of the great Huguenot historians of this period was Theodore Agrippa d'Aubigné (1550-1630),<sup>10</sup> who had participated in the religious

<sup>9</sup> Quoted by Gabriel Monod in *RH*, I (1876), 38 note. This was the second work of its sort ever published. The first was Jean Bodin's *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* in 1566, in which he discussed the laws of causation and development in history.

<sup>10</sup> *Oeuvres complètes de Théodore Agrippa d'Aubigné*, published for the first time from the original manuscripts, by Eugène Réaume and F. de Caussade (Paris, 1873-92, 6 v.); *Histoire universelle par Agrippa d'Aubigné*, ed. by Alphonse de Ruble (Paris, 1886-1909, 10 v.: Société de l'histoire de France, no. 75), and a supplementary volume by J. Plattard (Paris, 1925: same series, no. 121). See Armand Garnier, *Agrippa d'Aubigné et le parti protestant* (Paris, 1928, 3 v.), with a bibliography in III, 182-221; H. C. Macdowall, *Henry of Guise and Other Portraits* (London and New York, 1898); the tercentenary volume *Agrippa d'Aubigné: Études* (Paris, 1930); Samuel Rocheblave, *La vie d'un héros, Agrippa d'Aubigné* (Paris, 1910); anon., *The Life of Theodore Agrippa d'Aubigné* (London, 1772); E. Réaume, *Étude historique et littéraire sur Agrippa d'Aubigné* (Paris, 1883); Gabriel Monod, *La jeunesse d'Aubigné* (Caen,

wars since he was eighteen years old. According to his own account he knew Latin, Hebrew, and Greek at the age of six, and had translated Plato's *Crito* before he was eleven. At the age of fourteen he was present at the siege of Orleans where his father, a prominent Huguenot gentleman, was killed. After a course of study at Geneva under Beza, the young D'Aubigné escaped and joined the army of Condé, and finally attached himself to Henry of Navarre, whose counsellor he became. D'Aubigné remained true to his faith even after Henry IV was converted to Catholicism, and his zealous Calvinism earned him the title of "defender of the faith."

Henry IV encouraged D'Aubigné to write history and the author devoted twenty years of his life to the composition of his *Histoire universelle*, extending from 1553 to 1602. The first two volumes appeared in 1618 and the last one in 1620, when it was officially burned at Paris. A second edition appeared at Amsterdam in 1620 and was dedicated "to posterity."<sup>11</sup>

Although the work deals with Henry IV, it is justly "universal" history, for it includes not only France and Europe but also Turkey, Persia, and Africa. The emphasis, however, is upon Henry IV and secondarily upon the activities of the author, who did not have the gift of humility. He borrowed largely from La Popelinière, Du Haillan, and De Thou, without either carefully reading his predecessors or acknowledging generously. Always a partisan, D'Aubigné, despite his pretensions to universality, never escaped his Calvinistic bias and never failed to glorify the deeds of the Huguenots, whom he considered heroes and saints. Yet D'Aubigné always pretended to be a defender of the "liberty of conscience."

The plan of the work is as arbitrary as the bias is pronounced. D'Aubigné divided his history into three volumes of five books each. Every book concludes with a treaty of peace, while four chapters of each book are given to the history of eastern, western, northern, and southern countries. Such a rigid scheme gives the work a flavor of artificiality and a false perspective. In each book he first sets forth the

1884); Ludovic Lalanne, *Mémoires de Théodore d'Aubigné* (Paris, 1854); Heyer, *Agrippa d'Aubigné à Genève, avec pièces et lettres inédites* (Geneva, 1870); Paul Morillot, *Discours sur la vie et les oeuvres d'Agrippa d'Aubigné* (Paris, 1884); Arnold v. Salis, *Agrippa d'Aubigné, eine Huguenottengestalt* (Heidelberg, 1885); Jean Plattard, *Une figure de premier plan dans nos lettres de la renaissance: Agrippa d'Aubigné* (Paris, 1931); H. Patry and H. Clouzot, "Notes inédites sur le père d'Agrippa d'Aubigné et sur son fils Constant," *Bulletin de la Société historique du protestantisme français*, November-December, 1904; G. Fabre, "Discours sur la vie et les oeuvres d'Agrippa d'Aubigné," *Revue chrétienne* (1885); J. Plattard, "D'Aubigné historien," *RCC*, XXXI (1929-30), pt. ii, 647-60; Basil Gildersleeve, "Theodore Agrippa d'Aubigné," *Quarterly Review of the Methodist Church, South*, n. s., X (1856), 79-107.

<sup>11</sup> For the modern edition by De Ruble, see the second item in the preceding note.



events in France, using the edicts of toleration as points of separation, and then undertakes to show the connection of French affairs with those of the four neighboring states. He then returns to France and devotes the last chapter of each book to setting forth the conditions of peace. No author has given fuller information than he upon the Reformation in France throughout all its militant period from the beginning of the civil wars to the Edict of Nantes. He shows the religious and political state of the parties, depicts all classes, clergy, nobility, gentry, and peasantry. His hero is Henry IV. More than any other writer he sets forth his talents, his character, his action. The services rendered to France by Henry IV have never been more eloquently expressed.

D'Aubigné had a rapid and vivid style and a gift for exposition and description. He was sensitive to the influence of public opinion and took pains to trace both its fluctuation and effect. He was essentially a literary artist—he was known for his poetry—and drew excellent character sketches of the princes and party leaders. His history had aroused a great deal of just criticism and to defend himself he wrote his *Mémoires* (not published until 1729), for which he utilized letters and other documents. In these memoirs he wished, he said, to give “the discourse of my life in the privacy of the family, which does not constrain me to conceal that which in the *Histoire universelle* would have been bad taste.”

Theodore de Beza (1519-1605),<sup>12</sup> although not properly an historian, deserves mention as the intellectual leader of the French Protestants. He was the successor of Calvin at Geneva after 1564. His polemical writings inevitably dealt with history. He wrote a *Life of John Calvin* which, as a “tribute of filial love and respect,” is nothing but a panegyric. Of greater importance is the *Histoire ecclésiastique des églises réformées au royaume de France, 1521-1563*,<sup>13</sup> containing documents and Protestant memoirs of rare value, which has been commonly ascribed, especially by De Thou, to Beza. Modern criticism holds that Beza only wrote the preface and possibly the first volume. The work itself was executed under Beza's direction by Nicolas des Gallars and Simon Goulart.

Simon Goulart (1543-1628),<sup>14</sup> the friend and collaborator of Beza,

<sup>12</sup> Auguste Bernus, *Théodore de Bèze à Lausanne* (Paris, 1900); Henry M. Baird, *Theodore Beza, the Counsellor of the French Reformation, 1519-1605* (New York and London, 1899); J. W. Baum, *Theodor Beza nach handschriftlichen Quellen dargestellt* (Leipzig, 1843-51, 2 v.); Eugène Choisy, *L'État chrétien calviniste à Genève au temps de Théodore de Bèze* (Paris, 1902); Ziegenbein, *Calvins und Bezas Schriften nach der Zeitfolge geordnet mit historisch kritischen Anmerkungen* (Hamburg, 1790); Antoine de La Faye, *De vita et obitu Theodori Bezae* (Geneva, 1606).

<sup>13</sup> Published at Antwerp, 1580, in 3 vols.; new edition, with a bibliography, by G. Baum and E. Cunitz (Paris, 1883-89, 3 v.: Les classiques du protestantisme français).

<sup>14</sup> Leonard C. Jones, *Simon Goulart, 1543-1628: étude biographique et bibliographique* (Geneva, 1917); *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français*, II (1854), 218.

was a voluminous writer and zealous collector of manuscripts. Haag, in his *La France protestante*, lists forty-eight works of which Goulart was either the author, the editor, or the translator; J. L. Jones, the biographer of this Genevan pastor, increases the number to seventy-five. Many of these works are of course theological, but a large number of them are historical.

Apart from his translation of various histories—Simler's *Histoire des Suisses* (1677), Carion's *Chronique*, Le Petit's *Histoire des Pays-Bas*—Goulart compiled, for he was essentially a compiler, *L'histoire des cinq rois*, treating the five kings who ruled from 1547 to 1597; this work was not only inserted in the *Histoire ecclésiastique*, mentioned above, but also largely republished in his *Mémoires de l'état de France sous Charles IX*. Like the *History of the Five Kings*, the *Mémoires de la Ligue*, from 1587 to 1599, is a collection of documents and a record of the author's own observation of events. His *Mémoires de Charles IX* is, like his other works, a mixture of observations, documents, and borrowings, held together by a vague chronological order. Although Goulart was a zealous Calvinist and bitter against the Catholics, especially the Guises and the Queen-Mother for their responsibility for the massacre of St. Bartholomew, he is generally objective in the recording of his facts, claiming no more for them than their face value; as an historian, therefore, he must be judged by the accuracy of his compiled data.

Of the memoir writers of the age of Henry IV one may mention Jacques de la Force, Marshal Bassompierre, and Sully. La Force's *Mémoires authentiques* (Paris, 1843) are full of rich details, especially for Béarn, where he was governor, and the conspiracy of Biron; the appendix is a "veritable treasure of documents." The *Mémoires*, or *Journal de ma vie*, of François de Bassompierre (1579–1646) belong as much to the seventeenth as to the sixteenth century. Bassompierre did not begin to write until about 1635 and covers the period from 1579 to 1640. He paints vivid pictures of the court of Henry IV, writes of duels, tournaments, and intrigues. The *Mémoires* were published at Cologne in 1666, 1692, 1703, 1721, and 1723, which shows that they enjoyed a persistent popularity.

Maximilien de Béthune, duc de Sully (1559–1641),<sup>15</sup> is a more inter-

<sup>15</sup> For editions of Sully's writings and literature upon him, see Hauser (n. 1), IV, no. 2574. The first two volumes of Sully's *Oeconomies royales* were published at Rouen in 1649; a four-volume edition was published in 1652 and in 1661–62. The Amsterdam edition of 1725 contained twelve small volumes. A three-volume work, based on Sully's *Oeconomies*, and edited in the first person as his *Mémoires*, came out in London in 1765, and a German version of it at Zurich in 1783–86, in seven volumes. Extracts in English translation in *Sully's Grand Design of Henry IV*, ed. with an introduction by David Ogg (London, 1921: Grotius Society Publications, no. 2).

On Sully see André Duchesne, *Histoire généalogique de la maison de Béthune* (Paris, 1639);

esting and important person. As the chief minister of Henry IV he should have left us valuable memoirs, but the man's vanity and eccentricity prevented him from writing a straightforward account; instead, he left to posterity one of the most amazing books in modern historiography. His *Oeconomies royales*, which in the Amsterdam edition of 1725 fill twelve volumes, have long been a perplexing problem to historians. Some thought they were a precious treasure; others, especially Philippson, believed they should be rejected as worthless. The conclusion of modern criticism has been that a distinction must be made between the various parts of the work, that the composition and the sources should be carefully collated, and that the work should be checked by indisputable data. For it must be stressed that Sully not only had access to extraordinary sources, but that he himself, as a leading statesman, had important memories to contribute; but his vanity and hatreds led him to compose a bewildering jumble of truth and falsehood, self-adulation and concrete data.

The mode of composition helps to explain the character of the work. He employed a quartet of secretaries to help him search, arrange, and edit his enormous mass of manuscripts; the clerks were used by the old duke as part of the characters in a drama. "You did this," say the secretaries; "and then you say that," and "having with your admirable sagacity said this," etc. This style of speaking was put into the composition of the work, which thus became a concoction of fulsome flattery, conceit, misrepresentation, and mendacity. The reader is hopelessly perplexed; he never knows who is the "you" and who is the "he." The index conforms to the composition, for it makes no sense either. If one wishes to find information on the massacre of St. Bartholomew, for example, one will search the index in vain under various words like "St. Bartholomew," "Bartholomew," "Saint," etc.,

Ernest Lavisse, *Sully* (Paris, 1880); L. Dussieux, *Étude biographique sur Sully* (Paris, 1887); Martin Philippson, *Heinrich IV und Philip III* (Berlin, 1870-76, 3 v. in 1), III, 348, 493-500; Auguste Poisson, *Histoire du règne de Henri IV* (2nd ed., Paris, 1867, 4 v.), IV, bk. iv, ch. 4; Theodor Kükelfhaus, *Der Ursprung des Planes vom ewigen Frieden in den Memoiren des Herzogs von Sully* (Berlin, 1892); David Ogg, *Europe in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1925), 77-81; C. A. Sainte-Beuve, *Causeries de lundi* (Paris, 1885, 16 v.), VIII, 108-56; A. Cornelius, "Der grosse Plan Heinrichs IV," *Münchener Historisches Jahrbuch* (1866); E. Lavisse, "Sully d'après ses Mémoires," *Revue des cours littéraires*, VI (1869), 403-10; Perrens, "Mémoire critique sur l'auteur et la composition des *Oeconomies royales*, ASMP, XCV (1871), 119-56, 545-70; Moritz Ritter, "Die Memoiren Sullys und der grosse Plan Heinrichs IV," *Abhandlungen der historischen Classe der kgl. bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, XI, iii (Munich, 1870), 1-53; several articles by Desclozeaux in *RH*, XXXIII (1887), 241-95, XLIV (1890), 68-71, LI (1893), 275-85, and LII (1893), 316-22; Ch. Pfister, "Les *Économies royales* de Sully et le grand dessein de Henri IV," *ibid.*, LVI (1894), 300-24, LV (1894), 67-82, 291-302, LVI (1894), 39-48, 304-39; G. de Mun, "Les rédacteurs des *Économies royales*, quelques pages inédites de ces mémoires," *Revue Henri IV*, vol. III, 188 ff.; J. Nouaillac, "Le règne de Henri IV: sources, travaux et questions," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, IX, 104-23, 348-63; the same, "Dix lettres inédites de Sully," *RQH*, XCV (1914), 136-45.

and discover no clue; finally by accident one may find the account of the massacre under the letter Q: "*Quae uno die diversis locis acciderunt*—What happened in one day in various places!"

While D'Aubigné was spending his old age in writing his vivacious memoirs in France, in Italy quite a different sort of writer was inditing his reminiscences. The marriage of Henry II to Catherine de Medici was followed by the influx of many Italians into France seeking their fortunes at the court or in the French army. Among them was Antonio Davila. His ancestors had been hereditary constables of Cyprus for the Venetian republic. But in 1570 the island was taken by the Turks and Antonio Davila was deprived of all that he possessed. For some years he sojourned in France where the queen was gracious to him. Later he settled at Padua in Venetian territory, and there his youngest son was born, whom he named Henrico Caterino out of gratitude to Catherine de Medici, who took him into her service as a page. Later young Henrico became a courtier and in the last years of the War of the Holy League fought as a soldier and was wounded before Amiens in 1597. The Peace of Vervins in the next year terminated his career as a soldier in France and he returned to Padua, where he lived a studious life until he entered into the service of Venice, fought in Istria and Candia, became governor of Brescia, and was murdered by a ruffian with whom he had a dispute about post horses.

Henrico Caterino Davila (1576–1630)<sup>16</sup> in the long interval of leisure in his life spent his time in writing the *Istoria delle guerre civile de Francia*, which was published at Venice in the very year of his death. The success of the work was immediate and enormous. Over two hundred editions have appeared. Naturally a partisan of Catherine de Medici, Davila was honest and straightforward. He wrote fluently and the work abounds with vivid narration and details which illustrate the life and manners of the age. He imitated Guicciardini's objectivity, was influenced by De Thou's fulness of narration, and "machiavelized" all his personages, as Fenelon said long ago.

The greatest historian of France in the sixteenth century remains to be noticed. This was Jacques Auguste de Thou (1553–1617), or Thuanus,<sup>17</sup> for he Latinized his name and wrote in Latin. He came of

<sup>16</sup> For literature on Davila see Hauser (n. 1), III, no. 1674; and FUETER, 153–55. Davila was translated into Spanish and even Latin; twice into French; and three times into English (by Sir Charles Cotterell and William Aylesbury, 1647; by Charles Cotton, 1666; and by Farnsworth, 1758, 2 v.). John Adams, *Discourses on Davila* (Boston, 1805).

<sup>17</sup> The only book in English on De Thou is by John Collinson, *The Life of Thuanus, with Some Account of His Writings and a Translation of the Preface to His History* (London, 1807). For editions of his works and other literature see Hauser (n. 1), II, no. 775, and III, no. 1428, and Hauser's article on him in *La grande encyclopédie*, XXXI, 40. The original Latin edition of his *Historia sui temporis* (Frankfurt, 1614–21, 5 v. folio) is rare, and scholars usually use a French version by five different translators, *Histoire universelle de Jacques-Auguste de Thou*

a family famous in the law, his father before him having been first president of the parlement of Paris. One of his uncles was a distinguished lawyer, another bishop of Chartres. He studied law under Hotman, who lived to become the most influential of all Huguenot pamphleteers through his *Franco-Gallia*, and under the celebrated Cujacius. De Thou took minor orders, but in middle life switched to civil office. Very rich and very cultured, De Thou travelled widely in Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands. He was a friend of practically every eminent man of letters in France and knew intimately the poet Ronsard and Montaigne, that prince of essayists. He learned to know Henry of Navarre in 1581 when he was governor of Guienne. Politically he adhered to the moderate, liberal Catholic party of the Politiques. From the time when Henry IV became king (in 1589), De Thou was among his chief counsellors and had an important part in the negotiations which culminated in the Edict of Nantes in 1598.

The ideas of writing a history of his own times, *Historia sui temporis*, came to De Thou when he was travelling in Italy in 1573 and was at Siena, still redolent with the French exploits there in 1555 where Blaise de Monluc first saw fire. For more than twenty years De Thou collected books and manuscripts for his project. The ruination of many monasteries threw thousands of these upon the market, and his library became the greatest private collection of books in France. When Amyot, the famous translator of Plutarch, died in 1593 Henry IV made De Thou *grand maître* of the royal library.

While primarily a history of contemporary France, the *Historia sui temporis* was in its widest radius a "universal" history of Europe in the sixteenth century. De Thou did not live long enough to complete the history of Spain and the Netherlands. The work extends from the outbreak of the War of the Schmalkaldic League in Germany, in 1546, to 1607. If De Thou had lived longer he certainly would have carried it to the truce between Spain and the Netherlands in 1609 and the year of Henry IV's death in 1610.

The first volume of this truly stupendous work, comprehending eighteen books, appeared in 1604 prefaced by a remarkable letter of dedication to the king.

I was induced, Sire, to begin to write in camps, in the midst of sieges and the clamor of arms, when my mind was engrossed by the variety and importance of events, and sought in composition a relief from public calamity. My work has been continued in your Majesty's court amid the oppressive labors of the law, foreign journeys and other avocations. . . . It is the first law of history to fear to record what is false, and, in the next place, not to want courage in relating the truth.

(Paris, 1734, 16 v.); an English translation of Bks. I-XXV was made by Bernard Wilson (London, 1730, 2 v.).

There is much more and much noble sentiment in this long letter to Henry IV—it fills fifty-four pages of print. He reminds the king that he had known him “not of yesterday or yester-year, but for two and twenty years.” De Thou was not unapprehensive that his work was “full of dangerous hazard” and concluded this dedication with a prayer that “liberty, fidelity and truth may be manifested in my writings to the present and future generations.”<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> The definitive edition of the *Historia sui temporis* was published in 1620, in five folio volumes comprising 138 books, including a continuation, and was immediately put upon the Index of the Roman Church. One of the grounds of condemnation was that De Thou had written of one of the German reformers that “he had passed to a better life.” The popularity and success of this immense and erudite work of history was instant and great. The edition was pirated by printers in Germany and the Spanish Netherlands. In 1734 a French translation of all the original 118 books made by five translators was published in Paris in sixteen volumes. Dr. Johnson once indulged the thought of translating De Thou into English (Gibbon’s *Autobiography*, ed. Hill, p. 6, note).

## CHAPTER XXXIII

# HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE SPANISH AND DUTCH NETHERLANDS IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES <sup>1</sup>

THE century-long revolt of the Netherlands, particularly that section known today as Holland, against Hispano-Catholic rule, aroused intense national feeling in the population of the Low Countries and gave birth to a great epoch in art, science, and scholarship. The final result of this excessively bitter conflict between the sturdy burghers of the Netherlands and the autocratic Catholic monarch of Spain was the separation of the northern provinces from the southern in 1579 (Union of Utrecht). The former, largely Calvinist, became independent and rich; the latter, known as Belgium, remained Catholic and dependent.

The history of this epoch is an inextricable network of power-politics, dynastic ambitions, and religious passions, all intimately connected with the larger conflicts of the European powers. From the point of view of historiography, the verbal and physical battle in the Netherlands reflects ideas which were common to the larger arena of Europe.

<sup>1</sup> Henri Pirenne, *Bibliographie de l'histoire de Belgique*, 3rd ed. with the collaboration of Henri Nowé and Henri Obreen (Brussels, 1931); Henri Hauser, *Les sources de l'histoire de France* (Paris, 1906-15, 4 v.), III, 145-52; *Cambridge Modern History*, III (1909), 798-809. The best brief account in English is to be found in P. J. Blok's *History of the People of the Netherlands* (New York and London, 1898-1912, 5 v.), III, 500-25. There is an enormous number of published books on this period, though few in English. Many of them contain references to historians as well as source materials. The best-known histories in English are those of J. L. Motley, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic, 1555-1584* (various editions: London, 1856, 3 v.; Everyman's Library, 1906, etc.; New York, 1901, 2 v., with a biographical introduction by J. F. Jameson; vols I-V of Motley's *Complete Works*, deluxe ed., New York, 1900), and the *History of the United Netherlands, 1585-1609* (vols. VI-XI of the deluxe ed., London, 1860-67, 4 v.). A more recent history in English is that of Pieter Geyl, *The Revolt of the Netherlands, 1555-1609* (London, 1932), and *The Netherlands Divided, 1609-1648* (London, 1936); these are translated from his *Geschiedenis van de nederlandsche stam* (Amsterdam, 1931-34, 2 v.). See also Edward Grimestone, *A General Historie of the Netherlands* (London, 1608; with continuation by William Crosse, 1627); and Geeraert Brandt, *The History of the Reformation and Other Ecclesiastical Transactions in and about the Low-Countries* (London, 1720-23, 4 v.), translated from the Low Dutch by John Chamberlayne. For Catholic historians, see Luc J. J. van der Vynckt, *Nederlandsche beroerten onder Filips II* (Amsterdam, 1823-26, 4 v.), which was translated into French by J. Tarte (Brussels, 1822, 4 v.), and his version in turn put into German (Zürich, 1793, 3 v.); Willem Jan Frans [Franciscus], *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche beroerten in de XVI<sup>e</sup> eeuw* (Amsterdam, 1865-67, 4 v. in 2); Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Les Huguenots et les Gueux, 1560-1585* (Bruges, 1883-85, 6 v.). Gerrit Kalf has written a history of Dutch literature in the sixteenth century, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche letterkunde in de XVI<sup>e</sup> eeuw* (Leyden, 2 pts.), reviewed by Gerard Slothouwer in an article, "Onze Letterkunde in hare jongelingsjaren," *De Gids*, LV (1891), 76-100.

The historians naturally fall into two categories, Catholic and Protestant, since so-called "objective" or "scientific" history was not known in that period. All politico-religious parties used history as a stick with which to beat their opponents or to persuade the wavering.

With the exception of Strada, an Italian Jesuit, the pro-Catholic historians of the Low Countries were mediocre. Among these one may mention Florentius van der Haer (d. 1634), a clerical professor of divinity at Louvain, the author of *De initiis tumultuum Belgicorum* (Douai, 1587). This brief book is based on contemporary information and personal observation. An equally fair account is the *Recueil et mémorial des troubles des Pays-Bas, 1559-1566*, by Joachim Hopperus (1523-76), a Frisian, and member of the Council of Malines. Others, like Pontus Payen, Michael ab Isselt, Aitzinger, Surius, Franciscus Haraeus, were purely partisan writers.<sup>2</sup>

Pontus Heuterus, or Huyter (1535-1602), was the author of an *Historiae rerum Burgundicarum* (Antwerp, 1584) which was continued under the title *Rerum Belgicarum sive Austriacarum* (Antwerp, 1598) and dealt with the period from 1477 to 1564. Heuterus, a Catholic royalist and humanist, also wrote a *Secessio Belgica*, published at Brussels in 1649. His contemporary, Jan van Leiden, wrote a history of Holland—*Chronicon comitum Hollandiae*—to 1417. When Antonius Sanderus began the publication of his *Flandria illustrata*, the Spanish viceroy of the Netherlands confiscated a part of it because he gave too full and too interesting an account of the ancient liberties of the Flemish towns.

The famous Imperial diplomat, Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq (1522-92), belongs neither to the Catholic nor to the Protestant group of historians; but as a Catholic who served the Habsburgs he is included

<sup>2</sup> On Van der Haer, see Samuel de Wind, *Bibliotheek der Nederlandsche geschiedschrijvers* (Middelburg, 1831-35, 5 v.), I, 210; and Blok (n. 1), III, 505. For the writings of Hopperus, see Pirenne (n. 1), nos. 3402-03, 3455, 3457.

Pontus Payen was the author of *Mémoires, 1559-1578* (ed. by Alex Henne, Brussels, 1860-61, 2 v.: Société de l'histoire de Belgique, nos. 10-11). Michael ab Isselt of Amersfoort wrote a *Historia belli civilis Coloniensis*, and a *Historia sui temporis*, the latter coming down to 1586. He also began the *Mercurius Gallo-Belgicus* (Cologne, 1592), continued by others; see De Wind, *op. cit.*, I, 213, 549; W. F. de Jonge, "De Mercurius Gallo-Belgicus, 1592-1625: eene bibliographisch-historische Studie," *Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde*, 3rd ser., VIII (1894), 71-170.

Michael von Aitzing or Aitzinger, an Austrian "journalist," published *De leone belgico* (Cologne, 1581), an historico-geographical description of the Netherlands from 1559 to 1581; cp. Blok (n. 1), III, 507-08; and Felix Stieve, *Ueber die ältesten halbjährigen Zeitungen oder Messrelationen* (Munich, 1881), 25.

A similar work is that of the Cologne Carthusian L. Surius, who wrote *Commentarius brevis rerum in orbe gestarum, 1500-1574* (Cologne, 1574).

Franciscus Haraeus (d. 1632), a learned Utrecht priest, compiled the *Annales ducum seu principum Brabantie . . . ad annum 1609* (Antwerp, 1623, 2 v. folio), and *Onpartijdighe verklaringhe der oorsaken des Nederlantschen oorloghs, 1566-1608* (Antwerp, 1612). Cp. Pirenne (n. 1), nos. 1069, 3387. For other obscure writers see Blok (n. 1), III, 508-09.



here. He was a Belgian, who, after studying in France and Italy, entered the diplomatic service of the emperor. His most important missions were to Turkey and France, of which countries he left the most vivid records. Busbecq was not only a consummate diplomat but also a brilliant scholar. He knew Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, German, and Slavonic, as well as Flemish, his native tongue. A penetrating observer, Busbecq, in his letters and official reports, bores through surface appearances and gives the motives. He not only passes critical judgments on well-known personages but also discourses on contemporary science, art, and institutions. Busbecq's many-sided interests are shown by his collections of Greek manuscripts, ancient coins, and classical inscriptions, as well as by his introduction of the tulip and the chestnut on his native estate, to which he retired before his death.

Busbecq's letters, in elegant Latin, giving an account of his Turkish missions, were published under the title *Itinera Constantinopolitanum et Amasianum* (Antwerp, 1581). Another edition, *Busbequii legationis Turcicae epistulae*, was published at Paris in 1589. The complete collection of his letters, *Epistulae Rudolphum II imper. e Gallia scriptae*, in three volumes, was issued at Brussels in 1631. Busbecq's correspondence was translated into English, German, French, and Polish. He was one of the most popular writers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Two of his historical works, *De vera nobilitate historiae* and *Historia Belgica*, are unfortunately lost.<sup>3</sup>

The foremost Catholic historian was Famianus Strada (1572-1649), a Jesuit professor at Rome. His greatest work is the *De bello belgico* in two "decades," the first of which was published in 1632 and the second in 1647. The work, written at the behest of Alexander Farnese, covers the period from 1555 to 1590 and is consequently not contemporary. But Strada had access to the archives, of which he made good use. His style is lively, his Latin unpedantic, and the narrative contains excellent character sketches. Strada's literary touch was sure and graceful, his language moderate, and his tone skeptical. He is an example of the cleverness of the Jesuits in his skilful attempt to disguise his religious tendencies. The structure of the history suffers from the disproportionate amount of space given to the Catholic regents of the Netherlands.

I give thee [Strada wrote in the introduction] Princes Letters, most of them writ with their own hands. I give thee Embassadours private instructions, secret Councils of Warre, Causes of Designes, Notes brought in by Spies, clandestine conspiracies of Towns, and many other Particularities, which either by Pieces or collected into Diaries, have

<sup>3</sup> *The Life and Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq*, by C. T. Forster and F. H. Blackburne Daniell (London, 1881, 2 v.); for other editions of Busbecq see their appendix, II, 288 f.; *The Turkish Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, Imperial Ambassador at Constantinople, 1554-1562*, tr. by Edward S. Forster (Oxford, 1927).

been discovered to me by the very men employed. And were it not to trespass upon the Readers Patience, I could (which many times I do) to most of my Relations, annex the copies of the Letters, produce the credit of the Originals themselves, to prove matter of Fact; as evidently, as Deeds signed, sealed, and witnessed.<sup>4</sup>

The Protestant historians were, by and large, superior to their Catholic opponents. Despite the embittered war with Spain, the wealthy Dutch burghers, whose heavily-laden ships sailed the seven seas, had the interest and the means to found centers of learning. A series of universities were established: Leyden (1575), Franeker in Frisia (1585), Groningen (1614), Utrecht (1636), Harderwük in Gueldern (1848). Leyden remained, throughout the seventeenth century, the foremost institution of learning, not only in Holland but in Europe. It attracted scholars like Saumaise, Lipsius, Scaliger, Vossius, and, greatest of all, Grotius. These men were philologists and historians who, particularly Scaliger, raised European scholarship to a high pinnacle.

The first Dutch historian, in point of time, was John van der Goes (1545-1604), known under his Latin name of Janus Dousa.<sup>5</sup> Like many other contemporary scholars, he was also a man of action. After studying at Louvain, Douai, and Paris, Dousa returned to his native Holland and joined the patriots in the struggle against Philip II of Spain. At the age of twenty-seven he was sent on an embassy to Queen Elizabeth of England. Two years later, in 1574, Dousa was put in charge of the defense of Leyden, then besieged by the Spaniards. The defense was brilliantly successful, and after the Spanish retreat the city celebrated the victory by founding the university. Dousa was the first rector, a post which he held for thirty years. The Dutch government also appointed him keeper of the archives and member of the States-General. Dousa, therefore, had the opportunity, and found the time, to do historical and philological work.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The first decade of the *De bello belgico* was translated into English by Sir Robert Stapylton, with the title *The History of the Low-Country Warres* (London, 1650). There were many editions of the original Latin, and continuations were prepared by G. Dondini and A. Gallucci; Italian translation by C. Papini and P. Segneri (Rome, 1638-49, 2 v.); French by Du Royer (Paris, 1664, 1669), Spanish by Melchior de Novar (Cologne, 1682, 3 v.).

Strada was violently attacked by Cardinal Bentivoglio in his *Memorie* (Amsterdam and Venice, 1648; last ed. by Costantino Panigada, Bari, 1934); and by Gaspar Scioppius in his *Infama Famiani* (1663). Cp. also Bentivoglio's *Della Guerra di Fiandria* (Cologne, 1634; translated into English by the Earl of Monmouth in 1678 as *History of the Wars of Flanders*).

For modern literature on Strada, see Blok (n. 1), III, 502-03; FUETER, 356-57; Hauser (n. 1), III, 133-34; and Van der Haeghen, *Bibliotheca belgica* (1881), vol. XIV.

<sup>5</sup> On Dousa see SANDYS, II, 301-02; Motley, *Rise of the Dutch Republic* (n. 1), II, 565-68; J. Meursius, *Athenae Batavae, sive de urbe Leidensi et Academia virisque claris* (Leyden, 1625), 18-20, 87, 151; Geyl, *Revolt of the Netherlands* (n. 1), 290-91; Blok (n. 1), III, 347-48.

<sup>6</sup> It was in the Low Countries that humanist studies, when they were dying in Italy, found a refuge and took a new and unexpected development. The soil had been long preparing in the lower stratum of the grammar schools. It is worthy of note in the history of learning that, whereas in other countries universities preceded grammar schools, in the Netherlands universities were a development of the grammar school (PATTISON, I, 243).

Aside from a number of volumes of Latin verse and articles on philology, Dousa wrote the *Annals of Holland* in metrical form, which was published in 1599. A prose edition of the same work, *Bataviae Hollandiaeque*, appeared two years later. The value of this work lies in its detachment and critical use of sources.

Among the distinguished scholars whom Dousa attracted to the University of Leyden was Justus Lipsius (1547-1605),<sup>7</sup> who was professor of history from 1579 to 1591. Lipsius had had a hectic career. He had studied Roman law at Louvain, spent two years in Italy, and taught at Jena, where he became a Protestant. From Jena he went to Cologne. At the age of thirty-two he was invited by Dousa to teach at Leyden, but his religious ideas finally made him leave the Dutch university. He re-entered the Catholic Church and became professor at Louvain.

Lipsius was more of a philologist than an historian, having devoted his life to Seneca and Tacitus. He was so familiar with Tacitus that he could "repeat any passage with a dagger at his breast." He had a vast knowledge of Roman history and literature. His *Opera critica* include *De militia Romana*, *Poliorcetica*, *Antiquae lectiones*, as well as *Politica*, a digest of Aristotle, Tacitus, Seneca, and others. Important for the history of his own time is the collection of his letters: *Lettres inédites concernant ses relations avec les hommes d'état des Pays-Bas* (Amsterdam, 1858).

Lipsius' place at Leyden was taken by Scaliger, who will be treated in another connection. Scaliger, in turn, was succeeded by Gerard Jan Voss, or Vossius (1577-1649),<sup>8</sup> who was the greatest polyhistor of his age. Vossius studied in Amsterdam and Cambridge, was a canon of Canterbury, and was appointed professor of eloquence at Leyden in 1622 and professor of history in 1631. His writings include four volumes on philology and nine books on ancient Roman subjects in history and philology. He was the author of two histories of literature, *De historicis graecis* (1623-24) and *De historicis latinis* (1627). The tradition of learning continued in the family. His son Isaac Vossius (1618-1689) taught history at Amsterdam at the age of fifteen, and became Greek tutor of Queen Christina of Sweden.

Vossius' colleague in the department of history at Leyden was Claude de Saumaise, or Salmasius (1588-1653),<sup>9</sup> a Frenchman by birth but

<sup>7</sup> See SANDYS, II, 301-04; Henri Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique* (Brussels, 1900-32, 7 v.), IV, 451-52; Otto Hauser, *Weltgeschichte der Literatur* (Leipzig, 1910, 2 v.), II, 106-07.

<sup>8</sup> SANDYS, II, 307-08; Laurie Magnus, *A General Sketch of European Literature in the Centuries of Romance* (London, 1918), 375-82.

<sup>9</sup> See Magnus (n. 8), 377-78. For a general discussion of Leyden and other centers of Dutch culture in this period see H. Lemonnier, "Les Pays-Bas espagnols et les Provinces-Unies,

Dutch by adoption. Salmasius became the veritable dictator of literary criticism in Europe and was styled "the prince of scholars." He wrote only one historical work, *Defensio regia pro Carolo* (1649), a vindication of the executed Charles I of England. This polemic, written at the instigation of the exiled Charles II, was attacked by the poet Milton in his *Pro populo Anglicano defensio* (1651).

Emmanuel van Meteren (1535-1612) was the son of an Antwerp printer, and, therefore, a Fleming by birth. His parents, seeking escape to England from religious persecution, sank in a ship at sea. In England, Van Meteren was apprenticed to a London merchant. In 1583, when Van Meteren was appointed Dutch commercial consul in London, he compiled a chronological account of the revolt of the Netherlands, for which he had long been collecting data. Nine years later he sent the manuscript to Germany for illustration, and a dishonest printer published the book, without the author's knowledge, under the title *Historia der niederlandischer Geschichten und Kriegshändeln* (2 v., 1593); a Latin translation appeared in 1597. Van Meteren then decided to publish the original Flemish edition, *Historie van de Oorlogen en Geschiedenissen der Nederlanderen, en derzelve naburen, beginnende met den jare 1315 tot 1611* (Delft, 1599). Although partial to the Protestants, Van Meteren's history is the first sustained account of the revolt of the United Netherlands, written "with the least passion." The author was familiar with the printed literature, borrowing from other historians like Heuterus. He continued revising his work to the end of his life.<sup>10</sup>

Another historian who wrote on the same subject and at the same time was Peter Bor (1559-1635), a Utrecht notary, whose profession influenced his style. For years he collected materials on a great history of the revolt, using secret archives as well as Italian and Spanish sources. His *Oorsprongh, begin en vervolg der Nederlantsche oorlogen (1555-1600)* is a standard work on the Eighty Years' War. The first three books were published in 1595 and the last three in 1601. Though dry as narrative history, the work is irreplaceable as a mine of information.<sup>11</sup>

1555-1713," RCC, XV (1906-07), pt. i, 349-54; and Blok (n. 1), III, 347-49. On the great contemporary Elzevir press see Alphonse Willems, *Les Elzévir: histoire et annales typographiques* (Brussels, 1880).

<sup>10</sup> A revised edition appeared in 1609, in the face of governmental opposition, and a more complete one in 1611. The work has been often reprinted (last edition at Gorinchem, 1748-63, 10 v.). There is a life of the author in the French translation by J. de la Haye (La Haye, 1618; 1670); see also De Wind, *Bibliotheek* (n. 2); Blok (n. 1), III, 520-21; R. Fruin, "Over de verschillende uitgaven van Emanuel van Meteren's Historien," *Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde*, 2nd ser., IV (1866), 83-98; and the same, "Over het ontstaan en de eerste hoogduitsche uitgaven van Emanuel van Meteren's Historien," *ibid.*, 3rd ser., IV (1888), 417-29.

<sup>11</sup> The final edition was published at Amsterdam, 1679-84, in 4 v. See Blok (n. 1), III, 519-20.

Everhard van Reyd (1550-1602), the Deventer Calvinist, was a third contemporary who wrote the history of the revolt. He was councillor to the Stadtholder William Louis, and consequently had the opportunity to study events at first hand. His great work, *Historie der Nederlandtschen oorlogen, begin, ende, voortganck*, was published posthumously in 1626. It covered the period to 1601, but his nephew, Johan van den Sande, continued it to 1641 (*Nederlandtsche Historie*, 1650). Van Reyd was better balanced than his colleagues. "Many scribblers," he wrote, "seek the glory of being called impartial. Yet the pen can ill be so governed that inclination do not sometimes appear. Therefore do I boldly declare that with my counsel and actions I have always supported the party of religion and liberty, but with my pen only that of truth, hiding neither the virtues of enemies nor the shortcomings of friends."<sup>12</sup>

A fourth historian who wrote on the uprising was Leon van Aitzema (1600-69), the resident of the Hanseatic League at The Hague. His *Historie of verhael van saken van staet en oorlogh* (14 v., 1657-71) covers the period from 1621 to 1668 and is therefore a continuation of Meteren, Bor, and Reyd. Aitzema was an indefatigable collector of documents, many of which he sold to foreign governments, and his history, based upon archival materials, is an invaluable source on Holland during and after the Thirty Years' War.<sup>13</sup>

Mention should also be made of the Lutheran pastor Ubbo Emmius (1547-1626),<sup>14</sup> who was rector of the University of Groningen. He wrote a history of Frisia, *Rerum Friscarum historia* (Leyden, 1616), an *Opus chronologicum* (Groningen, 1619), a *Vetus Graecia illustrata* (Leyden, 1626), and a *Historia temporis nostri*, which was published posthumously (Groningen, 1732) and burned by the public hangman. Even during his lifetime Emmius aroused the enmity of the orthodox by his pitiless destruction of historical legends, although the foremost scholars, with whom he corresponded, held him in esteem.

By far the most distinguished Dutch historian, as well as scholar and statesman, was Peter Cornelius Hooft (1581-1647),<sup>15</sup> possibly the fore-

<sup>12</sup> See Geyl (n. 1), 282-83; Blok, III, 521-22.

<sup>13</sup> See F. V. Goethals, *Lectures relatives à l'histoire des sciences, des arts, des lettres . . . en Belgique* (Brussels, 1837-38, 4 v. in 2), I, 161-65; Wurm, *Studien über die Lebensschicksale des Foppe van Aitzema* (Hamburg, 1855); E. Charveriat, *Histoire de la guerre de trente ans, 1618-1648* (Paris, 1878, 2 v.), I, 373, 428, and II, 351-61.

<sup>14</sup> See Dahlmann-Waitz, *Quellenkunde der deutschen Geschichte* (9th ed. by Hermann Haering and others, Leipzig, 1931), nos. 1260, 10452, 11236; J. N. Paquot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire littéraire des dix-sept provinces de Pays-Bas*, etc. (Louvain, 1763-70, 18 v.), index; Sweertius [P. F. Sweerts], *Athenae Belgicae* (Antwerp, 1628), index; J. J. Boer, *Ubbo Emmius en Oost-Friesland* (Groningen, 1936).

<sup>15</sup> See "Researches in Dutch Literature," *Fraser's Magazine*, XLIX (1854), pt. i, 349-57; G. Edmundson, "Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft," *EHR*, IX (1894), 77-91; Magnus (n. 8), 379; J. C. Breen, *Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft als schrijver der Nederlandsche historien* (Amsterdam, 1894); Blok (n. 1), III, 523; and the Dutch histories of literature by Van Kampen and Jonckbloet.

most figure of the Dutch Renaissance. To his contemporaries Hooft was the "Dutch Tacitus" and the "Dutch Petrarch," just as his father, the famous burgomaster of Amsterdam, was styled the "Dutch Cato."

After studying at Leyden under Scaliger, Hooft went on a three years' tour of the continent, visiting Germany, France, and Italy. In the latter country, especially at Florence, he was impressed by the literary achievements of such masters of the vernacular as Dante, Ariosto, and Tasso, and decided that Dutch, too, should be made into a literary language, to replace the dominant Latin. At the age of twenty, in 1601, he returned to Amsterdam and devoted the next five years to composing dramas. From 1606 to 1609 he studied law at Leyden; then the prince of Orange appointed him *Dröst* (steward) of Minden on the Zuyder Zee. Henceforth, for almost forty years, the ancient castle of Minden became virtually the center of Dutch intellectual life.

On the mantelpiece in his study in the tower at Minden, Hooft placed an inscription from Lucan: *Semper nocuit differre paratis*. His house was constantly filled with distinguished visitors, scholars and scientists, artists and musicians.

This extraordinary figure, both Maecenas and scholar, was also a great writer. Equally or even more important is his advocacy and consistent use of Dutch as a literary tongue. Hooft's own friends despised the mother tongue as a medium of formal expression. "What tongue do we Netherlanders speak?" asked the poet van Baarle; "One composed of words taken from a foreign language! We ourselves are nothing but a wandering troop of Catti, driven by chance to the mouth of the Rhine. Why not thus rather adopt the sacred language of Rome? The mighty descendants of Romulus once encamped in these plains." <sup>16</sup>

But Hooft himself insisted upon the use of Dutch. All his works were written in that language. His first historical work, a *Life of Henry IV* (1626) written in Dutch, was received with enthusiasm at home and abroad. Grotius, Hooft's friend, sent thirteen copies of the book to Louis XIII and the French king rewarded the author with letters patent of nobility and the cross of St. Michael. Encouraged by the success of his work, Hooft began to compose his *Nederlandsche Historien*, of which the first twenty books were published in 1642 and the last, but incomplete, sections in 1656. The *History*, covering the period from 1555 to 1587, not only displays vast erudition but is written with such forceful lucidity that it reminded contemporaries of Tacitus. The most surprising thing about this work is the purity and elegance of the Dutch language, of which Hooft was virtually the creator.

<sup>16</sup> Quoted in *Fraser's Magazine* (n. 15), 350 note.

I am about to undertake [Hooft wrote in the introduction] a work rich in adventure and incident; terrible in battles, naval combats, sieges; full of bitter animosity; swollen with rebellion; painful in its description of cruelties, even in peace. Success against, and truces with, foreign powers. Domestic factions, and wars arising from them. The flames suddenly extinguished; peace again, but not lasting. The inhabitants shrinking beneath the scourge, and driven to arms. Cities devastated, churches violated; large tracts of country, morals, and religion ruined. Mankind plaguing each other, call down the plagues of heaven: earthquakes, infectious diseases, famine, severe winters, threatening floods; villages, cattle, and people submerged. The heads of the government expelled. Princes deprived of dominions and subjects. Every part of Europe crowded with exiles. Bitter animosities at court. Laws, privileges, and manifestoes trodden under foot. Two of the most illustrious men in Christendom [Egmont and Hoorn], a number of brave nobles, perishing on the scaffold. . . . Many people falling by the hand of the executioner for the sake of their religion. The spilling of innocent blood deemed an exploit. Every one's life and property threatened, and seldom saved. Those who could not be convicted of heresy or rebellion, accused of connivance, or of being accessories. Birth and riches considered crimes; nothing more dangerous to the possessor than virtue; particularly moderation and discreteness. . . . Citizen fighting citizen, and brother against brother, and he who had no foe betrayed by his friend.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Hooft was also the author of a history of the *Princes of the House of Medici* (1638). His poetical and dramatic works, in 2 v., were published by P. Leendertz in 1871 and 1875. There are many editions of his prose works.

## CHAPTER XXXIV

### HISTORIANS OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES<sup>1</sup>

IT HAS been observed in a previous chapter (XXIV) that in medieval Spain the transition from Chronicle to History was not made until the sixteenth century. Even then a curious hang-over of myth, fable, and legend is found in some of the historical writing of modern Spain. In no other country did this heritage of medieval credulity burden the pages of history so long and so heavily. Florian Ocampo (1499–1555), the historiographer royal to Charles I (Charles V of the Empire) and Philip II, began his *General Chronicle of Spain*<sup>2</sup> with Tubal Cain, the grandson of Noah, and when he died had got no farther than the Roman siege of Numantia in 146 B.C.

However, the reign of Charles V was too great and important not to have impressed Spanish historiography. The king-emperor himself was greatly interested in history. He was lord of many realms, understood the language of each of them, and knew something of their history. "As many languages as a man understands, so many times he is a man," he used to say. He made astute and laconic comments on the margins of state papers.

There was little vanity in Charles. Alexander Medici, his son-in-law, once recommended to him the historian Paolo Giovio of Como with the remark that Giovio was writing a contemporary history. "Just because he intends to write my life," the emperor replied, "I should be ashamed to bribe him by a pension; let him relate to us the history of bygone times, and I will read and reward him." Of this Italian, and of the German historian Sleidan, Charles used to say: "What a couple of liars! The one praises and the other censures me more than I deserve."

<sup>1</sup> Hermann Baumgarten, "Spanisches zur Geschichte des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts," *HZ*, XXXIX (1878), 385–418; Georges Cirot, *Études sur l'historiographie espagnole: Les histoires générales d'Espagne entre Alphonse X et Philippe II, 1284–1556*, and *Études sur l'historiographie espagnole: Mariana historien* (Bordeaux and Paris, 1904, 1905); Alfred Morel-Fatio, *Historiographie de Charles Quint* (Paris, 1913); FUETER, 274–99, with bibliographies; R. B. Merriman, *The Rise of the Spanish Empire* (New York, 1918, 4 v.), see the notes on authorities at the end of each chapter; Leopold v. Ranke, *Zur Kritik neuerer Geschichtsschreiber* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1824), 53–57, 115–32.

<sup>2</sup> *Coronica general de España, que recopilaba el maestro Florian de Ocampo, coronista del rey . . . Don Felipe II* (Madrid, 1791, 2 v.; continued by Ambrosio de Morales). See James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, "Some Early Spanish Historians," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 3rd ser., I (1907), 139–56, esp. 146 f.



"The rogue," the emperor once commented on Sleidan, "has certainly known much, but not all; he has either been in our privy council, or our Councillors have been traitors." To a third historian, the Salaman-can canon Juan Gines de Sepulveda (1491-1572),<sup>3</sup> Charles personally related remarkable incidents of his life, "as candidly," he said, "as in the confessional."

Charles himself was the author of some *Commentaries* which he dictated when he was at the height of his power in order to give an account of his deeds. He had no intention, however, of revealing secrets of his policy, and hence they are not as important as they would be otherwise. His silence on German affairs is notable. After 1546 no one could know which way the water was going to run. If Charles thought he understood he was not the man to tell.<sup>4</sup>

The stellar Spanish historian under Charles V was Avila y Zuniga (ca. 1490-d. after 1558), of whom the king said, "Alexander accomplished greater deeds than I, but he did not have so good a chronicler." His *Commentarios de la guerra de Alemania, hecha de Carlos V en el año 1546 y 1547*, printed at Madrid in 1548, is a major source for the history of the Schmalkaldic War, and was translated into French, Italian, German, and Latin almost at once. It ranks high in Spanish prose literature. Zuniga knew whereof he wrote. He was a favorite of Charles, ambassador to the Vatican and the Council of Trent, fought in the war in Germany and was in command of the cavalry at the siege of Metz in 1552.

By the middle of the sixteenth century the time of historical erudition had arrived. In 1548 Jeronimo de Zurita (1512-80) was appointed archivist and historiographer of the crown of Aragon. It was a turning-point in the development of Spanish historical studies. He broke with tradition and legend and narrated facts. He was a thorough scholar, a bibliophile, a numismatist, a palaeographer; and when Philip II established the famous Archives of Simancas in 1567, Zurita was appointed the first custodian of them. In the course of thirty years he wrote, wholly from sources, the *Anales de la Corona de Aragon*,<sup>5</sup> beginning

<sup>3</sup> "The Castilian Cicero," one of the outstanding Spanish scholars and writers of the Renaissance. After a remarkable academic career in Italy he returned to Spain to become official historiographer to Charles V, and his *Historia Caroli V* is a valuable source-book for the period. Other official chroniclers of Charles V were Antonio de Guevara (1490-1545), Godoy, Salazar, and Dolce.

<sup>4</sup> The original Spanish version of these *Memoirs* has never been found. They are known from a Portuguese translation of them found in the middle of the last century and published by Kervyn de Lettenhove (Brussels, 1862).

<sup>5</sup> Printed in Andreas Schott, ed., *Hispaniae illustratae* (Frankfurt, 1603-08, 4 v.), vol. III; and in the *Collección de las crónicas y memorias de los reyes de Castilla*, ed. by Llaguno y Amírola (Madrid, 1779-80, 2 v.). On Zurita see FUETER, 290-92; Ranke (n. 1), 122-23; Ludwig Pfandl, *Geschichte der spanischen Nationalliteratur in ihrer Blütezeit* (Freiburg i. Br., 1929), 199; Cristo-

with the invasion of the Arabs and ending with the death of Ferdinand I (1516). Though dry in form, this first national history of Aragon is critically written and has been an indispensable source ever since its publication. Ambrosio de Morales (1513-91)<sup>6</sup> not only defended Zurita's great work in his *Apologia pro los Anales*, but also added a supplementary volume, *Antigüedades de las Ciudades de España*, which is a veritable treasury of cultural and bibliographical materials on Spanish antiquity; for Morales, an ascetic who had castrated himself, was all his life an ardent collector of ancient inscriptions, documents, and books. He was the Leland of Spain.<sup>7</sup>

A general history of Spain in which the different kingdoms were separately treated was composed by Estevan de Garibay y Zamalloa. There is a curious instance of simplicity in the dedication of his work to Philip II. He could not conceive that the king had neither time nor inclination to read his four huge folios and naïvely requests the king to bestow some portion of the little leisure which his immense affairs would allow in the perusal of this history.

Another typical historical scholar of Philip II's time is Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1503-75), who combined the activity of a poet and humanist with that of soldier and diplomat. In 1569, as the result of a duel, he was banished to Granada, where he remained for six years and was an eye-witness of the Morisco rebellion. At the age of seventy he took up the subject of the revolt, and wrote a little booklet, *Guerra de Granada*,<sup>8</sup> which was written in imitation of Sallust; the style is

bal Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía madrileña* (Madrid, 1891-1907, 3 v. in 4), III, 225; the discourse of Conde de la Viñaza, *Los cronistas de Aragon* (Madrid, 1904); and P. Aguado Bleye, "La librería del historiador Zurita," *Idearium*, II (1917), 77.

<sup>6</sup> In 1570 Morales was appointed chronicler of Castile, and undertook to continue the work of Ocampo, but got no farther than 1037. He showed more historical ability than his predecessor but is deficient in style. His *Coronica general de España* was first published at Alcalá (1574-86, 5 v.); the best edition is that appended to Ocampo (see n. 2) as vols. III-VIII (Madrid, 1791-92).

<sup>7</sup> On Morales see FUETER, 276; his letters in *Revue hispanique*, XX (1909), 450-53; *Memorias de la Real Academia Española*, VIII (1902), 285-98; Enrique Redel, *Ambrosio de Morales, estudio biográfico* (Cordova, 1908); Georges Cirot, "De codicibus aliquot ad historiam Hispaniae pertinentibus olimque ab Ambrosio de Morales adhibitis," *Bibliotheca latina medii aevi*, II (1924). There is a Life, by H. Florez, and a portrait, added to his *Viaje de Ambrosio de Morales por orden del rey D. Felipe II [sic] a los reynos de Leon, y Galicia, y principado de Asturias, para reconocer las reliquias de Santos, sepulcros reales, y libros manuscritos de las cathedrales y monasterios* (Madrid, 1765).

<sup>8</sup> The book was not published until half a century after Mendoza's death (Lisbon, 1627). There are various nineteenth-century editions, as the *Collection Mérimée*, vol. II (Paris, 1896); an abbreviated version was published by A. Hämel (Leipzig, 1923). On Mendoza, see FUETER, 295-96; Pfandl (n. 5), 206-07; A. Morel-Fatio, "Les lettres satiriques," *Romania*, III (1874), 298-302; E. Senan y Alonso, *Diego Hurtado de Mendoza* (Jerez, 1886); R. Foulché-Delbosc, "Étude sur la Guerra de Granada," *Revue hispanique*, I (1894), 101-65, and 338, cp. also II (1895), 208, XXIII (1910), 310, XXXI (1914), 132, 486, and XXXV (1915), 476; J. P. W. Crawford, "Notes on the Poetry of Hurtado de Mendoza," *Modern Language Review*, XXII (1928), 346; A. Morel-Fatio, in *Bulletin hispanique*, XVI (1914), 133-42, and G. Cirot, "La Guerra de Granada et l'Austriada," *ibid.*, XXII (1920), 149-59.

labored and affected, though there are flashes of psychological insight. Mendoza died before he had a chance to complete and revise his work.

Two other national histories deserve mention. Pedro Mexia (d. 1551) left a *Historia de Carlos V*<sup>9</sup> in manuscript, which was cribbed by Prudencio de Sandoval (1553-1620) in his *Historia de la Vida y Hechos del Emperador Carlos V*.<sup>10</sup> Mexia's work was not published until 1918; it is totally lacking in critical sense and style. Sandoval, though more dishonest, was equally credulous.

The foremost Spanish scholar and historian of the Counter-Reformation was Juan de Mariana (1535-1624),<sup>11</sup> who is better known for his political theories than his historiographical contributions. Mariana was a Jesuit who devoted the first half of his life to preaching and teaching at Rome, Palermo, Paris, and Antwerp. In 1574 he retired to Toledo, where he devoted the next fifty years to study and writing.

Mariana's *De rege et regis institutione* (1598) is one of the most famous political tracts in literature. This treatise was composed in the reign of Philip II as a book of instruction for the crown prince Philip III. It echoes the political ideas of the Jesuits upon the supreme jurisdiction of the Pope and upon the rights of the people, doctrines whose extreme consequences were manifested in the conduct of Spain and the Holy League in France.

What is of interest here is Mariana's historical work. It is significant that Mariana, though a member of the Society of Jesus, was also an intense Spanish nationalist. His *Historiae de rebus Hispaniae* was written, he frankly admits, to acquaint Europe with Spanish history, for on his travels he had found that Spain was much misunderstood. At first he wrote his history in Latin, but realizing that his compatriots were as ignorant of their historic background as foreigners, he himself translated his work into Spanish so as to make it accessible to a larger reading circle.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Printed in the *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, vol. XXI (1852). On Mexia see FUETER, 282-83; Pfandl (n. 5), 206; J. Delofre in *Revue hispanique*, XLIV (1918), 557-64; and *Bulletin hispanique*, XXI (1921), 1, XXIII (1921), 95.

<sup>10</sup> Last edition at Madrid (1846-47, 2 v.); an English translation appeared in 1703 from the pen of Captain John Stevens, *The History of Charles the Fifth, Emperor and King of Spain*, etc. On Sandoval, see FUETER, 283-84, and Morel-Fatio, *Historiographie de Charles Quint* (n. 1), I, 37. He was a Benedictine devoted to archaeological and historical studies. His learning attracted the attention of Philip III, who made him Bishop of Pampeluna and royal chronicler. To continue the works of Ocampo and Morales, he wrote an *Historia de los reyes de Castilla y de Leon* (Madrid, 1792, 2 v.). His *Chronica del inclito emperador de España, don Alonzo VII* (Madrid, 1600) abounds in genealogical information about the Spanish nobility. In addition he wrote a history of the Benedictine monasteries in Spain, and edited the early Christian historians of Spain, Idatius and Sebastian of Salamanca (Pampeluna, 1614).

<sup>11</sup> FUETER, 277-79; Pfandl (n. 5), 200-01; Georges Cirot, *Mariana historien* (full title in n. 1), and in *Bulletin hispanique*, VI (1904), 309-31, VII (1905), 408-10, X (1908), 95-99, and XXII (1920), 269-94; JS, 1906, p. 221; and the article of J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly cited in n. 1 above, pp. 315-17 with bibliography.

<sup>12</sup> In its final form it contained 30 books. The first 25, in Latin, appeared at Toledo in 1592-95, and the whole work in 1605. Between 1592 and 1600 Mariana translated the manu-

Luis Cabrera de Cordoba (1559–1623) was a Spanish official in Naples and sent on embassy to Rome and Venice. He collected documents during his travels, and at one time was in the service of the Duke of Parma in Flanders. He wrote a history of Philip II (Madrid, 1619). It is badly written but rich and exact in details and of much importance for the history of Spain in the sixteenth century. It ends with the year 1583, at the moment when Philip II returned from Portugal. Cabrera later wrote an account of events in Aragon in 1591, but the deputies of the province petitioned the king to forbid its publication. The council to which the question was submitted demanded certain corrections and suppressions which the author does not seem to have accepted, for he did not publish the work, and for a long time its existence was unknown. There is one copy in Paris. In it the history of Philip II is continued to 1598. It was published by order of Philip III under the title *Historia de Philipe Segundo rey de España* (best edition: Madrid, 1876, 4 v.). In the latter years of his life Cabrera collected materials for the history of Philip III which were not published until 1857 under the title *Relaciones de las Cosas sucedidas en la Corte de España* (1599–1614).

A model of direct and graphic historical prose in the seventeenth century, which has been compared with Voltaire's *History of Charles XII* of Sweden, is Francisco Moncada's (1586–1635) *History of the Expeditions of the Catalans and Aragonese against the Turks and Greeks*. Moncada was a high noble of Valencia and related to the counts of Foix and the viscounts of Bearn in Pyrenean France. He was once ambassador to the Emperor Ferdinand II and governor of the Spanish Netherlands in the reign of Philip IV. The book is not a primary source or authority but a Spanish translation into vigorous, sinewy language of Ramon Muntaner's famous history of the exploits of the Catalan Grand Company.

Portugal's pride of history emerged in the spacious days of Prince Henry the Navigator (d. 1460), who was the founder of continuous European expansion at the end of the Middle Ages, and whose life represents the transition between "medieval" and "modern" in the history of discovery and exploration.

Two chroniclers were contemporary with this epoch. They were script into Spanish and so published it in 1601; thus the last 5 books appeared in Spanish before they came out in Latin. The work can be found in Schott, *Hispaniae illustratae* (n. 5), II, 205 ff.; and in the *Collección de los mayores autores españoles*, vol. XXII (ed. by Ochoa, 1841), 502 ff.; and in the *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, vols. XXX–XXXI (1854). Mariana's history was bitterly attacked by Pedro Mantuano (1585?–1655) in his *Advertencias a la Historia de Mariana* (Milan, 1611) on the ground that he, Mantuano, could have written such a work at the age of twenty-six.

Fernão Lopes (1380-1451) and Gomes Eannes de Zurara.<sup>13</sup> In 1434 King Duarte requested Lopes to write a chronicle of his predecessors, and he thus became the founder of Portuguese historiography. His was a general chronicle, but unfortunately only three intact portions survive. These deal with the reigns of Peter I, Ferdinand, and John I. All the rest of the chronicle was appropriated and garbled by subsequent writers who destroyed the original. Damião de Goes, the great historian and diplomat in the sixteenth century, by careful and critical analysis and the study of internal evidence, restored the actual text. The English poet Southey, author of a now forgotten history of Spanish and Portuguese literature, declared Lopes to be "the greatest chronicler of any age or nation." This was the age of the Hundred Years' War between England and France, when the longest enduring alliance of history was made, that between England and Portugal. Queen Philippa belonged to the house of Lancaster; she was the daughter of John of Gaunt and queen of King John I. Prince Henry the Navigator was half English, and the Portuguese royal name Duarte (Edward) was introduced through this alliance. Lopes was a master of narrative, like Froissart, but a much more responsible historian.

The hero of Zurara is Henry the Navigator. His account of the capture of Ceuta in 1415 is thrilling. He was as laborious and as careful as Lopes, and went to North Africa to see with his own eyes the places of which he was writing.

Contemporary with Zurita, the greatest of Spanish historians, was Damião de Goes (1501-73) in Portugal. He came of an ancient Austrian family and was employed on various diplomatic missions to Flanders, Poland, Denmark, and Sweden; and from 1534 to 1540 was in Italy. He knew Erasmus and Cardinal Bembo, which stamps him as a humanist. In 1558 he returned to Lisbon and was made keeper of the archives. Indirectly Goes introduced tobacco into France, having given some tobacco to the French ambassador Nicot (hence nicotine) which had been given to him by his brother, a Jesuit missionary in Brazil. Goes was a prolific writer. Among his works are: *Commentarius rerum gestarum in India citra Gangem*, a history of Portuguese India (1539);<sup>14</sup> *Hispania* (1542), containing important information on the resources of the Spanish peninsula; and *Chronicles* of the reigns of kings Emanoel and John II. Much else remains in manuscript.

<sup>13</sup> Edgar Prestage, *The Chronicles of Fernão Lopes and Gomes Eannes de Zurara, with Translated Extracts* (Watford, 1928).

<sup>14</sup> About ten years later a grandson of Fernão Lopes—Fernão Lopes de Castanheda (d. 1559), who had gone out to India and remained there twenty years, returned and also was author of a history of the Portuguese in India entitled: *Historia do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos Portuguezes*.

Finally to be mentioned is Gaspar Correa, who died at Goa in 1560. For many years he was in the colonial service of Portugal, was at the conquest of Diu and fought in the Moluccas. He left a four volume *Historia da India* from 1497 to 1550 in manuscript, which unfortunately has never been printed. Such is the indifference of Portuguese scholarship.

Another eminent Portuguese historian of the sixteenth century was João de Barros (1496–1570), whose *Asia* is a history of the conquest of the Indies and a primary source for the subject. From this point Portuguese historiography fell into a decline from which it has never recovered. Perhaps the conquest of Portugal by Philip II crushed the historical spirit.

This chapter may be concluded with a brief notice of the earliest historians of Spanish America who lived and worked in the New World.<sup>15</sup>

First and greatest of these writers was Bartholomew de Las Casas (1474–1566). In his youth he went out to the Antilles as a missionary and was so shocked at Spanish cruelty to the Indians that he twice made the long voyage to Spain in order to petition the intervention of Charles V in their behalf. He took the Dominican habit in 1522 at Santo Domingo. From 1544 to 1553 he was Bishop of Chiapas in Mexico. His *Brevissima relacion de la destruycion de las Indias* (Seville, 1552) and his *Historia de las Indias*, not published until 1875 but widely circulated in copies long before, are classics in Spanish-American literature and stinging arraignments of the Church and the Colonial Government in America.<sup>16</sup> Francesco Lopez de Gomara (1510–90) was chaplain and secretary to Hernando Cortez, the conqueror of Mexico. His *Historia general de las Indias* was first printed at Saragossa in 1552–53 in two folio parts. The second part has often been published separately under the title: *Coronica de la Nueva España con la conquista de Mexico*. Another companion of Cortez who wielded a pen was Bernal Díaz del Castillo. He was very young when in 1514 he went out to the New World in the suite of Ávila the governor-general, whom he soon left for service under Cortez with whom he was in the conquest of Yucatan. Later he participated in the conquest of Mexico. In late life he became *regidor* of Santiago de Guatamala, where he completed his *Historia* in 1566. It refutes Gomara, the panegyrist of Cortez, in many particulars and may be regarded as a truer record of the *conquistadores*, because it

<sup>15</sup> The reader may be reminded of the paragraphs on authorities appended to the chapters of Prescott's classic works, *The Conquest of Mexico* and *The Conquest of Peru*.

<sup>16</sup> Francis A. MacNutt, *Bartholomew de Las Casas, His Life, His Apostolate and His Writings* (New York, 1909); and the essay by Francis J. Tschan in GUILDAY, 128–52. For a sharp criticism of Las Casas' exaggerations, and of the gullibility of later historians who have relied on him, see Lesley Byrd Simpson, *The Encomienda in New Spain* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Publications in History, XIX, 1929), 1–18.

gives the viewpoint of the common soldier.<sup>17</sup> It abounds with details and is very prolix. Oviedo, or Hernandez de Oviedo y Valdes (1478-1557), fought at the siege of Granada in 1492 and took part in the reception to Columbus on his return from his first voyage in 1493. In 1512 he was secretary to the famous military commander Gonsalvo de Cordova, from whose service he passed to Spanish America, where he was made governor-general of the province of Cartagena and Darien, and afterwards, in 1535, inspector of mines and governor of the port and fortress of Santo Domingo. He returned to Spain in 1556. Oviedo was the author of a *Historia general y natural de las Indias, islas y tierra firme del mar oceano*,<sup>18</sup> a huge work of minute and accurate information. Las Casas declared it to be "as full of lies as of pages," but the humane Dominican perhaps was prejudiced. Oviedo's great work was pillaged by Philip II's favorite, Herrera y Tordesillas (1549-1625), who even stole the title. Oviedo's literary pretension was manifested in division of the work into eight "decades."

Unique among the historians of Spanish America must be counted Davila y Padilla, the first historian born in America. He saw the light in Mexico City in 1562 and died in 1604. His learning and zeal attracted the attention of Philip II, who made him court preacher and chronicler of the Indies. In 1601 he was appointed bishop of Santiago, in which capacity he burned three hundred copies of a Spanish Protestant Bible which had been smuggled into the land. His *Historia de la Fundacion de la provincia des Santiago de Mexico de la Orden de Predicadores* was published at Madrid in 1596, two years before the death of Philip II.

South America, like the Indies and Mexico, found historians at the same time. Diego Fernandez was a Spanish adventurer who sailed for Peru about 1545 where he served in the army of the governor Alonzo de Alvarado. When Mendoza succeeded Alvarado he appointed him chronicler of Peru. The *Historia del Peru* was printed at Seville in 1571. It is written in a less rugged style than most of the historical compositions of the time. Fernandez had access to official documents and his work may be regarded as a reliable record of the Spanish conquest of Peru.

Unsurpassed, however, in authenticity and interest is Garcilasso de la Vega's *Comentarios Reales que tratan del Origen de los Yncas, reyes que fueron del Peru, de su Idolatria, Leyes, etc., con la Historia general*

<sup>17</sup> *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España*, published for the first time by P. Alonso Remon (Madrid, 1632). English translation by Keatinge (London, 1800, 1803), and others more recent; French translation by Jourdanet and Heredia (Paris, 1877-78); German translation by Julius (Hamburg, 1848, 2 v.).

<sup>18</sup> Published at Seville, 1535, in 3 pts., folio; best edition by J. Amador de los Rios (Madrid, 1851-55, 4 v.); English translation by R. Eden (London, 1555).

*de Peru* (Cordova, 1609, 1617, 2 v.). This *History of Peru* is the principal and most authentic source on the Spanish Conquest and the empire of the Incas preceding it. The author, born at Cuzco in Peru in 1540, was himself a grandson of the last reigning Inca of Peru, his mother being a daughter of Tupac Yupanqui, the last of the native rulers, while his father was one of the original conquistadores. He was proud of his descent, and at the beginning of the first volume of this book there is a frontispiece of the coat of arms granted to him by the King of Spain, incorporating among its bearings the symbol of the double serpent, the sun and the moon, which were the sacred emblems of the Incas.

Garcilasso de la Vega's *Comentarios* are based, not only on information acquired during his early life at Cuzco with his mother, but also on later contributions supplied by his old friends and schoolfellows in Peru, whom he asked to help him by sending him accounts of particulars obtained from their families. Thus his unique history embodies many authentic traditions about the ancient Peruvian civilization, religion, history, customs, and legends which have been corroborated by modern research.

Chile had two historians in the sixteenth century. Gongora Marmolejo (1510-76) was a Spanish soldier who never held any important commission, but served in Peru and Chile after 1549. In late life he lived in Santiago where he died in 1576. His *Historia de Chile* was written in the last five years of his life. The original manuscript, now in Madrid, was first published in 1850 and is the best early work on Chilean history. A rare and important work on discovery and conquest in South America is Suarez de Figueroa's *Hechos de Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza* (Madrid, 1613). Mendoza was Captain General of Chile and the twelfth Viceroy of Peru (1590-96). Sent by his father (then Viceroy of Peru) to Chile, he distinguished himself in the wars against the Araucanian Indians, whom he vanquished in seven battles. The biography contains a valuable description of this war, occupying the first three books; the remaining four books deal with the incidents during Mendoza's viceroyalty, including a valuable account of Alvaro de Mendana's expedition to the Solomon Islands, in which the famous Fernando de Quiros acted as pilot. The work also contains information on the expeditions of Hawkins, Drake, and Cavendish, including the sack of the port of Nombre de Dios in 1572 by Drake.



## CHAPTER XXXV

### HISTORIOGRAPHY OF TUDOR ENGLAND (1485-1603) <sup>1</sup>

IN THE large the age of the Tudors in England is coterminous with the bounds of the sixteenth century. It began in 1485 and ended in 1603; and thus it lapped only a few years on each of the two contiguous centuries. This sixteenth century was marked in English history by significant changes in the political, economic, social, religious, intellectual, and literary spheres. It was a period of transition in which England emerged out of the medieval into the modern world.

In the first place the time of the first two Tudors was marked by the introduction and extensive development of the English Renaissance led by such men as Grocyn, Linacre, Colet, and More, and aided by Erasmus. This was the result of intellectual contacts with Italy and the Continent which led to the overthrow of many old ways of thinking.

The period was also that of the English Reformation. This was characterized by the break with the papacy under Henry VIII, the incipient ritualistic changes under Edward VI and the reaction under Mary, by the rise of Puritanism, and other parties of dissent under Elizabeth, demanding doctrinal and administrative reforms, which triumphed and gained an ascendancy in the first half of the following century.

Economically and socially there was also a revolution during this era. The Wars of the Roses had caused the loss of almost all of England's foreign trade. Henry VII started to revive it almost immediately after his accession. He did this not only by renewing old treaties of trade but also by opening up fresh routes of commerce, extending it to the Near East, the Mediterranean, and the Baltic ports. This policy, stimu-

<sup>1</sup> The standard work of reference is READ; see also Charles Whibley in WARD, III (1909), ch. xv and bibliography on pp. 596-601; J. S. Brewer, *The Reign of Henry VIII from his Accession to the Death of Wolsey* (ed. by James Gairdner, London, 1884, 2 v.), practically identical with the introductions to *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII* (London, 1862 ff.), vols. I-IV, which Brewer edited; Wilhelm Busch, *England under the Tudors: I. King Henry VII, 1485-1509*, tr. from the German by Alice M. Todd (London, 1895, only the first of six projected volumes was ever published), appendix II; H. A. L. Fisher, *The History of England from the Accession of Henry VII to the Death of Henry VIII* (London, 1906), 485-96, and A. F. Pollard, *The History of England from the Accession of Edward VI to the Death of Elizabeth* (London, 1910: this and the preceding form vols. V-VI of *The Political History of England*, ed. by W. Hunt and R. L. Poole), 481-503; GAIRDNER; GARDINER AND MUL-LINGER, pt. ii, ch. vi; Charles L. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1913), which despite its title does include sixteenth-century historians in ch. x and *passim*. Consult also the individual articles in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

lated by the discoveries of the age, and by the voyages of the Cabots, opened the way to that gradual commercial expansion which Drake and Hawkins did so much to promote, and which developed into the formation of the joint-stock companies towards the end of the Tudor period. Economic expansion again led to an increased demand for English wool and woollen cloth. This, with other commercial activities gave rise to important agrarian changes; the development of large landholders on the one hand through the practice of enclosure, and a landless agricultural labor class on the other. Capital and labor gravitated towards the towns, manufactures flourished, and the whole movement developed a new middle class of manufacturer, merchant, and wool-grower over against a class of free laborers.

Again, the Tudor age witnessed great political alteration. This was manifested in the strengthening of monarchy to a point that verged on absolutism. It appeared early in the reign of Henry VII and was greatly aided by the weakening of the old nobility in the devastating Wars of the Roses. Throughout the forepart of his reign Henry VII carried out a policy of merciless suppression of internal revolt. One of the greatest factors in the growth of absolutism was the new middle class. The needs of the latter demanded a strong and efficient central government to protect trade and insure foreign credit. Parliaments were used, but they were subservient. The policy of Thomas Cromwell to weaken the clergy was undertaken to strengthen the position of the king. This tendency towards absolutism was strongly asserted by Queen Elizabeth, the last of the Tudors, and advocated by the Church; it was one of the major causes of popular reaction in Stuart times.

Finally, the age was characterized by a large expansion of men's mental horizons. This was due not only to the incoming of the Renaissance and to the widened commercial contacts, but also to a changed geography and cosmology. The great sea voyages proved the existence of new lands and peoples. Copernicus published his epochal work in 1543; Galileo (1564-1642) advanced and demonstrated new ideas in regard to physical laws and phenomena. Men's idea of the universe was revolutionized. Science, which came to birth in the seventeenth century, was conceived in the sixteenth.

The Tudor period, although not without importance for the progress of English historiography, achieved less in that field of intellectual endeavor than in the domain of pure literature. There were, to be sure, a few brilliant figures: Polydore Vergil, Sir Thomas More, and George Cavendish. But even some of these are more distinguished as stylists than as historians in the modern sense. As a matter of fact, purely narrative history is overshadowed by the documentary sources for this

period,<sup>2</sup> such as the Letters and State Papers of the sovereigns, foreign and domestic, Parliamentary documents, accounts of foreign envoys—especially the Spanish and Venetian—records of state trials, correspondence both official and private, and the like. It is in the *State Papers* and other documentary sources, says J. B. Mullinger,<sup>3</sup> that the real key to cause and effect and to the understanding of state policy is to be found, while the narrative sources are valuable rather for the light they throw upon contemporary opinions and attitudes. Although not so full as could be desired for the reign of Henry VII, in his son's time the documentary materials became so multitudinous that "where there are tens for Henry VII, there are hundreds for Henry VIII,"<sup>4</sup> and for Elizabeth's reign there is a vast flood of them.

The earliest development in historiography observable before the close of the fifteenth century and highly significant as illustrating a profound change in thought and spirit, is the disappearance of the medieval monastic chronicle and the rise of the city chronicle in its place. In the first part of the fifteenth century English historians and chroniclers were still definitely medieval; few of them, except Thomas of Walsingham, last of the "St. Alban's School," are of much value. Written in feeble and pompous medieval Latin, in a cramped, annalistic style of little appeal, even to those few to whom the language was no barrier, narrowly restricted in knowledge and view-point, the monastic chronicles were long past their prime. Such a condition was the natural accompaniment of the decline in monastic life, when not only the number, but also the religious fervor and intellectual enthusiasm of devotees was rapidly reaching its nadir.

The last medieval monastic Latin chronicle of any merit is the work of the Croyland Continuator,<sup>5</sup> an important contemporary source for the reign of Edward IV and Richard III, ending with the battle of Bosworth Field. It does not properly belong to the medieval tradition, however, in spite of being written in Latin, for it is no mere monastic annal but a critical and surprisingly impartial treatment of Edward's life and policy, written by a man who was certainly not confined to the cloister and perhaps not a monk at all. Had this work been composed in English, it would have belonged in form, as it does in spirit, to the new era in historical literature. Thus this chronicle may be said to

<sup>2</sup> Busch (n. 1), 391, and Pollard (*ibid.*), 481. These sources are indicated in READ, 5-21; Fisher (*ibid.*), 485, 488-90; and Pollard, 481-91.

<sup>3</sup> GARDINER and MULLINGER, 311-12.

<sup>4</sup> Brewer, *The Reign of Henry VIII* (n. 1), I, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Alia Historiae Croylandensis continuatio*, printed in William Fulman, *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores*, vol. I (Oxford, 1684); English translation by H. T. Riley in *Ingulf's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland, with the Continuations* (London, 1854: Bohn's Antiquarian Library), cp. GROSS, nos. 1798, 1371, and 579; and Kingsford (n. 1), 181-83.

stand as a link between medieval monastic historiography and the new "modern" type of history.

New features of the chronicles of the Tudor period which mark the change from the medieval spirit to the modern are that they are written in English, and the authors are laymen. National and local politics, business affairs, the pomp and parade of the royal court, foreign relations in diplomacy and commerce, occupied alike both the men of the world who wrote the histories and the vastly augmented audience to which their works were now accessible and intensely interesting. The importance of the change from Latin to English can scarcely be over-emphasized as a sign of liberation from the confining bonds of medieval ecclesiastical domination over learning. Several historical works of major importance were written in Latin, it is true, but it was the Latin of the classical writers and not of the Middle Ages; furthermore, English translations speedily succeeded the Latin versions. The early Tudor chronicles, lacking as they usually are in literary art, in historical perspective and critical acumen, were a transitional form between the breakdown of medieval historiography and the full development of modern historical method in England.

During the reign of Henry VII and the earlier part of that of Henry VIII, the *city chronicle* brought to the center of the stage a kind of history which formed a new type of historiography that was to continue throughout the Tudor period. The town chronicle was not wholly new, but as an expression of original and intense civic and national interests it superseded the monastic chronicle which had so long held the field. National feeling and natural causes were making London more and more the center of national life. Thus it was that the chronicles of London, which had been kept for centuries chiefly as a civic record, expanded from the skeleton form of annual lists of sheriffs and mayors of London and began to assume a national character. London's history became a "civic history of the kingdom."<sup>6</sup> Lesser and more strictly local records of a similar kind were kept in some other towns.

These chronicles are perhaps the most important of all the original authorities for English history in the fifteenth century,<sup>7</sup> partly because of the lack of other narrative sources, partly because in origin they are strictly contemporary, and reflect the opinion of the time when they were written. Further importance is given them by the constant use to which the sixteenth-century chroniclers put them, from Fabyan, whose *New Chronicles* rests chiefly upon one of the fuller versions of the

<sup>6</sup> Busch (n. 1), 400.

<sup>7</sup> Kingsford (n. 1), 70 and 72, cp. his whole account 70-112 forming a chapter on the chronicles of London; GAIRDNER, ch. vii, "Records of the City."

*London Chronicle*, to Stow, whose *Summary* appeared in 1580. The continuity of the type is impressive. In addition to political and civic history—and this is naturally biased by London public opinion—the city chronicles are valuable for small, even trivial, details which throw light upon social history, mentioning robberies, fines, prices, the weather, and the like.

The earliest of the London chronicles is preserved in a folio volume of miscellaneous content at the Guildhall of London, and is entitled *Liber de antiquis legibus*.<sup>8</sup> The record begins with Richard Coeur de Lion's accession in 1189, when the city was incorporated, and continues for almost a century to 1274, concluding with an account of the preparations for Edward I's coronation. This earliest chronicle, unlike its successors, gives only the sheriffs' names under the year-headings, and mentions the mayors in the body of the text. Civic events comprise the major part of the chronicle until Henry III, when the struggle between the king and his barons, in which the city of London played an important part, dilates the interest.<sup>9</sup> Thus from an early date the London chronicles dealt sometimes with affairs of national scope. In addition to a summary of events, the record includes some royal letters and other documents, thereby acquiring increased value as a source. Among other London chronicles written before 1485 were one composed in French, extending from 44th Henry III to 17th Edward III, the Latin *Liber Albus* of John Carpenter, town clerk to Mayor Richard Whittington, in 1419, and several in English. One of these was a *Chronicle of London*, compiled in the reign of Henry VI, with a continuation to the death of Edward IV; another was the work of William Gregory, a skinner, who became mayor in 1451. The latter chronicle breaks off abruptly in 1469, part of it evidently having been lost.<sup>10</sup>

Towards the end of the fifteenth century appeared one constructed on a much more elaborate scale than its predecessors, of wider scope, and some literary pretensions. This was the work of Robert Fabyan (d. 1513), which bore the title: *The New Chronicles of England and France* [from Brutus to 1485; named by himself the *Concordance of Histories*]. Fabyan (or Fabian) was a citizen of London, a member of the Drapers' Guild, an alderman, and sheriff of London in 1493–94. His *New Chronicles* was first printed in 1516, without a title, by Richard Pynson. This first edition ended with the battle of Bosworth Field. The second, which appeared in 1533, had a continuation, probably by Fabyan himself, to the death of Henry VII. Numerous later editions appeared, with new additions to the death of Elizabeth. Fabyan's object was to compose a work on a larger scale than mere city annals.

<sup>8</sup> GAIRDNER, 284–85.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 286.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 287–88.

His object seems to have been to harmonize the accounts of earlier writers, hence the title "Concordance of Histories." Though lacking the critical insight to carry out his purpose, he consulted many authors both French and English.<sup>11</sup> In the main it follows a city chronicle which is itself an abridgment of a larger *London Chronicle* no longer extant, written by a contemporary and well-informed author.<sup>12</sup>

Fabyan's history is devoted mainly to England, beginning with the arrival of Brutus; some sections, however, are devoted entirely to France. The first six parts carry the narrative to the battle of Hastings; into the seventh were compressed something more than four centuries, from 1066 to the Tudor period. From the time of Richard III on its character as a London chronicle naturally becomes more marked. The supplement on Henry VII consists of short notices arranged in years, bearing exclusively on English affairs and especially on London. It is this portion of the chronicle which contains historical details of the greatest abundance and unusual accuracy, and the narrative was probably written from notes taken at the time when the events occurred. Busch considers Fabyan's chronicle as of considerable importance, devoting more space to it than to any other London chronicle. Fabyan sometimes betrays a strong Lancastrian sympathy. In spite of the fact that his work was so largely a compilation, some independent facts are to be gathered from it, and he is an important source for contemporary local and municipal events. Frequent use of it was made by later chroniclers of Tudor days; indeed, it has been said that to Fabyan "all knowledge of the Chronicles was for three centuries chiefly due."

Published some years before Fabyan's work, the *London Chronicle* of Richard Arnold (ca. 1450-1521) is a briefer and less important work.<sup>13</sup> It is described by Kingsford<sup>14</sup> as "mainly a commonplace book dealing with London antiquities." The first publication was at Antwerp, 1503; the second at Southwark in 1521. Few details of Arnold's life are known, except that he was a London merchant trading in Flanders. His work was called either the *Chronicle* or *The Customs of London*. An unsystematic collection of charters, acts of parliament, papal bulls, ordinances, topographical notices, administrative customs, tariffs of prices and tolls, and so forth, including the earliest printed version of the famous ballad entitled *The Nutbrown Maid*, Arnold's account is scanty and of little value until Tudor times,<sup>15</sup> although with

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 293. For Fabyan see also Kingsford (n. 1), 103-06 and index.

<sup>12</sup> Busch (n. 1) thinks that Fabyan himself may be the author; see his extended discussion, 402-15.

<sup>13</sup> READ, no. 280. It was published without a title, but is generally known as *Arnold's Chronicle*; or, after Douce, as *The Customs of London*. Standard edition by Francis Douce (London, 1811).

<sup>14</sup> Kingsford (n. 1), 106.

<sup>15</sup> Busch (n. 1), 401.

Edward IV it begins to be a little more detailed. The period coinciding with Arnold's lifetime is written at first hand and is generally reliable. As a whole it is of greatest value for economic history; it gives information about letters of sale, bills of exchange, forms of award, and even some complaints to the king about pirates. Prefixed to the work is a long list of city magistrates from Richard I to 12th Henry VIII (September 3, 1189—January, 1521).

Two minor chronicles which really belong to a slightly later period may be briefly mentioned here because they are dependent to a very great extent upon Arnold. These are the *Chronicle* of Charles Wriothesley (1508–62), and the *London Grey Friars Chronicle*. Wriothesley, who called his work a *Chronicle of England*,<sup>16</sup> virtually copied Arnold as far as he went. For the reign of Henry VIII the chronicle takes on some value of its own. Wriothesley was Windsor Herald from 1534 and thus in contact with the court and a first-hand observer. His interests were more local than national, and he dwells longer on a procession of the king to Parliament than on matters of such importance as the suppression of the monasteries, the Rebellion of the North, or the Pilgrimage of Grace. His history has some cultural value and displays some scholarship.

The *London Grey Friars Chronicle*<sup>17</sup> follows Arnold almost entirely down through 1501 with a few scanty additions from other sources. After 1501 the convent narrative is independent, and has important notices of its own, especially for the years 1547–56. Although connected with the Franciscan convent, it is not a chronicle of the monastic type.

Briefer discussion will suffice for one or two town chronicles written in other places. There was a Bristol Chronicle, called the *Mayor of Bristol's Kalendar*, compiled by Robert Ricart,<sup>18</sup> town clerk of Bristol, at the request of the mayor who held office 1479–1503. It follows the same plan as the London chronicles. The first part is a compilation, beginning as usual with Brutus; from 1479 it has the value of a contemporary record kept by a town official. Continuations were made to 1628, and a few notices added even later. The most valuable references are those of a local character, although the entries are not restricted to such matters; references to royal visits are especially notable.<sup>19</sup> The

<sup>16</sup> *A Chronicle of England during the Reigns of the Tudors, 1485–1559*, by Charles Wriothesley, ed. by W. D. Hamilton (London, 1875–77, 2 v.: Camden Society, n. s., XI and XX); READ, no. 296.

<sup>17</sup> *Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London*, ed. by J. G. Nichols (London, 1852: Camden Society, 1st ser., LIII). The list of city magistrates is omitted.

<sup>18</sup> *The maire of Bristowe is Kalendar*, by Robert Ricart, ed. by Lucy T. Smith (London, 1872; Camden Society, 2nd ser., V); READ, no. 2992 and GROSS, no. 2375.

<sup>19</sup> Kingsford (n. 1), 111.

*Chronicle of Calais*, by Richard Turpyn,<sup>20</sup> a burgess of that town, covers the years 1487–1540, and contains some valuable contemporary documents. It is especially good for commerce and the economic policies of Henry VII and Henry VIII, for it was written at a time when Calais was the staple for the trade of Englishmen abroad. For political and cultural history also this chronicle is of importance.

Other narrative sources for the early Tudor period are the histories of Bernard André, the *Richard III* of Sir Thomas More, and the *Anglicana Historia* of Polydore Vergil. The first and least important of these three authors was Bernard André (d. ca. 1521) of Toulouse, historiographer and poet laureate to Henry VII, under whom he probably came to England. He was blind, whether from infancy or not is unknown, but was well educated in the classics. In addition to being royal historiographer and poet, he held a tutorial post at Oxford, received church preferments and other favors from the king, and became the tutor of Prince Arthur. His position at the court thus gave him the opportunity of acquiring a first-hand knowledge of affairs, though he did not always make full use of his advantage. His chief historical works are the *De vita atque gestis Henrici Septimi*, and the *Annales Henrici Septimi*, of which only two fragments, the twentieth (1504–05) and the twenty-third (1507–08) years, are preserved.<sup>21</sup> The chief value of André's history is its strictly contemporaneous character. It is, says Mr. Gairdner, "almost the only work that can be called a description of those times written in the times themselves."<sup>22</sup> Highly laudatory in style, the *Vita* lacks the full detail of a general history, and even as a biography lacks completeness. Historical facts he considered of secondary importance; his chief object in writing history appears to have been to "praise famous men," the king most of all. Extreme carelessness and lack of judgment mar his work. The biography which André began to write in 1500, breaks off with the capture of Perkin Warbeck in 1497. The *Annales* carry the story further. For these, notes were kept in diary fashion as the events occurred, and the result is somewhat more useful. Some improvement can be seen in the *Annus vicesimus*, although the information is insufficient and the writing overburdened with rhetoric. The *Annus vicesimus tertius* is far better. Full details are given from notes evidently made at the time, and without benefit of rhetoric. Great events and small are recorded without reference to their relative importance, and the account is purely of external happenings, but the

<sup>20</sup> *The Chronicle of Calais, in the Reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII to the Year 1540*, ed. by J. G. Nichols (London, 1846: Camden Society, 1st ser., XXXV); READ, no. 293.

<sup>21</sup> Text printed in *Memorials of King Henry the Seventh*, ed. by James Gairdner (London, 1858: Rolls Series no. 10); cp. the introduction there; READ, no. 326; and Busch (n. 1), 393–95.

<sup>22</sup> In his introduction, p. xvi.



facts are fully and carefully set down. This fragment is the best part of André's work.

In the *History of Richard III*, by Sir Thomas More (d. 1535),<sup>23</sup> and thought to have been written in 1513 while he was under-sheriff of London, we have a work, originally in Latin, of which the translation has been called the first example in English of "a history which is not a mere collection of facts, but a deliberately designed and carefully finished whole." More, a distinguished representative of the English Renaissance, produced in the English form of his history one of the finest monuments of the language, the first historical work of any literary value written in modern English prose.<sup>24</sup> It is modelled upon classical examples of biography, composed with a fine sense of proportion and restraint, and displays high artistry in the portrayal of character and dramatic incident. With consummate skill the author has painted in blackest colors a picture of Richard III that has been, in all its moral and physical deformity, indelibly stamped upon English literature. The Richard of More is the Richard of Shakespeare as well.<sup>25</sup> More probably got much of his information from Archbishop Morton. As an historical authority it must be used with caution because of its very marked Lancastrian bias, but it has value for the early life of Henry VII. It was used by the chronicler Hall, and perhaps also by Polydore Vergil.<sup>26</sup>

Polydore Vergil (1470-1555)<sup>27</sup> was briefly noticed in chapter XXV among those Italians who found lodgment at foreign courts during the Renaissance. But he requires larger treatment in this place. Born at Urbino, he studied at Bologna and Padua, afterwards becoming the secretary of the Duke of Urbino, his literary patron. From 1492 to 1498 he held the office of chamberlain to Alexander VI, by whom, about 1501, he was sent to England as a sub-collector of Peter's Pence. He had already been recommended to Henry VII while the latter was still in exile. Several benefices were conferred upon him, including the archdeanery of Wells to which the king nominated him. It was about this time that Henry VII requested Polydore to write a history of England, and in preparation of the work he consumed twenty-eight years. His life was spent for the most part in courtly literary circles at London, where among his friends were Fox, More, Tunstal, Pace, Linacre, and

<sup>23</sup> *The History of King Richard the Third*, first published by William Rastell (London, 1557), last edition by J. R. Lumby (Cambridge, 1883). See READ, no. 336; Busch (n. 1), 320-21; Kingsford (*ibid.*), 185-90 and index.

<sup>24</sup> Charles Whibley in WARD, III, 381.

<sup>25</sup> GAIRDNER, 297.

<sup>26</sup> Busch (n. 1), 320-21.

<sup>27</sup> *Angliae historiae libri XXVII* [from the earliest times to 1538], first printed at Basel, 1534; various editions in the sixteenth century; the last at Leyden, 1651. A Tudor translation of eleven of the twenty-seven books was edited by Sir Henry Ellis (London, 1844-46, 2 v.: Camden Society, 1st ser., XXIX and XXXVI). Consult his prefaces; Kingsford (n. 1), 254-58, 190-92; GAIRDNER, 304-08; Busch (n. 1), 395-98; GARDINER AND MULLINGER, 298-99.

Latimer. A friendship begun with Erasmus before Polydore came to England was there renewed. In 1510 Polydore became a naturalized Englishman. A few years later he was employed by Wolsey to assist him to obtain the cardinal's hat, but was subsequently thrown into prison for indiscreet references to Wolsey in his letters. Exactly how long his term of imprisonment was is not known—Leo X and Cardinal de Medici wrote to Henry VIII on his behalf, and he returned to favor, apparently losing none of his benefices except the sub-collectorship. Polydore now devoted more attention than ever to his studies and the composition of his *English History*. In 1533 it was presented to the king and printed the following year. "I thought that History was the one thing lacking to the glory of your kingdom of England," he wrote in the preface. He remained in England until 1551, when he returned to Urbino to spend the rest of his life.

The *Anglica Historia*<sup>28</sup> is a work to which English historiography owes an enormous debt as the first interpretative study of the reign of Henry VII, and to Polydore belong many of the laurels bestowed upon Edward Hall, Stow, and Francis Bacon, whose supposedly original works have been shown by recent scholarship to depend to a great extent on the pioneer work of the Italian humanist.<sup>29</sup> His material was gathered from every available source. He made use of the oldest authorities he could obtain, such as Gildas, Geoffrey of Monmouth, William of Malmesbury, William of Newburgh, and Matthew Paris; he used non-literary sources such as parliamentary statutes, papal bulls, and diplomatic papers; he consulted French authors such as Froissart and Monstrelet; he had access to contemporary historical literature, probably including More's *Richard III*; where written records were lacking, he obtained whatever information he could from conversations with persons who had

<sup>28</sup> The necessity for a new and critical edition of the *History* was strongly urged by the late Cardinal Gasquet ("Some Materials for a New Edition of Polydore Vergil's 'History,'" *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 2nd ser., XVI (1902), 1-17). For the last two and most important books, those dealing with the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII, no critical edition has been published. New and highly valuable material was discovered by Gasquet in the Public Record Office, an unnamed and anonymous copy of an English chronicle transcribed from a MS. in the Vatican Library, which proved that the work was a transcript from one of two volumes in the Vatican containing Polydore Vergil's *History*, once thought to be the original autograph copy corrected by the author himself. It has been shown, however, to be in the hand of Federigo Veterani, librarian to the first three Dukes of Urbino. It is the cardinal's theory that Polydore, who visited Italy late in 1515 or in the spring of 1516, persuaded his friend Veterani to put together the notes which he had already collected for his *History*. The significance of this MS. lies in the fact that it has important differences from the subsequent printed *History*, which was undoubtedly "edited" for reasons of policy. A striking example is found in the well-known bitter invective directed at Wolsey, which does not appear at all in the original MS. but only in the printed edition which appeared after the fall of the Cardinal. Other divergences are pointed out by Gasquet, among them modifications which paint Henry VII in considerably brighter colors than Polydore's first characterization.

<sup>29</sup> E. A. Whitney and P. P. Cram, "The Will of Polydore Vergil," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th ser., XI (1928), 117-36.

knowledge of events before 1500, and from his arrival in England he set down, as he says, "day by day, everything of importance."<sup>30</sup> There had been industrious searchers of records and compilers of annals from numerous sources before Polydore Vergil, but none before him produced what may be called a national modern history, based upon sources used with critical insight, with the results of discriminating scholarship woven into a narrative that displays a full understanding of events and the ability to interpret them. Not only in excellence of historical method is Polydore Vergil infinitely superior to any of his contemporaries, but in the manner of putting together the material in a highly readable narrative after the classical models. The "brain of an Italian" produced the first great monument of modern English historiography.

Besides his *Anglica Historia*, Polydore Vergil made a contribution of the greatest importance in his edition of Gildas (1525). This was the first English attempt at a critical edition of an historical source.<sup>31</sup> It may be said to mark the beginning of English historical criticism. While as a critical edition it lacks much from a modern point of view, its effect was to give great impetus to historical interest and scholarship.

Polydore says that he wrote in Latin in order to make his history of England readily accessible to all nations, and outside of England his history attained great popularity, as the number of continental editions of it in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries shows. But in Polydore's adopted land the medium of expression defeated its purpose. Although his Latin style is highly polished, characterized by the distinction and ease of the finest Renaissance Latin prose, no work in the classical language could stand against the rising tide of the native English tongue. A translation was actually made in Tudor times, possibly still in the reign of Henry VIII, but it was not printed until the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>32</sup>

George Cavendish (1500-61) wrote a *Life of Cardinal Wolsey*<sup>33</sup> which is a classic of biography, and an indispensable source, especially for the disgrace and downfall of its subject. Cavendish, who was Wolsey's gentleman-usher from at least 1527 to the cardinal's death in 1530, had ample opportunity to collect material. He did not begin

<sup>30</sup> Quoted by Cardinal Gasquet (n. 28), 11.

<sup>31</sup> Whitney and Cram (n. 29), 120-21.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 119-20; cp. the prefaces of Sir Henry Ellis' edition (n. 27).

<sup>33</sup> READ, no. 360. First printed, in garbled form, in 1641; the standard edition is that by S. W. Singer (London, 1827, 2 v.). Singer's text is reproduced in the edition of H. Morley (London, 1885 etc.). The question whether George Cavendish or his more famous brother William, whose second son became Earl of Devonshire in 1618, was the author, was settled by the Reverend Joseph Hunter in his pamphlet *Who Wrote Cavendish's 'Life of Wolsey'?* (1814, reprinted in Singer's ed., vol. II), by showing that George, and not William, was the cardinal's gentleman usher. See M. Creighton's article on Cavendish in *DNB*, IX (1887), 346-47; and Roger B. Merriman, *Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell* (Oxford, 1902, 2 v.), I, 65 and index.

to write, however, until the reign of Mary; and because of the author's dislike for Anne Boleyn, the *Life* was not printed until the time of Charles I, when it was issued for party purposes in the episcopacy quarrel. It had, however, a wide circulation in manuscript during the sixteenth century. Shakespeare knew and used it; there is a striking similarity between the characterization of Wolsey by Cavendish and that by Shakespeare in *Henry VIII*.

The second notable biography of the pre-Elizabethan period is the *Life of Sir Thomas More* by his son-in-law, William Roper.<sup>34</sup> Roper, who was married to More's daughter Margaret, was on the most intimate terms with his father-in-law. The charmingly written and sympathetic *Life* is the original source of virtually all information about More's personal history. Not only his close association with More, but also his university education and his position as clerk in the Court of the King's Bench, and later as a member of the House of Commons, made Roper particularly qualified to write the biography of one of the most important public figures of his time. Between More and his son-in-law existed such confidence that the older man spoke freely and frankly to the younger, and in this first-hand relation of More's thoughts lies one of the most valuable features of the biography. In spite of the bond between the two men, however, the *Life* does not flatter but is a simply told account of a man whose greatness was fully appreciated by his biographer.

No contemporary biography comparable to the two mentioned exists for any other great figure of the first half of the sixteenth century. The *Narratives of the Days of the Reformation*<sup>35</sup> contain two brief contemporary biographical sketches of Archbishop Cranmer, but aside from this the biographical fragments must be put together from other sources.

The chief contemporary English chronicle for Henry VIII's reign is that of Edward Hall (1497?-1547),<sup>36</sup> who is an authoritative first-hand witness for this period. Hall was a lawyer, born in London, educated

<sup>34</sup> *The Life, Arraignment and Death of . . . Syr Thomas More*, etc. First printed at Paris, 1626; ed. by S. W. Singer (Chiswick, 1817; and London, 1822); most recent edition by Elsie V. Hitchcock (London, 1935: Early English Text Society). See READ, no. 380; Sidney Lee's article on More in *DNB*, XXXVIII (1894), 429-49, and on Roper, *ibid.*, XLIX (1897), 215-16.

<sup>35</sup> *Narratives of the Days of the Reformation, Chiefly from the MSS of John Foxe the Martyrologist, with Two Contemporary Biographies of Archbishop Cranmer*, ed. by J. G. Nichols (London, 1859: Camden Society, LXXVII).

<sup>36</sup> *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre and York*. There are two modern editions, by Sir Henry Ellis (London, 1809), and by Charles Whibley (London, 1904, 2 v.). The first edition, printed by Berthelet in 1542, is so rare that no complete copy of it exists. Hall carried his chronicle only to 1532; it was finished from notes which he had left by the printer Richard Grafton, who issued it in 1548 and again in 1550. The book was suppressed during Mary's reign, which probably accounts for the rarity of the early editions. READ, no. 287; M. Creighton's article on Hall in *DNB*, XXIV (1890), 63-64; Kingsford (n. 1), 261-65 and index; GAIRDNER, 299-304.

at Eton and King's, afterwards entering Gray's Inn. Later he became a judge in the Sheriff's Court. The attitude of mind produced by his training for the bar colored his work to a very large extent. Henry VIII, to him, was "the most goodliest prince that ever ruled over the Realme of England," a sovereign whose position was legally secure through hereditary right, and who consulted the jurists at every turn, scrupulously observing all the outward forms to give the sanction of legality and constitutionality to his plans. Hall's respect, natural to his profession, for ceremonial of all kinds, appears in his full accounts of the pomp and pageantry of the court and of London.

The avowed purpose of his chronicle is the glorification of the house of Tudor and especially of Henry VIII. The story begins with Henry IV and continues to the year 1532. The first part is very largely a compilation, depending, as Busch<sup>37</sup> has shown, more on Polydore Vergil than on original work by Hall himself. For the period preceding Henry VIII, the chronicle is to a considerable extent a transcription and sometimes even a literal translation of his Italian contemporary, and has often received credit as an original source. Through Hall, the substance of the *Anglica Historia* became every man's property; his work was later used extensively by Grafton, Stow, and Holinshed. The London city chronicle was his second chief source; though he consulted a number of others, among which he mentions Higden's *Polychronicon*, the works of Gaguin, Monstrelet, Commynes, Fabyan, More, Hardyng, and the translation of Boece's *Historia Scotorum*. A number of bits of information about isolated events on the Continent come from French and Flemish sources. When Hall reaches the reign of Henry VIII, he becomes one of our most valuable sources, as an eye-witness of much of what he relates, conversant with affairs of state and full of enthusiasm and loyalty to Henry VIII. "Hall was a robust Protestant Londoner, an ardent royalist, a patriot, a priest-hater, a lover of gorgeous sights and sounds, a creature of most illuminating limitations. . . . Yet, in spite of his strong prejudices, Hall is an accurate man. . . . He reflects the opinion of Protestant London as no other writer does, and enables us to enter into its spirit."<sup>38</sup> The imperial ambassadors and Cromwell's spies tend to minimize Protestant feeling. Hall stands as a corrective of this. He also deserves mention for his literary style, although Ascham accused him of using "Indenture Englishe" and "Inkhorne tearmes." He was Shakespeare's chief source for the plays dealing with the period of which Hall wrote.

The amount of English historical work done in the sixteenth century was great, but there was a certain monotony in the nature of it. Most

<sup>37</sup> Busch (n. 1), 399.

<sup>38</sup> Fisher (n. 1), 490-91.

works were chronicles. During the short reigns of Edward VI and Mary there was an almost complete lapse of any kind of historical writing. For Edward's reign only Wriothesley's *Chronicle* is of much value among the contemporary histories. For Mary's reign, the *Chronicle of Queen Jane*,<sup>39</sup> written during the period from July 1553 to October 1554 by a resident of the Tower, who was probably an officer of the royal mint, is of some value for the beginning of the reign and for Wyatt's rebellion. The later part of the *Grey Friars Chronicle*, which ends at 1556, has some value as an independent source, as do the last pages of Wriothesley's *Chronicle*, running to 1559.

With Elizabeth's accession historical writing was resumed. "However, the Elizabethan conception of history was limited. It knew nothing of historical perspective and weighed scarcely at all the relative importance of the events which it detailed. . . . Between More's distorted 'biography' of Richard III, the enemy of the house of Lancaster, and Bacon's historical portraiture of the first Tudor Henry, there is little historical writing approaching our modern ideals and conceptions." "The Elizabethan conception of history as exemplified in the pages of Holinshed or Stow is crude in the extreme. It neither discriminates nor chooses, but takes whatever has been chronicled before, without hesitancy or question; and it knows no ordering of material save the chronological sequence of events."<sup>40</sup>

The first of the chronicles written in Elizabeth's reign was that issued in 1562 by Richard Grafton (d. ca. 1572), formerly printer to Edward VI, and entitled *An Abridgment of the Chronicles of England*, which reached a fourth reprint in ten years.<sup>41</sup> As noted before, Grafton had already in 1543 printed Hardyng's *Chronicle*, with a continuation of his own to that year, and in 1548 he had issued Hall's work with a brief continuation. Following the publication of Stow's *Summary of English Chroniclers*, Grafton printed a rival abridgment of his own "Abridgment," called *A Manuell of the Chronicles of England to This Yere 1565* (London, 1565). His largest work, commonly called *Grafton's Chronicle*,<sup>42</sup> was written to supply what the author considered to be sadly lacking, "any full, playne, and meere English historie," devoted

<sup>39</sup> *The Chronicle of Queen Jane, and of Two Years of Queen Mary, and especially of the Rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt, Written by a Resident in the Tower*, ed. by J. G. Nichols (London, 1850: Camden Society, first series, XLVIII). The appendix contains valuable documents, including the will of Edward VI, and documents on the accession of the two queens, Wyatt's rebellion, and the arrival and marriage of Philip II. Cf. Read, no. 282.

<sup>40</sup> Felix E. Schelling, *English Literature during the Lifetime of Shakespeare* (New York, 1910), 13 and 292.

<sup>41</sup> Printed by Tottel in London, 1562; the issue of 1572 carried the narrative up to that year. See READ, no. 285 and 285 a, b, and c; GAIRDNER, 308-10; Kingsford (n. 1), 265 and index.

<sup>42</sup> *A Chronicle at Large and Meere Historie of the Affayres of England to the First Yeere . . . of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1568-69, 2 v.; modern edition by Sir Henry Ellis, London, 1809).

chiefly to English affairs and zealously Protestant in point of view. His "meere English historie," however, starts with the Creation. The second part deals more exclusively with England, but from the time of Henry IV on is virtually a reprint of Hall's *Chronicle*, with a continuation to the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. Although very popular in its own day, the work has almost no independent value.

In 1565 a work appeared which rivalled Grafton's in popularity. Its author was John Stow (1525-1605), a London tailor who devoted his life to history, antiquities, and literature, and was a member of the Society of Antiquaries founded by archbishop Parker. In association with him Stow published three medieval Latin chronicles—those of Matthew of Westminster, Matthew Paris, and Thomas of Walsingham. His first work, the *Summary of English Chronicles*,<sup>43</sup> was intended to be a small popular manual for ready reference; it was a compilation of notable political events and extraordinary occurrences, natural phenomena, and the like. Of much greater value was his *The Chronicles of England*,<sup>44</sup> part of which is strictly contemporary, written from the standpoint of one who was at first a moderate Catholic and later a loyal Anglican, but remarkably impartial at all times. He has been regarded, indeed, as the most accurate and reliable of the sixteenth-century annalists, so free is he from religious and political bias. The *Annals* are a chronological epitome of English history, resembling, as the name indicates, the old type of city chronicle with its lists of mayors and sheriffs. His lofty purpose was to celebrate "the worthie exploits of our Kings and governors," and to inculcate sound morals at the same time. Except for contemporary times, his work added little to historical knowledge, and he unfortunately is credulous of fairy tales and rumors. He had, however, the saving grace of a plain and straightforward style.

Of much greater interest is the vast congeries of chronicles which goes by the name of *Holinshed's Chronicles*, the most important of all the Elizabethan chronicles and the source of several of Shakespeare's historical plays. The work was planned, in true Elizabethan style, as a universal cosmography, with histories of every known nation. The

<sup>43</sup> *A Summarie of English Chronicles* (London, 1565). He had in 1561 published an edition of Chaucer's works, and later an edition of Matthew Paris and of Walsingham, and contributed to the second edition of Holinshed. See READ, nos. 292 and 3210; Kingsford (n. 1), 266-71 and index.

<sup>44</sup> *The Chronicles of England, from Brute until This Present Yeare of Christ 1580* (London, 1580); called *Annals* in the 2nd ed. of 1592 and in those which followed. It was continued to 1614 by Edward Howe. The publication of the *Annals* gave rise to a dispute between Grafton, who called the work "memories of superstitious foundations, fables, and lyes foolishly *Slowed together*," while Stow retorted that Grafton's history was a "thundering voice of empty tonnes and unfruitful *grafs*." Stowe and Holinshed (see *infra*) borrowed much from Leland's *The Antiquity*, as the best portion of Harrison's *Description of Britain*, before Holinshed, was also borrowed from Leland.

idea was conceived by Reginald Wolfe, a German who had inherited Leland's notes, and who was printer to the Queen, but Wolfe died (1573) before he could complete his plans, even after twenty-five years of preparation. Raphael Holinshed (d. ca. 1580),<sup>45</sup> who had been engaged by Wolfe to collect the materials for the chronicle, was employed by the printer's executors to supervise the publication of the work. The vastness of the design and the expense involved resulted in the limitation of the history to England, Scotland, and Ireland, with a general description of each country. Within a few years after Wolfe's death the first edition was issued, entitled *The Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*.<sup>46</sup> How faithfully Shakespeare sometimes followed his sources is exemplified in the close parallelism between Holinshed's account of Macbeth and the poet's treatment of the theme.

Holinshed was an old-fashioned conservative, fond of the traditions of Merry England, disliking the Puritans, and having a deep reverence for the universities. The first edition of Holinshed published in 1577 must be distinguished from the second edition ten years later which was "edited" to suit the growing tide of opinion.

The *Chronicle of Scotland* was compiled by Holinshed chiefly from Hector Boece, John Major, and the continuation of Boece by John Ferrier the Piedmontese, with a description of Scotland translated by Harrison from Bellenden's Scottish version of Boece's Latin. The *History of Ireland* was the work of Holinshed, derived from Giraldus Cambrensis to the Norman Conquest, as far as 1509; it was continued to 1547 by the Irish Catholic Richard Stanyhurst, whose narrative is the main literary source for the Irish part of the story.<sup>47</sup> In the second edition continuations were made down to 1586 by Stow—whose contribution forms, except for Harrison's *Description*, the most valuable part of the work<sup>48</sup>—by John Hooker, Francis Thynne, and Abraham Fleming, with valuable notes and reprints of some contemporary pamphlets. Deletions were ordered by the government after the publication of the second edition, of parts dealing with Anglo-Scottish relations, the Babington conspiracy, and Leicester's expedition to Ireland.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Little is known of his life except that he received a university education and became a minister.

<sup>46</sup> London, 1577. This first edition, in two folio volumes and illustrated with wood-cuts, is extremely rare. The second edition, of 1587, without illustrations but with some important additions by Stow and others, is the one generally referred to. Modern edition by Sir Henry Ellis (London, 1807-08, 6 v.), cp. READ, no. 289. The first edition, commonly known as the "Shakespeare edition," has on p. 243 of the "History of Scotland" the story of Macbeth and a woodcut of Macbeth and Banquo meeting the three weird sisters.

<sup>47</sup> Cp. READ, no. 3951. Stanyhurst based his work largely on a brief chronicle written by the Jesuit Edmund Campion, on "records and rolls divers," and probably also on oral tradition.

<sup>48</sup> READ, no. 289.

<sup>49</sup> These were published separately in 1725, and are included in the edition of 1807-08.



William Harrison's *Description of England*<sup>50</sup> is a vivid and picturesque sketch of the highest interest. William Harrison (1534–93) was educated at Westminster School, then at Oxford and Cambridge, and afterwards became chaplain to Lord Cobham. The *Description* was written when he was parted from his books, as he says, by forty miles. Most of his travelling was confined to visits to the universities or to the home of Lord Cobham in Kent. His information was derived chiefly from careful study of Leland's notes, together with letters and conversations with friends in all parts of England. He describes not only topography and antiquities, but discusses whatever was thought and done in England—church history, the universities, French cooks, fashions, buildings and furniture, fairs, marshes and gardens, dogs, woods, farming, everything that is English. He was one of the first to feel patriotic pride in the English navy.<sup>51</sup> Although his information was so largely gathered from others the substance and style of the work are his own, and his work is still of value as painting the truest picture we have of Shakespeare's England.<sup>52</sup>

Two years after the first edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles* a work appeared which is not, strictly speaking, in the domain of historiography, but closely allied to it. This was the translation of Plutarch's *Lives* by Sir Thomas North (1535?–ca. 1601).<sup>53</sup> In an age which made translations both from the classics and from modern authors its peculiar achievement, North's *Lives* stands as the supreme example of the Elizabethan translation. With the spirit characteristic of their age, the Elizabethans set out in bold patriotic adventure to "subdue the Romans," and the Greeks, Italians, Spanish, French, Dutch, and even Germans as well—not to make a show of critical scholarship, but to make accessible to their rulers and countrymen the lessons of policy and statecraft which might be learned from the classics. It was the achievement of the translators to bring about "the real renascence in England, the authentic recovery of the ancient spirit."<sup>54</sup> The translations were popular in the best sense; dramatic, specific, and concrete where the originals were expressed with restraint and often in abstract terms, glowing with sentiment and romance, embellished with all the richness of Elizabethan English, the productions for the most part of men of

<sup>50</sup> *An Historicall Description of the Iland of Britaine*, etc. (London, 1577). Only Bks. iii–iv are reprinted in the edition of the New Shakespeare Society (London, 1908, 4 v.); READ, no. 470.

<sup>51</sup> WARD, III, 364–68.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 368.

<sup>53</sup> *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romanes . . . by Plutarke. . . .* Translated out of Greek into French by James Amyot . . . and out of French into English by Thomas North (London, 1579). The modern edition by W. W. Skeat (London, 1892) reprints only those Lives which illustrate Shakespeare's plays.

<sup>54</sup> Charles Whibley, in WARD, IV, ch. i ("Translators"), p. 1; and see also F. O. Matthiessen, *Translation, an Elizabethan Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), ch. i.

affairs rather than of learned pedants, they remained no longer foreign classics but were swept into the full tide of English literature. No work illustrates the process better than North's *Plutarch*.

North, although a university man (educated probably at Peterhouse), was not a scholar, and in fact knew little of the classics. He made his translation not from the original but from the French version of Jacques Amyot, bishop of Auxerre (d. 1593). North's version of the *Lives* was "Shakespeare's storehouse of classical learning" from which the poet borrowed words as well as plots, so vivid and robust is North's prose style, so thoroughly English are his heroes.<sup>55</sup>

The great number of translations of classical and modern writers on history and statecraft speaks eloquently for itself. Foreign countries claimed the interest of Elizabethan England, as histories compiled and translated from contemporary writers indicate. Among these were Edward Grimestone's *General Inventory of the History of France* (1607), and his *History of the Netherlands of Spain*, mere compilations from continental writers; and Richard Knolles' *The General History of the Ottoman Turks* (1603), a paraphrase of a Latin history of the Turks printed at Frankfort in 1596.<sup>56</sup>

A solitary work on constitutional history, the only contemporary account of the English government, was published about the middle of the reign, nearly twenty years after its composition. Sir Thomas Smith (1513-77), author of *De Republica Anglorum*,<sup>57</sup> had been not only secretary of state and ambassador, but also professor of civil law at Cambridge, in addition to numerous other offices. His object was to "declare summarily as it were in a chart or map," the form of government and the policy not of an imaginary commonwealth but of England as it "standeth and is governed on March 28th, 1565." The book's popular appeal is explained by the fact that it gave to the people knowl-

<sup>55</sup> WARD, IV, 11. Shakespeare is thought to have used the 3rd ed., that of 1603. Entire speeches in *Coriolanus* are bodily transferred, although *Anihony* and *Cleopatra* follows North the most closely of all. Cp. Lady Frances Bushby's article on North in *DNB*, XLI (1895), 179-80.

<sup>56</sup> Schelling (n. 40), 272-73, in ch. xv: "Translations in Verse and Prose." The whole subject of translations belongs to the domain of literary development rather than to historiography. A few of the most notable translators and translations may be mentioned in passing. One of the earliest was John Bellenden's *Livy* (1536). Arthur Golding, best known as the translator of the *Metamorphoses* (1565 and 1567), added among others Caesar, Troglus Pompeius, various religious works of the Reformation, and the *History* of Bruni; and is credited with a translation (from the Latin of Sleidan) of the "Abridgment of the Chronicle of Sir John Frossard," attributed also to Percy Golding. In 1598 appeared the first part of Chapman's *Homer*. Thucydides, Herodotus, Sallust, and Tacitus found translators before the end of the century. The erudite Philemon Holland, master of both classical languages and called by Fuller "the translator general of his age," belongs to the early seventeenth century, as does most of the work of Edward Grimestone. Among later authors translated into English were Guevara, Contarini, Machiavelli, Guicciardini, Commynes, and De Thou.

<sup>57</sup> *De Republica Anglorum, or a Discourse on the Commonwealth of England* (London, 1583); latest ed. by L. Alston (Cambridge, 1906). Cf. Read, no. 722.

edge of themselves as a nation and state at a time when they were most eager for it.<sup>58</sup>

Antiquarian research, interest in which is shown by the formation of the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries<sup>59</sup> with a membership of men like Speed, Stow, Camden, Cotton, Arthur Golding, Raleigh, and others whose names are equally well known, had its real beginning in Elizabeth's time. The founder of antiquarian study in England was John Leland (1506–52), the King's Antiquary. The results of his six years of tireless journeys in search of English antiquities and records in the libraries of cathedrals, colleges, and monasteries were set down in his notes, still in undigested manuscript form at his death. As later published, the *Itinerary*<sup>60</sup> is a description of his travels with full details of what he saw. Another work, the *Collectanea*,<sup>61</sup> is devoted chiefly to the results of his examination of ancient libraries. Manuscripts, indeed, interested him more than did architecture. Neither of his works can be regarded as a finished whole or as a literary product. Consisting of memoranda often jotted down as the writer finished his day's journey, and arranged sometimes with what has been called "superb irrelevance," the *Itinerary* is to be compared to a guide book rather than to anything else. To weave the "thing of shreds and patches" into a systematic and significant design was more than "the silent scholar" could do, and although great expectations were aroused in his contemporaries by his projected history and the industry with which he collected material, his plan never came to fruition. His notes were made use of by every historian of the later Tudor period, and William Camden succeeded magnificently where Leland had failed.

William Camden (1551–1623), Oxford graduate, antiquarian, and historian, of whom Fuller said that "he restored Britain to herself" and whom Philemon Holland denominated the "Pausanias of England," got his first training in editing *Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica, Cambria*, which included Asser, Giraldus Cambrensis, William of Jumièges, Walsingham, and other medieval writers, though the work did not see the light until 1602. When master of Westminster School he formed a

<sup>58</sup> WARD, III, 377.

<sup>59</sup> Founded in 1572 for the study and preservation of MSS. The Society was dissolved by James I, but revived in 1717.

<sup>60</sup> *Itinerary through England and Wales*, ed. by Thomas Hearne from the original MS. in the Bodleian (first printed at Oxford, 1710–12, 9 v.). A new critical and very successful edition has been made by Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith (London, 1906–08, 5 v.), with an excellent introduction, careful collation of Leland's MS. with Stow's copy, and identification by Miss Smith of names in the text. The part of the *Itinerary* which treats the western counties of Somerset, Devon, Dorset, and Cornwall is the fullest and most important for the history and antiquities of the west of England. Full bibliography of Leland in Edward Burton, *Life of John Leland* (London, 1896).

<sup>61</sup> *De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, with preface and notes by Thomas Hearne (1st ed., Oxford, 1715, 6 v.; 2nd ed., London, 1770, 6 v.).

friendship with Abraham Ortelius, the famous geographer, and with Brisson, the juriconsult, who was then on a diplomatic mission in London, and who inspired Camden's researches. He was then engaged in writing the work which immortalized him. This is the *Britannia*, remarkably enough for those days written in Latin, and the ablest historical work by an English author since Matthew Paris in the thirteenth century.<sup>62</sup> The *Britannia* was an instant and great success. In explanation of his zeal Camden said, "The love of my country compriseth all love in it." Arranged systematically by countries and counties, the work was chiefly topographical and historical although the fourth edition (1594) contained more genealogical matter. The country and its inhabitants, languages, names, arms, coins, clothing, high roads, towns and cities, natural scenery, and natural resources were all included. Camden clearly appreciated that political and ecclesiastical history were inseparable, and perceived the importance of institutional history. The Camden Society founded in 1838 deservedly was named for him. Late in life Camden wrote another little less famous work. This was the *Annales rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum regnante Elizabetha*.<sup>63</sup> In spite of the medieval form of the title Camden's *Annals* were modern in spirit. The account was begun in 1608 at the suggestion of Lord Burleigh, who opened the archives to him. For by this time progressive English historians were alert to the importance of documentary research for the writing of history, having grown suspicious of partisan pamphlets and current gossip. But access to archival material was almost impossible. Fulke Greville relates in his *Life of Sir Philip Sidney* how he "adventured to move the secretary (Sir Robert Cecil) that I might have his favour to peruse all obsolete records of the council-chest from those times down as near to these as he in his wisdom should think fit." Sir Robert deliberated for three weeks upon this revolutionary proposal, and then returned answer that "he durst not presume to let the council-chest lie open to any man living."

<sup>62</sup> Cp. READ, no. 2837. First edition, London, 1586; 6th ed., 1606. It was then put into English by Philemon Holland (1610), whom Thomas Fuller called "the translator general in his age" (*Worthies of England*, III, 287) and who was already famed as the translator of Livy, Pliny, Plutarch, Suetonius, and Ammianus Marcellinus. The whole of Livy was written with one pen. See SANDYS, II, 243 and the notes there. Holland's translation of Plutarch's *Lives* was the source of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, *Coriolanus*, and *Anthony and Cleopatra*.

<sup>63</sup> Part i, to 1588, was printed at London, 1615; re-issued, with pt. ii added, at Leyden, 1625. Best edition by Thomas Hearne (London, 1717, 3 v.; for translations see READ, no. 281) from a copy which had been corrected by Camden himself. Camden has been accused of having modified his manuscript to please James I, a charge against which he is defended by Sir E. M. Thompson (see *DNB*, VIII, 1886, 281), particularly on the subject of Scotland and Queen Mary, where his own account differs from information he supposedly gave De Thou. However, his manuscript had received the form in which it was printed before he submitted it to the king. It was because his work necessarily dealt with persons still alive that he employed Latin as the language of his history, and for the same reason deferred publication of pt. ii and of the English translation until after his own death, although the whole work was completed by 1617.

As a lucid and able digest of political events, the *Annals* is the most valuable contemporary account of Elizabeth's reign. Although Camden had strong political convictions and was a loyal Anglican, he did not stoop to misrepresentation or abuse. Camden's *Remains*, note-books for the *Britannia*, were printed in 1605, and some of his Letters (*Epistulae*)—for they are written in Latin, many of them to De Thou—in 1691.

An English antiquary contemporary with, but of far humbler station than Camden was John Stow who has been previously mentioned. His *Survey of London* is "the starting point of all inquiry into the subject of Elizabethan and earlier London," an indispensable book of reference for the student of London's topography and antiquities. The work was the result of sixty years' close observation on interviews with leading London citizens, and study of the city records. "John Stow liked to think of himself as one of the great explorers: 'I have attempted the discovery of London, my native soyle and Countrey,' he wrote."<sup>64</sup> He pictures the ancient limits of the city by describing the city wall, points out and describes the rivers and water supply, sewers, bridges, towers, castles, schools, law courts, municipal institutions and forms of government. The *Survey* is a mine of valuable information written in a time when London was passing from the medieval to the modern world, and it is this work that gives Stow a real title to fame.

The major history of the Elizabethan period, and several others worthy of notice, were not written, or if written were not published, until after the accession of James. The danger of writing about persons still living and matters still controversial accounts for this delay; in addition, the historians were sometimes men of affairs who had leisure only late in life. The first to appear was the *History of Great Britain*,<sup>65</sup> by a minor historian, John Speed (1552?–1629). Speed, like Stow, was a tailor by profession and an historian and cartographer by preference. He supported his narrative by unpublished documents more often than his contemporaries did, and rightly ascribed to George Cavendish the *Life of Wolsey*, which Stow had used without acknowledgment.<sup>66</sup> His characterization of Henry VII was borrowed in the main from Bacon, whose manuscript he had seen. Like his contemporaries, he aimed at the glorification of England and its queen. While of no great independent

<sup>64</sup> Quoted by Sylvia L. Thrupp, "Pedigree and Prospects of Local History," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, IV (1940), 260. Stow's *Survey* was originally published in London in 1598, seven years before his death; a second edition in 1603 was carefully revised and in some ways improved by the author himself. Subsequent editions amplified it still more; the best known of these is that of Strype, published in 1720. The latest and best edition of the *Survey* is by C. L. Kingsford (Oxford, 1908, 2 v.), cp. the review by R. S. Rait in *EHR*, XXIV (1909), 568–69.

<sup>65</sup> London, 1611; rev. ed., 1650; cp. READ, no. 291.

<sup>66</sup> WARD, III, 370.

value, his history is one of the most readable of the Elizabethan chronicles, even though it is marred by the "monstrous ingenuity" of a born rhetorician.<sup>67</sup> He merits recognition as a map-maker besides, though he was not superior to the well-known cartographers Christopher Saxton and John Norden. His history had, in fact, grown out of his *Theatre of Empire*, a collection of fifty-four maps of England and Wales with accompanying descriptions (1611).

Sir John Hayward (1560-1627), classical scholar and litterateur, adopted writing as his profession. His first work, *The Life and Reign of King Henry IV*,<sup>68</sup> dedicated to Essex, caused him to be imprisoned by Elizabeth, and it was not until nearly fifteen years later that his next composition appeared. He made Tacitus his model rather than Livy.<sup>69</sup> His works represent an advance over the methods of chroniclers and annalists, the beginning of the return to the ancient models which was to make the final transition to modern historiography in England, along the way already pointed out by Polydore Vergil and by Sir Thomas More in his *Richard III*.<sup>70</sup> He had the merit of using unpublished archive materials, particularly in his lives of William I and Edward VI; the latter is based on the *Journal of Edward*.<sup>71</sup> As literature, though perhaps not as history, Hayward's *History of the Reign of Henry IV* is his best work. Shakespeare certainly knew the book. There are two passages in it which strongly recall familiar quotations in two of his later plays. Hayward had written: "Follow the current whilst the stream is most strong. . . . Times have their turns and fortune her course to and fro like the sea." Shakespeare in 1601 in *Julius Caesar* recalled this sentence in his own:

There is a tide in the affairs of men  
Which taken at its flood, leads on to fortune.

Hayward wrote in 1600: "The peace was already as it were out of joint." Shakespeare makes Hamlet (written—or revised? in 1603) say:

The time is out of joint.

Hayward's writings are a neglected source of vigorous, pithy Tudor English, abounding in terse, compact, and sinewy phrases of a very

<sup>67</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>68</sup> London, 1599; only the first year was completed.

<sup>69</sup> Bacon accused him of translating entire sentences from Tacitus and working them into his own works (WARD, III, 384).

<sup>70</sup> Hayward was appointed by King James to one of the chairs of history at the future college of Chelsea, plans for which did not reach completion during his lifetime.

<sup>71</sup> WARD, *loc. cit.* *The Life and Raigne of King Edward the Sixth* was published at London, 1630; the 2nd ed. in 1636 contained as an appendix a part of his *Annals of the First Four Years of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, written originally in 1612; modern edition of this by John Bruce (London, 1840: Camden Society, VII); cp. READ, no. 288.

quotable nature, as: "He that aimeth at a kingdom hath no middle course between the life of a prince and the death of a traitor"; "Delays are dangerous," which Dryden borrowed and to whom the saying is generally attributed; "To have patience is cold comfort"; "It is hard to forgive and impossible to forget"; "Hazard with honor"; "It is a bad wool that can take no colour"; and "Devilish women whose malice is immortal."

A return to the universal chronicle is seen in the *History of the World*<sup>72</sup> of Sir Walter Raleigh (1552?-1618), written while that famous soldier, gentleman-adventurer, favorite of Queen Elizabeth, and author was imprisoned in the Tower of London by James I on the false charge of treason for which he went to the scaffold. A member of the Society of Antiquaries and devoted to literature and science, Raleigh spent much of his captivity in literary pursuits, and in performing scientific experiments in the small laboratory set up for his convenience. His *History of the World* is a stupendous work not merely for bulk, but for its prodigious scope and the novelty of its ideas. It has been described as "a series of dissertations on law, theology, mythology, magic, war and the ideal form of government, illustrated by an exceedingly diffuse account of the rise and fall of several of the great empires of the world." It is a work of wide reading, serious reflection, and marvellous literary expression. The preface, and the celebrated apostrophe to Death with which the book terminates, are two of the noblest examples of Tudor literature. So far as he completed the work it covered the period from Creation, faithfully following Old Testament chronology, to the fall of Macedonia, 130 B.C. For the rest of the history he had collected only a few notes. While Raleigh did not approach his sources in a critical spirit, and viewed the past in the light of a moral lesson, he made a step forward in realizing the need of geographical study in connection with history; and chronological exactness is one of his virtues. A valuable part of his work consists in frequent digressions into events of his own day in which he had taken part, such as maneuvers of the Armada and the capture of Fayal. His work was received with great favor by everyone except King James. Eleven editions of it were published in little more than a century.

For the last of the Elizabethan historians, Sir Francis Bacon (1561-1626), it has been extravagantly claimed that with his "short essay" on Henry VII "the writing of history in English leaps with a bound to a place beside Tacitus and Thucydides himself."<sup>73</sup> Although Bacon

<sup>72</sup> London, 1614, 1617; 11th ed. in 1736; in Oxford edition of Raleigh's *Works* (1829, 8 v.), vols. II-VII.

<sup>73</sup> Schelling (n. 40), 294. The idea was borrowed with critical reflection from Bacon's biographer, J. Spedding, *Works of Bacon* (London, 1857-74, 14 v.), VII, 4-5.

produced a brilliantly written and keenly interpretative study of Henry VII,<sup>74</sup> so sagacious in insight and so excellent in descriptive power that it exercised a dominant influence over all subsequent histories on the subject, modern critical scholarship has shown that Bacon is not, as he has been so long regarded, an original authority.<sup>75</sup>

Like Raleigh, Bacon wrote his great historical work in the period of his disgrace and downfall. With materials which he had collected long before, the composition was completed with remarkable rapidity in the months from June to October 1621. It deals almost entirely with political matters; the development of English humanism under Henry VII occupies him scarcely at all. It is not surprising that the astute statesman should give so much attention to general political legislation. When he touches on economic affairs, he treats them not as problems in themselves, but from the viewpoint of the statesman and legislator, as questions of administration.<sup>76</sup>

Bacon's gravest fault lay in the fact that he altered his sources, both literary and documentary, in the most arbitrary manner, as his imagination dictated and as the demands of philosophical construction seemed to require. While his history was in reality highly subjective in character, he invested his own opinions and additions with such an appearance of precise fact that he was unquestioningly accepted by later writers. Nevertheless his intention was not to deceive, but to clarify and interpret, by incorporating into documents and other sources his own opinions. In some cases, his inaccuracy is due probably to the haste with which his work is done rather than to deliberate alteration.<sup>77</sup> The final judgment of Busch, that Bacon "ought to be expunged from the list of original authorities for the history of Henry VII," must be accepted.

"A knowledge of history and geography is necessary, as well for the understanding of the affairs of ages past as for commerce and correspondence with nations present," observed a contemporary minor scholar of the Elizabethan era. "'Tis true that geography without history hath life and motion, but very unstable and at random, yet history without geography, like a dead carcass, hath neither life nor motion at all, or moves at best but slowly on the understanding. . . : History, therefore, and geography, if joined together crown our reading with delight and

<sup>74</sup> *History of the Reign of King Henry the Seventh*, ed. by J. R. Lumby (Cambridge, 1889). Also in *Bacon's Works*, ed. by Spedding and others, vol. VII.

<sup>75</sup> Busch (n. 1), 416-23 is a masterly treatment which supersedes all earlier criticism of Bacon. After exhaustive study Busch has shown that Bacon, who, although writing over a century after the events, has been almost universally accepted as a primary source, when subjected to searching examination proves to be dependent in the main on Polydore Vergil and the English chroniclers of the early Tudor period.

<sup>76</sup> FÜETER, 206.

<sup>77</sup> For specific examples of errors and prejudices, see Busch (n. 1), 416-23.



profit." It was just this kind of literature whose value Richard Hakluyt, Preacher, as he preferred to be called, perceived; and from which, "after much travaile and cost," as he says, compiled his immortal work: *The Principall Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, first printed in 1589.<sup>78</sup>

Hakluyt confesses that his labor of love was a burden. "I call the worke a burden, in consideration that these voyages lay so dispersed, scattered, and hidden in several hucksters hands, that I now woonder at my selfe, to see how I was able to endure the delays, curiosity, and backwardnesse of many from whom I was to receive my originals." That was his word to Sir Francis Walsingham in the "Epistle Dedicatorie," in the first edition of the *Principall Navigations* of 1589. To the reader of the second edition of 1598 he adds:

What restless nights, what painful days, what heat, what cold, I have endured; how many long and chargeable journeys I have travelled; how many famous libraries I have searched into; what variety of ancient and modern writers; what a number of old records, patents, privileges, letters, etc., I have redeemed from obscurity and perishing.

He learned several languages in order to equip himself for his great task. He corresponded with eminent geographers on the Continent. He travelled ceaselessly in order to interview returned ship-captains and get from them transcriptions of their logs. Hakluyt was one in spirit with Drake and Raleigh, Grenville and Frobisher and Willoughby.

Much of the intellectual energy of the Tudor period that might have been more profitably employed in the writing of history was diverted into the channel of religious polemics. An overwhelming mass of controversial literature dealing with the divorce of Catherine, the Book of Common Prayer, and the attacks and claims of Roman Catholics, Anglicans, and Calvinists was produced. It was now that the printing press really came into its own, and its possibilities as an instrument for spreading propaganda were realized. Pamphlets were multiplied endlessly, most famous among them the "Marprelate" tracts.

The firm establishment of Protestantism brought into prominence in England a branch of historiography already in full maturity on the Continent: church history, but of a nature radically different from the medieval *historia ecclesiastica*. Modern ecclesiastical history, treating of the inner life of the Church, its doctrine and administration, is the child of the Lutheran Reformation, created by the demands of the con-

<sup>78</sup> Second edition, 1598-1600, 3 v. The Hakluyt Society was founded in 1846 for the publication of other similar works on the history of discovery and exploration. For literature on the subject see E. G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography, 1485-1583* (London, 1930), and *Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography, 1583-1650* (London, 1934); anon., "Travels and Discoveries," *QR*, vol. 236 (1921), 76-92; reviews in *LTLS*, 1927, pp. 825-26, and 1934, p. 239. Cp. READ, no. 2235.

troverſy raging between the Roman Church and the Proteſtants, the central queſtion of which was the excluſive poſſeſſion of the "pure faith" by one Church or the other.<sup>79</sup> The avowed purpoſe of the new "confessional history" was to prove that the pure faith of primitive Chriſtianity was preſerved by the Proteſtant Church, which had reſcued it at laſt from the centuries of darkneſs under the hateful domination of the Antichriſt at Rome. The "Centuriators" found their moſt faithful diſciple in the firſt modern church hiſtorian of England, John Foxe (1516–87); and Foxe in his turn exerted a ſtrong influence on the work of his great contemporary church hiſtorian, John Knox, the Reformer.

Foxe was in early life a rigid Romaniſt. While a ſtudent at Magdalen College, Oxford, he became a convert to Proteſtantism and in conſequence reſigned his fellowſhip and left the univerſity. The Catholic reaction under Mary made him an emigré, living firſt at Strassburg and later at Baſle, where he worked as aſſiſtant to the printer Oporinus.

At Strassburg was publiſhed his firſt work, the *Commentarii*,<sup>80</sup> the nucleus of his famous martyrology. The *Commentarii*, which dealt mainly with Wyclif and Huſs, ſtopped at 1500. Merely a looſe collection of acts of Proteſtant martyrs, put together without definite plan and without relation to eſta bliſhed facts of church hiſtory, it was not a genuine hiſtorical work, and was not intended to be. It was compoſed as a book of edification, in which a principal place was given to Wyclif as a conceſſion to Engliſh national ſentiment.

In expanding this book into his monumental work, Foxe followed as a model<sup>81</sup> the Frenchman Jean Creſpin (1520–72), whoſe *Livre des martyrs . . . des Jean Huſ . . .* (1554) made uſe of judicial records, letters, and other documents. On ſuch a baſis Foxe built his *Rerum in eccleſia geſtarum narratio*, publiſhed at Baſle in 1559.<sup>82</sup> In the ſame year Foxe went back to England, where he began to prepare an Engliſh verſion of his work, popularly known as *The Book of Martyrs*.<sup>83</sup> The

<sup>79</sup> FUETER, 305–06.

<sup>80</sup> *Commentarii rerum in eccleſia geſtarum maximeque per totam Europam perſecutionem a Wiclevi temporibus ad hanc uſque ætatem deſcriptio* (1554).

<sup>81</sup> FUETER, 315.

<sup>82</sup> *Rerum in eccleſia geſtarum, quæ poſtremis et periculosis his temporibus evenerunt, maximarumque per Europam per ſecutionem ac ſanctorum dei martyrum . . . digeſti per regna et nationes commentarii*. Foxe himſelf completed only the firſt part, covering perſecution in England and Scotland to 1559; the continuation for the Continent was made by Henri Panta-leon and publiſhed at Baſle in 1563.

<sup>83</sup> *Actes and Monuments of Theſe Latter Perilous Days*, etc. The beſt-known modern edition, by S. R. Cattley (London, 1837–41, 8 v.), with an introduction by Canon Townſend, was demonſtrated by S. R. Maitland to have been ignorantly and perfunctorily done. Until the time of Maitland ſome criticism of Foxe had been made, by both Catholics and Proteſtants; but Maitland was the firſt to bring to bear the weight of authoritative ſcholarſhip to prove both diſhoneſty and inaccuracy on the part of Foxe. The attack was continued by James Gairdner. A recent deſenſe has been made by J. F. Mozley, *John Foxe and His Book*

work had an immediate and overwhelming success. It became almost the Bible of Protestant England, and was ordered by Convocation to be placed in churches where everyone might have access to it.

Foxe's claim to be called an historian lies in this work which was influenced so deeply by the *Magdeburg Centuries*. The English translation was virtually a new book. It was not published until after the greater part of the *Centuries* had appeared in print. Comparison between the Latin and the English versions shows how largely Foxe drew from Flacius and the others. From them he got an historical point of view which had been absent in his previous works. Detached accounts of martyrs' lives and deaths were woven together into a history of the Church, in which the Churches of England and Scotland were given the foremost place. From the *Centuries* he borrowed the basic idea which gave a semblance of unity to the whole—the conception of church history as a struggle between the pure faith and the papacy. National sentiment led him to give Wyclif a very prominent place. He even brought the reign of Antichrist to an end. For material Foxe drew upon the sources used by the Centuriators (he cites the sources themselves, not the *Centuries*), but although he had read the Greek and Latin Fathers, the Schoolmen, and Acts of Councils, in scholarship and critical ability he fell considerably below the Centuriators.<sup>84</sup> He frequently used secondary printed sources even when the originals were available. In employing archive material, such as the bishops' registers, he sometimes falsifies facts or keeps silent about embarrassing points. After the example of the Centuriators he introduces information on the history of English policy, but chooses his illustrations with much less acumen than they.

The immense popularity of the *Book of Martyrs* may be ascribed partly to the fact that it was written in English, but chiefly to the fact that Foxe was not a theologian. He was not so much concerned with the history of dogma, but with the history of persons. For him the most important thing was the relation of the sufferings and heroic deaths of Protestant martyrs. The narrative was interrupted by popular sermons and reflections of the author on everything he recounted, while of the new doctrine only the main points interested him. His book was addressed to a new social and economic group, the Presbyterian bourgeoisie; to the whole Protestant community, not to a group of theologians

(London, 1940), cp. the review in *LTLS*, 1940, p. 482. See also Sidney Lee's article on Foxe in *DNB*, XX (1889), 141-50 and the references there; *READ*, no. 1270; and *FUETER*, 315-18. A more modern edition is by Josiah Pratt (London, 1870, 8 v.).

<sup>84</sup> For instance, he accepts Geoffrey of Monmouth in the face of Polydore Vergil and the Centuriators themselves, and cites apparently without any doubt a letter of King Lucius to Pope Eleutherius. *FUETER*, 317.

whose chief concern was to preserve purity of doctrine. Even more than this, the popularity of the book was due to the personality of the man himself. Endowed with "a genius of indignation . . ., with rage and fury in his heart and on his tongue" he describes martyrdoms from the early Church to the persecutions under Queen Mary with a horrifying vividness and a vigor that never flags; his violent and inflexible judgment against "the persecutors of God's Truth, commonly called Papists," never relents even towards such men as More and Fisher. The encyclopaedic nature and the size of the work are almost incredible; it has been called "the longest pamphlet ever composed by the hand of man." Partisan pamphlet as it is, vehemently controversial and now known to be deliberately distorted even though with the highest motives, the *Book of Martyrs* was accepted with enthusiasm and without question not only by contemporaries but by more than two succeeding centuries as well. One of its important immediate effects was to fan the flame of hatred against Spain, to unite Protestant feeling, and to entrench it more firmly than ever. To it is due the popular conception of popery held for many generations, until critical scholarship in the nineteenth century began to show the work in its true light, as an unscientific, highly-colored, and inaccurate history of the English Reformation, by no means to be ignored but to be used with the utmost caution.

The Catholic side was presented to some extent in the treatise *De origine ac progressu schismatis Anglicani liber*, begun by Nicholas Sander (1530?-81),<sup>85</sup> an Oxford professor with strong Catholic sympathies, whose account is well informed but highly polemical, written to present the whole affair in its most lurid light. He was so successful that it exercised a decisive influence on the traditional conception of the English Reformation, and not only in Catholic countries. Its popularity was largely due to the full details given of the scandal of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn. It has been considered authoritative by Catholic writers, and is of some value in showing the successive influences of Lutheran, Zwinglian, and Calvinistic doctrine in England.<sup>86</sup> The treatise covers the period from 21. Henry VIII to 27. Elizabeth. But this work, and the majority of the countless tracts written to defend both the Catholic and Protestant doctrine, belong to the realm of religious controversy rather than to history, and for that reason are not discussed here, interesting as they are.

Scottish historiography in the sixteenth century offers only two great

<sup>85</sup> Printed at Cologne, 1585. Sander carried the work to 1559, but died before finishing it. It was continued by the Rev. Edward Rishton. English translation with notes by D. Lewis, *The Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism* (London, 1877). On Sander see J. H. Pollen, "Dr. Nicholas Sander," *EHR*, VI (1891), 36-47.

<sup>86</sup> GARDINER AND MULLINGER, 330.

names, George Buchanan and John Knox. Much later than in England the medieval fables persisted in defiance of the new historical research, and not only persisted but were enriched and enlarged upon,<sup>87</sup> in spite of the fact that from the middle of the fourteenth century a steady stream of Scottish students to Paris and other French universities kept Scotland in touch with the new intellectual movements.

The first of the century's historians, John Major (ca. 1470–1550) or Mair, sometimes called "the last of the Schoolmen," received his education at Cambridge and at the University of Paris, where he was regarded as the most distinguished champion of medievalism as opposed to the new studies,<sup>88</sup> and was selected as a special object of attack by Melancthon and others of the humanists. At the time when his history of "Greater Britain" was published, Major was professor of logic and divinity at Glasgow, and the following year he taught philosophy and logic at St. Andrews. He was a scholastic in his type of mind, devoted to Rome, yet not believing in papal supremacy, and adhering to the old conciliar theory.

His only work which is not a scholastic treatise is the *Historia Majoris Britanniae tam Angliae quam Scotiae*;<sup>89</sup> it is, however, medieval only in the barbarous Latin in which it is written. The most noteworthy feature of his book is its critical spirit towards the national legends of Scotland, a fact which largely accounts for its poor success with a Scottish public not yet converted to the idea of independent historical research.<sup>90</sup> In his preface, dedicated to the nine-year-old James V, Major says that the first duty of an historian is to tell the truth, and carries out his principles by rejecting legends and myths, some of which were still accepted by historians who came after him, such as Boece and Buchanan. Major not only freely criticized rulers in church and state, but dared to advocate the union of Scotland with England, as his use of the words "Greater Britain" shows. His book, covering the period from earliest times to Henry VII and James IV, is valuable for the light it sheds on Scottish manners and customs and for a description of the country in the sixteenth century. Major declined Wolsey's offer of a chair of theology at Oxford.

The next of the Scottish historians, Hector Boece (1465–1536; also spelled Boethius, Boyis, or Bois), although a humanist and educated at

<sup>87</sup> FUETER, 209.

<sup>88</sup> WARD, III, 170.

<sup>89</sup> Or, *De gestis Scotorum* (Paris, 1521). English translation by A. Constable, *A History of Greater Britain as well England as Scotland . . . by John Major* (Edinburgh, 1892; Scottish Historical Society, X), with a life of the author by Æ. J. G. Mackay and a bibliography by T. G. Law; cp. also Law, *Collected Essays and Reviews*, ed. by P. H. Brown (Edinburgh, 1904); C. M. Macdonald, "John Major and Humanism," *Scottish Historical Review*, XIII (1915), 149–59.

<sup>90</sup> FUETER, 209.

Paris, where he was the friend and fellow-student of Erasmus, did not follow in the path laid out by Major. He took Livy for his model and showed that he had studied the classics in the new spirit, but his method of writing history was to present in the most attractive form a vast mass of historical fable from the medieval chronicles, and when legend failed, he "imagined" chronicles to supply the want.<sup>91</sup> In the interests of patriotism he allowed even miracles to pass without criticism. His credulity, indeed, is equal to Livy's own. He was regarded by his contemporaries, however, and even until the eighteenth century, as a serious and reliable historian in spite of his audacious fictions. It was from his pages that Holinshed took the tale of Macbeth and Duncan and so supplied Shakespeare with the plot of his great tragedy. Boece's *Historia Scotorum*<sup>92</sup> goes only to 1460, but is important for its description of contemporary Scotland.

There are various shorter works by Scottish writers. Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie (between 1476-1579) wrote *The History of Scotland from 21 February, 1436, to March, 1565*,<sup>93</sup> but although he was an ardent Presbyterian his book was not controversial in spirit nor primarily concerned with religion. Picturesque characters and episodes interested him most of all, and it was his ability to draw vivid pictures of the past that endeared him to Sir Walter Scott.<sup>94</sup> The earlier part of his narrative especially—merely a translation of Boece's Latin history—displays his lack of accuracy and critical ability. From 1542 on the work improves, being drawn from accounts of eye-witnesses or from his own observations. Some information may be gleaned from annalistic accounts, such as the *Annals of Scotland, 1514-1591*,<sup>95</sup> by George Marjoreybanks, an Edinburgh burgess; the *Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents*,<sup>96</sup> covering the years 1557-75, written apparently by a minor official in Edinburgh; and others of similar nature. Certain memoirs afford valuable pictures of contemporary life and of famous actors in the scenes that attended the establishment of the new religion. Among these are the memoirs of Sir James Melville (1535-1617) of Halhill,<sup>97</sup> the ambassador, and although a Protestant a partisan of Queen Mary;

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 210.

<sup>92</sup> *Historia gentis Scotorum a prima gentis origine* (Paris, 1527); translated into Scotch by John Bellenden as *Hystory and Cronikles of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1536). The best edition, that printed at Paris in 1574, contained a continuation by John Ferrier, a Piedmontese. Reprint, Edinburgh, 1821. See READ, nos. 3354, 3742.

<sup>93</sup> Modern edition by Æ. J. Mackay (Edinburgh, 1899-1911, 3 v.: Scottish Text Society, XLII, XLIII, LX); READ, no. 3367.

<sup>94</sup> WARD, III, 167.

<sup>95</sup> Modern edition by J. G. Dalyell (Edinburgh, 1814); READ, no. 3370.

<sup>96</sup> Published by the Maitland Club (1833, no. 23); reprint by the Edinburgh Book Society, XVI (1928); see READ, no. 3363.

<sup>97</sup> For editions, see READ, no. 3372.

the memoirs of Richard Bannatyne,<sup>98</sup> Knox' secretary; and of James Melville,<sup>99</sup> a Presbyterian pastor of Kilrenny, whose account of his home life and education at school and university is full of interest, and whose picture of Knox preaching in his last days at St. Andrews has become almost a classic of early Scottish literature.<sup>100</sup>

Among Catholic histories the highest place belongs to the *De origine, moribus et rebus gestis Scotorum*,<sup>101</sup> by John Leslie (1527-96), Bishop of Ross. Leslie, head of the Scottish Catholics and Mary's friend and champion, attended the queen during her imprisonment in England and there wrote his first historical work, a continuation of Boece in the vernacular from 1561. His chief work, the *De origine Scotorum*, relating the national history from its beginnings, is one of the valuable sources for the reign of Mary, written with seriousness and moderation, even though he was the chief apologist for the Catholic party.

The most famous of all historians living north of the Tweed was George Buchanan (1506-82), a Scottish humanist who lived for twelve years in Paris and then three more in Bordeaux. He returned to Scotland when he was fifty-five years of age and became court poet to Mary Queen of Scots.<sup>102</sup>

Buchanan's pre-eminence as the leading Scottish humanist and scholar caused his historical writings to be received with a reverence they are far from deserving as works of history.<sup>103</sup> Beginning his university education at Paris, then at St. Andrews, where he studied under John Major and followed him back to Paris, Buchanan became professor of humanistic studies successively at the College of St. Barbe in Paris, at the College of Guienne in Bordeaux, at the College of Cardinal Le Moine in Paris, and at the newly-founded college at Coimbra, a

<sup>98</sup> *Memorials of Transactions in Scotland, 1549-1573*, ed. by R. Pitcairn (Edinburgh, 1836: Bannatyne Club, no. 51); cp. READ, no. 3352.

<sup>99</sup> *The Autobiography and Diary of James Melville* [1556-1601], ed. by R. Pitcairn (1842, 2 v.: Wodrow Society, no. 1); *Memoirs of Sir James Melville of Halhill*, ed. by A. F. Steuart (New York, 1930); READ, no. 3373.

<sup>100</sup> WARD, III, 149.

<sup>101</sup> For editions and translations see READ, no. 3366.

<sup>102</sup> Cp. READ, index; Peter Hume Brown, *George Buchanan, Humanist and Reformer* (Edinburgh, 1890), reviewed by G. G. Smith in *EHR*, VI (1891), 579-83; Robert Wallace, *George Buchanan*, completed by J. Campbell Smith (Edinburgh and London, 1899); Henry J. Nicoll, *Great Scholars: Buchanan, Bentley, Porson, Parr and Others* (London, 1880); "George Buchanan," *NBR*, XLVI (1867), 47-76; Æ. Mackay's article on Buchanan in *DNB*, VII (1886), 186-93. The celebration in 1906 of the quatercentenary of Buchanan's birth by the universities of St. Andrews and Glasgow produced a great amount of literature on all phases of the Scottish humanist's works. Among the new materials were a biography by Donald Macmillan, *George Buchanan* (Edinburgh, 1906), and memorial volumes of essays by the two Scottish universities (*George Buchanan: A Memorial, 1506-1906*, ed. by D. A. Millar; *George Buchanan: Glasgow Quatercentenary Studies*, Glasgow, 1906). An interesting review of the St. Andrews' *Memorial* is found in the *Athenaeum*, July 6, 1907, pp. 7-8; of the *Glasgow Studies*, *ibid.*, August 10, 1907, p. 147.

<sup>103</sup> Sir Robert S. Rait, writing in *QR*, CCV (1906), 189 calls Buchanan "... the most shameless historical liar who ever wrote on British soil . . ." and one of the few Scottish humanists whose names are known outside their own country."

position secured through the friendship of André Govea. Until the later part of his life Buchanan remained a moderate Catholic who saw the need for reform in the Church and did not hesitate to attack abuses in it. His satirical poems directed against the Franciscans and monastic life in general made him a refugee from Scotland and during his stay at Coimbra subjected him to examination by the Inquisition. It was during his imprisonment in a monastery for six months' penance imposed by the Inquisition that he composed his paraphrases of the Psalms of David, the finest example of his Latin poetry.<sup>104</sup> Returning to Scotland about 1560, Buchanan now openly professed the Protestantism to which he had become converted chiefly as the result of his own studies of the Scriptures. For a time he was closely associated with the queen as her tutor. Through the favor of Murray he was appointed principal of St. Leonard's college at St. Andrews. At various times he was director of the chancery, guardian of the privy seal, and, though a layman, moderator of the General Assembly; thus he was one of the leading figures both in political and in religious affairs. But after the assassination of Darnley he became a bitter enemy of the queen, whose crimes he denounced with violent brutality in the notorious "Detection." In 1570 he was appointed tutor to the young James, and held this post nominally even after old age and infirmity prevented active exercise of his duties, and at the same time served on various commissions of Parliament.

Buchanan's monumental *History of Scotland* was written in Latin. This *Rerum Scoticarum historia*<sup>105</sup> is the most important early Protestant history of Scotland. The classical style, the clear and flowing narrative, the reputation of the author—who wrote the book at the close of his life, and died the same year it was published—caused the history to be received with highest praise by European scholars as well as by the Scotch, and for fully two centuries its luster remained undimmed. But the work is marred by the gravest faults of an historian: entire lack of critical judgment, inaccuracy and dishonesty, and vehement partiality. The early part follows all too closely in the steps of Hector Boece, recounting with uncritical credulity and chauvinistic "patriotism" the national legends and fables. The later portions of the work

<sup>104</sup> G. Bonet-Maury, in his article "Georges Buchanan, 1506-1582, à propos de son centenaire," *Revue Bleue*, 5me série, V (1906), 813 says that Buchanan became a professor by necessity, but that he was born a poet, and that in poetry lay his true vocation. Both in verse and prose Buchanan's Latin style is unsurpassed by any modern writer. Much of his poetry was written during his years in France. The article is devoted chiefly to an appreciation of the works composed during this period of Buchanan's life.

<sup>105</sup> Edinburgh, 1582; Geneva, 1583; English translation by James Aidman, Glasgow, 1827, 4 v. Also in Buchanan's *Opera omnia*, ed. by Thomas Ruddiman (Edinburgh, 1715, 2 v.; 1725).



are more original and of greater value, especially the part from James V to the death of Lennox in 1571. This is practically the account of a contemporary, and of a man whose position in governmental affairs gave him first-hand information. But it is precisely here that Buchanan's bitter hatred of Mary and her friends and his eulogy of Murray makes him least dependable.<sup>106</sup> Strangely enough, Buchanan was little occupied with religious affairs and gives no more than a passing glimpse of Knox, whom he mentions only twice. This omission was not due to ignorance of this heated struggle, for Buchanan was in the thick of the fight. He was the drafter of the Book of Articles. In spite of this fact he passes over the Reformation in Scotland with a bit of sarcasm on priests who thought the New Testament was written by Luther and asked for the Old Testament.

As Buchanan exemplified the influence of the classical Renaissance, molding modern literature, his great contemporary John Knox (1505–72) not only personified the Reformation in Scotland but was the author of the chief contemporary history of it, a dramatic account of the great struggle in which he himself was one of the principal actors.<sup>107</sup>

Like Buchanan, Knox was a student at Glasgow during the regentship of John Major, but left the university without taking the master's degree. His early career is somewhat obscure, about ten years being spent as a secular priest and notary at Haddington. The martyrdom of George Wishart, a Lutheran, led to Knox' conversion to and profession of the Protestant faith. Following the capture of St. Andrews by the French and Scottish Catholics to avenge the murder of Cardinal Beaton, Knox, who had taken refuge in the castle with his pupils, the sons of Douglas of Longniddry and Cockburn of Ormiston, and who had meantime received a public call to the ministry, was imprisoned with his companions in the French galleys for a year and a half. In 1549, probably owing to the intercession of Edward VI or the English Government, he was released and came to England, where during his stay of five years he was one of the royal chaplains and participated in the formulation of the articles of faith of the Anglican Church. With Mary's accession he withdrew to the Continent, where most of his time was spent at Geneva, except for a short sojourn at Frankfort-on-

<sup>106</sup> The whole subject-matter of this period of Scottish history is still so controversial that Buchanan is regarded by one party as a traitor and slanderer and by the other as the champion of liberty and religion. The reviewer of the Glasgow memorial volume (see n. 102) suggests that important work is still to be done on the subject of Buchanan's *History of Scotland* for his own period, by comparing his work with Knox and inquiring into the sources of both, and by comparison of the results with contemporary documents.

<sup>107</sup> R. S. Rait, "John Knox and the Scottish Reformation," *QR*, CCV (1906), 169–95; Aeneas Mackay's article on Knox in *DNB*, XXXI (1892), 308–28. The standard biography is that by Peter Hume Brown (Edinburgh, 1895). For other literature see READ, index.

the-Main as pastor of the English congregation. For about a year he travelled in Scotland preaching, gaining such powerful adherence that an intended prosecution by the bishops of Scotland was dropped. Returning to Geneva in 1556, he thundered out two years later the "first and second blasts of the trumpet," which were directed against the "monstrous regiment" of women composed of Mary of Guise, the Regent of Scotland, Mary of England, and Catherine de Medici. The following year he returned to Scotland, and from this point the life of the Reformer was inseparably connected with the history of Scotland. In the turbulent period of the struggle between the queen-regent and the Protestants, ending in her deposition and the abolition of Roman Catholicism, Knox played a part of first importance. The Scottish Parliament, meeting at Edinburgh in August 1560, for formal establishment of Protestantism, adopted without change Knox' "Confession of Faith" summarizing the Reformed doctrines. In the next months Knox was occupied with three other ministers in drawing up the plan of ecclesiastical government known as the *Book of Policy*, which was adopted by the General Assembly and the privy council. The rest of the Reformer's life was spent in strenuous conflict in both political and religious affairs, with fearless devotion to the Reformation which not even his inflexible will could bring to the full perfection of his stern ideal.

The great work upon which Knox' reputation as an author and as an historian rests is his *History of the Reformation*.<sup>108</sup> Begun in 1559, the work was carried only to 1564 at Knox' death, and was not published until the Reformer had been fourteen years in his grave.<sup>109</sup> As first planned, the history covered only the years 1558-61, that is, the immediate background and the actual establishment of Presbyterianism in Scotland. It was not until after the appearance of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, in the year 1563, that Knox expanded his work into a history of the Reformation movement from 1556, and finally extended it to 1564.

Like Foxe and the Centuriators, Knox adopted in full the theological view of history; however, he differs from his English exemplar in limiting himself strictly to church history with no excursions into political history as such. He too made use of the bishops' registers for evidence

<sup>108</sup> *The History of the Reformation of Religion within the Realm of Scotland*, 1st ed., incomplete, London, 1584. The edition of 1664 contains all five books, but is full of interpolations by the editor, David Buchanan. An "improved" edition by Ruddiman was published in 1732. The best is that edited by David Laing for the Wodrow Society, from an original MS. (1846-48) as vols. I, II, and VI of Knox' *Works* (Edinburgh, 1846-54, 6 v.); valuable notes accompany this edition.

<sup>109</sup> The General Assembly had granted Bannatyne £40 to prepare Knox' MS. for publication, but nothing further was heard of it until 1584. Most of the copies issued by Vautrollier at London in that year were subsequently seized and destroyed by order of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

of persecutions, and sometimes introduced documentary extracts into the text. He did not search the records to discover new truths, however, but to enforce the theory which he held with fanatical dogmatism. His iron-bound opinions left no room for historical doubt or criticism, and in consequence he not only is not animated by a spirit of inquiry but gives full credence to miracles and omens (e.g., the witches who prophesied to Macbeth).

Until recent times Knox was accepted as authoritative; he has, however, been accused by modern scholarship of both concealment of the truth and of errors in fact even where he was himself an eye-witness.<sup>110</sup> But in spite of his evident bias he is more reliable than Foxe; he deliberately avoids the popular appeal and sets himself to present, without digressions or artifices of style, a straightforward history of the Reformation in Scotland. Illustrated with vivid portraiture and striking detail, Knox' work presents the great figures of the Scottish Reformation. As a piece of literature it is a masterly composition; as an historical work, it is though unequal and incomplete one of the most important sources for the period and movement with which it deals. R. S. Rait admirably sums up both the faults and the virtues of the Reformer and his *History*:

The *History of the Reformation in Scotland* is unquestionably a great book. It is by far the best source of our knowledge of Knox himself; and it is a wonderfully graphic picture of the conflict in which he played so great a part. Its vigour and power have left their impress upon almost all subsequent writers, and its statements have been generally accepted as authoritative. It is in many ways a work of genius, and could have been written only by a man of an almost heroic personality. . . . (Actually) the work of Knox is marked by an entire absence of self-restraint. Knox saw no reason why he should not call his enemies bloody, stinking, rotten; why he should not level at them any accusation which lay ready to his hand; or why he should not give free play to his coarse humour, so long as the joke was on his side. . . . The style of the book and the passionate vehemence of its invective ought to prepare us to find other faults inseparable from such a work. . . . The *History* affords examples of a sharp practice . . . inevitable in an age when the sole business of a controversialist was to blacken the enemy.<sup>111</sup>

Of Irish historiography in the Tudor period there is little to be said. The principal native sources are two chronicles: the *Annals of the Four Masters*,<sup>112</sup> a digest of older annals compiled by the O'Clearys in the

<sup>110</sup> See Andrew Laing, "John Knox as an Historian," *Scottish Historical Review*, II (1883), 113-30; and FUETER, 320-21.

<sup>111</sup> Quoted from the article cited in n. 107 above, pp. 183-84.

<sup>112</sup> *Annala Rioghachta Eireann: Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters, from the Earliest Period to the Year 1616*, best edition by John O'Donovan (Dublin, 1851, 7 v.; again in 1856), which supersedes the earlier ones by O'Connor (1814-26) and by Connellan and MacDermott (1846). See the essay on "Irish Annals" in the *London Quarterly Review*, XX (1863), 54-74; and the long review of O'Donovan's edition in *QR*, XCIII (1853), 1-24.

Franciscan monastery of Donegal, the most important of the Irish chronicles for the sixteenth century; and the *Annals of Loch Cé*,<sup>113</sup> which are especially valuable for Connaught, 1577–90. The *Annals of Ulster*<sup>114</sup> cover Irish affairs, chiefly in Ulster, from 431 to 1541. Aside from compilations of annals, the main literary authority for the first half of the sixteenth century is the *Irish Chronicle* in Holinshed. The author, Richard Stanyhurst (1541–1616),<sup>115</sup> a native of Dublin, composed a history of Ireland under Henry VIII, as a continuation of the chronicle of his friend and teacher Edmund Campion, a celebrated Jesuit. Stanyhurst's account is not strictly contemporary but was written while the events and feelings were still fresh in men's minds. Later he published a work entitled *De rebus in Hibernia gestis libri IV* (Antwerp, 1584), a history of Ireland to the time of Henry II, with annotated extracts from Giraldus Cambrensis. Stanyhurst is "notorious" for his translation of the Aeneid. His friend Edmund Campion (1540–81),<sup>116</sup> to whom Stanyhurst was indebted for the basis of his own work, composed a sketchy *History of Ireland*<sup>117</sup> while in Ireland and under suspicion as a papist, compelled to take refuge in the homes of his friends. His real purpose was not so much to write a history as to show that education was the only means of taming the Irish.

The description of Ireland given by Fynes Moryson (1566–1617),<sup>118</sup> a noted traveller, in his *An Itinerary Containing . . . Ten Years' Travels*, and his account of Tyrone's rebellion, during which he served for three years under Essex, are valuable. The poet Edmund Spenser (1552–98), who went to Ireland in 1580 as secretary to the Lord Deputy Grey, and remained there except for short visits home until a month before his death eighteen years later, was the author of a tractate called *A View of the State of Ireland*.<sup>119</sup> Depressed by the scenes of blood and horror which greeted his first arrival, Spenser wrote entirely from the viewpoint of the Elizabethan Englishman, with no recognition of Irish

<sup>113</sup> *Annals of Loch Cé, 1014–1590*, edited by W. M. Hennessy (London, 1871; 2 v.: Rolls series no. 54), with an English translation.

<sup>114</sup> *Annals of Ulster, otherwise Annals of Senat*, edited by W. M. Hennessy and B. MacCarthy (Dublin, 1887–1901, 4 v.), a valuable source but somewhat inaccurately edited.

<sup>115</sup> Cp. READ, no. 3951.

<sup>116</sup> A Catholic biography is that of Richard Simpson, *Edmund Campion* (London, 1867; 1896); see also the article by Thompson Cooper in *DNB*, VIII (1886), 398–402.

<sup>117</sup> Written in 1569 and probably first published, with a dedication to Leicester, in 1571; but no copy of this edition survives. It was published in 1633 by James Ware, and again in *Ancient Irish Histories* (Dublin, 1809, 2 v.). Cp. READ, no. 3923.

<sup>118</sup> READ, no. 3941. His work was first published in London, 1617, 4 v.; modern edition at Glasgow, 1907–08.

<sup>119</sup> *A View of the Present State of Ireland Discours'd by Way of a Dialogue between Eudoxus and Irenius . . . in 1596*, first published, somewhat inaccurately, by Sir James Ware in his *History of Ireland* (1663). Best edition by R. Morris in Spenser's *Complete Works* (London, Globe ed., 1877). On Spenser in Ireland see also READ, nos. 2579 and 3959.

rights or claims. The *Pacata Hibernia*<sup>120</sup> attributed to Thomas Stafford (fl. 1633), who accompanied Sir George Carew on his return to England and seems to have acted as his secretary there, is a history of the wars in Ireland during Elizabeth's reign while Carew was governor; it is a valuable source for Tyrone's rebellion. Stafford prepared the work for publication from Carew's own manuscript, left to him in his patron's will.

<sup>120</sup> *Pacata Hibernia: Ireland Appeased and Reduced . . .* (London, 1633); modern edition by Standish O'Grady (London, 1896, 2 v.).

## CHAPTER XXXVI

### HISTORIOGRAPHY OF STUART ENGLAND (1603-88) <sup>1</sup>

IT IS an anomaly of English intellectual history that two periods—the Elizabethan and the Stuart periods—which are so rich in literature, should be so poor in historiography. Camden's is the only great name in the former, and Clarendon's in the latter. It would almost seem to confirm the statement that history is not literature. Most of the history written during the Stuart period was of a learned and pedantic nature, based on old books and unprinted manuscripts. Many of the spurious items in the Cotton Collection were regarded as genuine authorities. Scholarship consisted in the exhibition of a great deal of information which was often grotesque erudition. "What was completely unessayed in the learning of this time was any exercise of critical judgment. An authority was an authority. Any book was an authority, if it was an old book." <sup>2</sup> In 1601 one Richard Lynche, Gent., published a best seller of Shakespeare's day bearing the astonishing title:

. . . An Historical Treatise of the Travels of Noah into Europe, containing the first inhabitation and peopling thereof, as also a breefe recapitulation of the Kings, Governors and Rulers commanding in the same, even until the first building of Troy by Dardanus. . . .

According to the title page, Spelman's *The History and Fate of Sacrilege* (1632) was a laboriously learned endeavor to "discover" the nature of the subject "by examples of Scripture, of heathens and of Christians, from the beginning of the world continually to this day." Coke believed that Britain had been settled by Brut, the grandson of Aeneas, about 1000 B.C.; that the common law, much as it was in his own time, was established then; that England's system of land tenures and a government of kings, lords, and commons existed in Britain centuries before Rome was founded; and that Alfred the Great established Oxford University. Even Milton began his *History of Britain, Collected out of the Antientest and Best Authorities* (1670), with the giant Albion, the Trojan war, Brut, the fables of the original colonization of Britain, and the

<sup>1</sup> The standard bibliography is Godfrey Davis, ed., *Bibliography of British History: Stuart Period, 1603-1714* (Oxford, 1928); see also WARD, VII (1911), chs. viii-ix and their bibliographies; GARDINER AND MULLINGER, pt. ii, chs. vii-viii; Wilbur Cortez Abbott, *A Bibliography of Oliver Cromwell* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929); the same author's *Adventures in Reputation* (Cambridge, Mass., 1935), 94-117 deals with the historiography of Cromwell.

<sup>2</sup> Max Radin, "On Legal Scholarship," *Yale Law Journal*, May 1937, p. 1127.

story of King "Leir" and his daughters, though he partly disarms the critic by the caveat: "Whereto I neither oblige the belief of other persons, nor over-hastily subscribe mine own."

The year 1603 did not sharply mark the beginning of a new era in historical writing. During the early part of the reign of James I learned writers who had flourished under Queen Elizabeth continued their work unmolested, and apparently unaffected by the rule of a Stuart. Nevertheless, the first two or three decades of the seventeenth century saw changes of great importance. "The days of the Tudor annalists and chroniclers, thoroughly national in their spirit and sympathies, had not passed away, when upon some few far-seeing minds had dawned the conception of historical writing which, while still furnishing a full account of the events of the past, should at the same time interest the political thinker and satisfy the demands of literary art."<sup>3</sup> There was not yet any sharp delineation of parties, but men were thinking politics and political theory. They wanted to know the truth and were beginning to search the past for explanations of the problems which confronted them. People were, at the same time, becoming vitally interested in the world around them and in the events of the immediate past. Even before Bacon wrote his *History of the Reign of King Henry the Seventh* (1622) there had been in England, as elsewhere, attempts to write historical monographs of a critical nature on recent subjects.

Few critical monographs were written during the Stuart period. One of these was the product of Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1583-1648), who began a *Life of Henry VIII* in 1632 and worked on it until 1645. Although written long after the king's death, the account is based on accredited chronicles and original documents, of which he wished to make as full use as possible; treaties are analyzed almost article by article. Still ranked as a standard work, the *Life* has many excellencies, such as its dignified ease of style.

Lord Herbert, who shows decided convictions in his writing, was soldier, diplomat, and historian, as well as poet and philosopher. He served in Flanders in 1609-10. In London he was the friend of Ben Jonson and the Duke of Buckingham. Ambassador to France in 1618, he challenged the Duke of Lyons to a duel and was recalled; but after the latter's death resumed his post in 1622. During the Puritan revolt, Lord Herbert endeavored to remain neutral; he refused to join Charles I at Oxford and endeavored to regain control of his estates, which Parliament had seized.

In addition to the *Life of Henry VIII*, Lord Herbert wrote his *Auto-*

<sup>3</sup> WARD, VII, 230-31.

*biography* <sup>4</sup> but it goes no farther than 1624. The chief characteristic of this work, according to Sidney Lee, <sup>5</sup> is its "childlike vanity." Vain and quarrelsome, Lord Herbert pictures himself as a gay Lothario and skilled duellist, and omits facts that would reveal the more serious side of his nature. The period of his embassy has value; the earlier part of the work contains a good description of contemporary education, but has less historical interest, although it is an interesting account of social life of the day.

It is necessary, before going further, to note the term "Puritan." There were many shades of Puritans. Many men changed their affiliations as circumstances altered. No one was without a party bias by the time of Charles I. This bias was sometimes predominantly religious, but more commonly it was political. Whether Parliamentarians, Independents, Levellers, or Republicans, all were "Puritans" in the sense of being opposed to the monarchy. <sup>6</sup>

Party historiography, an entirely new type in England, and one of great significance, made its appearance after 1625. It soon reached such a point that Mullinger quotes Rushworth as saying, "Most writers now-a-days appear in public crooked, warped, and bowed to the right or to the left." <sup>7</sup> And Mullinger adds that the "few, indeed, who supply a dispassionate and candid record of events are of minor importance as writers, and generally not distinguished by ability." The English Revolution brought sharp political divisions and with them intensely partisan historiography. None of the Puritan writers may be called a *great* historian, and probably none but Clarendon among the Royalists.

Sir Simonds D'Ewes (1602-50) was "a learned antiquary and full of interest in politics." A native of Coxden, in Dorset, he wrote an autobiography <sup>8</sup> which is a strictly chronological record of the events

<sup>4</sup> *The Autobiography of Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, with Introduction . . . and a Continuation of the Life*, by Sidney L. Lee (London, 1886). The best parts, in addition to the rather Falstaffian episode of 1619, treat of Louis XIII, de Luynes, Gondomar, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Article on Lord Herbert in *DNB*, XXVI (1891), 178.

<sup>6</sup> Even in the seventeenth century men were uncertain as to what a "Puritan" was, and the term was used very broadly as applying to one who opposed the king. A verse tract printed in 1622 illustrates this point. The author complains that an honest man, if he opposes the government for constitutional or religious reasons, is termed a Puritan. His own definition includes the idea that:

"A Puritan is he that speaks his mind in Parliament  
His character abridged, if you would have  
He's one, that would a Subject be, not Slave."

(C. H. Firth, ed., *Stuart Tracts, 1603-1693* [Westminster, 1903], 238).

<sup>7</sup> GARDINER AND MULLINGER, 331, quoting Rushworth's dedication of his "Collections" to Richard Cromwell.

<sup>8</sup> *The Autobiography [to 1636] and Correspondence [to 1649] of Sir Simonds D'Ewes during the Reigns of James I and Charles I*, ed. by J. O. Halliwell (London, 1845, 2 v.). It includes some authentic material on foreign affairs. See I, 421, where he refers to letters of Sir Albertus Joachim, Lord Ambassador from the United States of the Low Countries to the King of Great Britain, which he (D'Ewes) had seen.



concerning England from 1615–36, combined with a very personal diary. It is of little consequence except as a picture of the daily life and thought of a Puritan country gentleman. He entered Parliament in 1642 and worked for reconciliation between king and Parliament. D'Ewes did not succeed in producing any great history. According to his own testimony, he spent about twenty years collecting material; and probably twenty years more in writing what he entitled, "A General History of Great Britain from the First Inhabitant to the Present Times, Drawn Especially Out of Records and Other Abstruse and Exotic Monuments, for the Reformation of all the Chronicles and Histories of This Kind yet Extant, which will require several volumes." It was never completed. *The Journals of the Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth* (1628) is his best-known work. The Harleian Collection contains fragments of an article on "Great Britain's Strength and Weakness," written in 1628. In it, he intended "to lay down the present dangers we are in and to parallel them with dangers of former ages."<sup>9</sup> His diary<sup>10</sup> casts considerable light upon the Long Parliament.

It lies outside of the province of this work to include a consideration of the literature of political theory during the Cromwellian period.<sup>11</sup> Most of these tracts have been described as "cannonades of uproarious abuse." Nor does it seem requisite to include the fantastic and prejudiced "historical" works of most of the self-styled "historians" among the Puritans.<sup>12</sup>

A few only deserve mention. Fairfax' chaplain, Joshua Sprigge (1618–84), wrote *Anglia Rediviva, England's Recovery: Being the History of the Motions, Actions, and Successes of the Army under the Immediate Conduct of His Excellency, Sir Thomas Fairfax, Kt.* Bishop Warburton wrote to a friend, "If you would know the facts of Fairfax and his independent army till the reduction of Oxford and the King, you will find them in Sprigge's *Anglia Rediviva*."<sup>13</sup> The history is, of course, entirely one-sided, speaking often of the "enemy" and of "our army." However, there seems to be no attempt to alter facts or to deceive in any way. After explaining that "in the story of this army, into which so

<sup>9</sup> He goes on to explain why he did not finish it: "I thought my work would be too full of truth and plainness to endure the public view of the world." Yet he found his labour had not been in vain: "a great part of my collection being of very good use for my public History of Great Britain, long intended by me."

<sup>10</sup> Wallace Notestein, ed., *The Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes* (New Haven, 1923).

<sup>11</sup> See J. N. Figgis' edition of Milton's *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates and His Divine Right of Kings*, and cp. J. G. Dow, "The Political Ideal of the English Commonwealth," *EHR*, VI (1891), 306–30; see also the bibliography of Cromwell by Abbott (n. 1).

<sup>12</sup> One John Vicars was the author of a *History* in three parts entitled *Jehovah's Peril, God's Ark*, and *The Burning Bush*, which cover the years 1644–64.

<sup>13</sup> Letter LXIII, quoted in the preface of *Anglia Rediviva*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1854; original ed., 1647).

many great and glorious actions . . . have thronged to make it rich and glorious . . . you cannot expect to have elbow room of expression and accommodation of words," he goes on to explain why history does not need the trapping of words. "Truth is that which is the commendation of history; and the greatness of an action (which makes it great in wise men's eyes) is native, not adventitious; . . . lofty language is but to mount pigmy action." Sprigge wrote during the later years of the war and is anxious that no one shall think he is trying "by this history of things done, to fix . . . unvariable success upon this army."

Sprigge inserted letters of Fairfax and Cromwell, and documents such as articles of surrender and treaties. Though an eye-witness of some of the events he recounts, he used newspapers or something of the sort as supplementary material. The history is entirely military, and most of the flights of rhetoric that occur here and there are applied to the army. The Goodness of God is constantly referred to, and God is given credit for all the good fortune that befell the Puritan army, whether it be immunity from plague or unexpected victory. He says, "I hope God is drawn through all, and Providence is in the fairest colour, and the greatest letter in the book."

Mrs. Hutchinson's *Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson* was not printed until 1806. It was written to preserve her husband's memory to his descendants. "As a picture of the life of a puritan family and the character of a puritan gentleman it is unique."<sup>14</sup> The only other feature of historical value is the picture of the Civil War in Nottinghamshire, which is based upon a narrative written some time before she composed the memoirs of her husband and forming a basis of a large part of that work. Colonel Hutchinson was not a great figure. But in spite of her republican enthusiasm and religious fanaticism, Mrs. Hutchinson showed good judgment concerning the events she herself witnessed. As Guizot says, she hardly ever lacks independence and force when she speaks of what she has seen. Most of the book is taken up with incidents in the life of the Colonel himself. It is pervaded by sincerity and a desire for truthfulness, as well as the feeling of devotion which inspired its production.

It was a common trait of most English memoirs in this epoch that they are less personal reflections than histories of the time from a party point of view. Of these, three are of special interest: the *Short Memorials* by Sir Thomas Fairfax, Whitelock's *Memorials*, and Ludlow's *Memoirs*.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> C. H. Firth in *DNB*, XXVIII (1891), 341.

<sup>15</sup> Denzil, Lord Hollis, as Presbyterian leader in Parliament, wrote his *Memoirs* while an exile during the Commonwealth. They are "an Apology for that Party who took-up arms, not to destroy the King, or alter the Constitution, but to restore the last, and oblige the former to rule according to law" (preface of the publisher to the first edition of 1699, reprinted in *Select Tracts Relating to the Civil Wars in England in the Reign of King Charles the First*, edited by Francis Bacon Maseres [London, 1815, 2 v.], I, 188). Hollis is, of course, violent in his

Fairfax (1612–71), as general in the Parliamentary army, was in a position to supply his readers with fascinating and illuminating recollections. However, so factious were the times and so bitter the animosities among the various parties in Parliament and in the army that the memorials of a personage like Fairfax are largely in the nature of apologies and arguments. During the last years of his life, after the Restoration, Fairfax composed two autobiographical works: *A Short Memorial of the Northern Actions in which I was engaged during the War there, from the year 1642 to the year 1644*, and *Short Memorials of some things to be cleared during my Command in the Army*.<sup>16</sup> The first of these deals with the military history of Yorkshire campaigns; the second is a vindication of Fairfax' conduct while general. It appears to be too much of a political apology to be entirely trusted. What the author is most anxious to do is to impress upon the minds of his readers "his utter abhorrence of all acts of violence that were committed by the Army against the king's person and against the authority of the Parliament."<sup>17</sup> He imputes those acts to Cromwell, Ireton, and their followers who encouraged the election of a Council of Agitators. He pleads his own innocence with great sincerity and force.<sup>18</sup>

Whether his statements are true or not, they are scarcely in the nature of historical writing and detract from the value of the *Memorials* from our point of view. However, the first one especially is of considerable worth because it is in the form of personal reminiscence put in the first person and told with clearness and brevity.<sup>19</sup> As a glimpse of the character and the general himself these *Memorials* are of great interest, but as history they cannot compare with two works still to be discussed.

Bulstrode Whitelock was the author of a lengthy history entitled *Memorials of the English Affairs from the Beginning of the Reign of Charles the First to King Charles the Second His Happy Restauration*.<sup>20</sup> The words "Happy Restauration" must not mislead one into thinking Whitelock a Stuart supporter. He was above all things an opportunist

denunciation of Cromwell. On the title page of the copy of Maseres' *Tracts* used is written: "No party pen in any age ever went beyond the fury or rancour of that of Hollis." This seems to be no great exaggeration.

<sup>16</sup> The *Memorials* were published in 1699 in a small book of 128 pages with a preface by Brian Fairfax; reprinted in Maseres, *Tracts* (n. 15), I, 415–51. In this preface Fairfax states that they were never intended by the old lord for publication but to remain for the satisfaction of his own relations. This edition has alterations and omissions (cp. C. R. Markham, *Life of the Great Lord Fairfax* [London, 1870], 392–93); but in the collection known as the *Somers Tracts* (London, 1809–15; 13 v.), vol. V, there is a complete version from original MSS. in Leed's Castle.

<sup>17</sup> Maseres, *Tracts* (n. 15), I, p. lxxvii.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 444 f.

<sup>19</sup> It takes him but 53 lines to describe the Battle of Marston-Moor, though his own brother was mortally wounded there (Maseres, *Tracts*, I, 438–39), while Sprigg needs 350 to describe Naseby (*Anglia Rediviva*, 39–46).

<sup>20</sup> First ed., London, 1682, 1 v. folio; last ed. in 4 v. octavo, Oxford, 1853.

who adapted himself to the necessities of the occasion. Consequently the Restoration found him, an ex-member of the Cromwellian councils, in royal favor.<sup>21</sup>

Whitelock was a constitutional lawyer, and as a young man showed a scholarly temperament. He was a close friend of Selden and was erudite in historical and classical literature.<sup>22</sup> He was vain and egotistical and, as has been said, showed peculiar pliancy to circumstances. His intentions, however, were honest and on a few occasions he stood firm for his convictions.<sup>23</sup> His want of moral courage was such that on many occasions he was "rather carried away with the torrent than swam with the stream."<sup>24</sup> One thing at least is evident from his general character, namely, that he was not a fervent partisan who would color his narrative with invective and false assertion. The problem in estimation of the *Memorials* as an historical work is concerned first of all with its authenticity. It is admitted that there are suspicious documents inserted in the work.

Edmund Ludlow (1617-92) was a very different sort of man from Whitelock. The *Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow, Lieutenant-General of the Horse in the Army of the Commonwealth of England 1625-1672*<sup>25</sup> are probably the best known and most widely read of any historical memoirs of the seventeenth century in England. They were written after the Restoration, when Ludlow was in exile in Switzerland. Since they end in 1672, and the latter part has all the air of a contemporary record, it is safe to assert that they were written between 1663 and 1673. "The narrow life and bitter passions of the exile are faithfully reflected in their pages. It would be too much to expect from a man in his position a calm and unprejudiced estimate of the acts of his political opponents; it is sufficient that his facts are accurate and he does not intentionally misrepresent," says C. H. Firth in his preface to the *Memoirs*.<sup>26</sup>

Such character would indeed be sufficient when we realize the part

<sup>21</sup> "The Protector Richard's entrusted keeper of the Seal, he became a member of the Council of State of the party that dethroned him; and when that party was in turn dismissed by the army he again changed sides, and acted in the Committee of Safety and as keeper of the Seal; and to crown all, though the professed object throughout the various changes was the settlement of the Commonwealth 'without a king,' yet he proposed to General Fleetwood to go over to Charles and offer him the crown; not from any loyal feeling but merely, as he himself acknowledged, to forestall Monk in his supposed intention, and to secure immunity from the past" (E. Foss, *Biographica Juridica, A Biographical Dictionary of the Judges of England, 1066-1870* [London, 1870], 726).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 727.

<sup>23</sup> In the fall of 1641, together with Prynne, Hampden, St. John, Fiennes, Marten, Strode, etc., he opposed the "Parliamentary Royalists" and stood firm against the king (J. L. Sanford, *Studies and Illustrations of the Great Rebellion* [London, 1858], 388).

<sup>24</sup> Foss (n. 21), 727.

<sup>25</sup> Original ed. published at Vivay in Bern, 1698-99, 3 v.; references below are to the annotated ed. of C. H. Firth (Oxford, 1894, 2 v.).

<sup>26</sup> *Memoirs*, I, p. lviii.

that Ludlow played during the period. In the early stages of the war he was inconspicuous, but from the time he entered Parliament in 1646 he was of increasing importance. He is most famous for his activity as governor in Ireland from 1650 to 1652. "When the quarrel between the Protector and the army had resulted in the fall of the house of Cromwell and the restoration of the Long Parliament (1659) Ludlow immediately became one of the most prominent persons in the state."<sup>27</sup> Though never one of the Levellers,<sup>28</sup> Ludlow became closely allied with the army party, and his *Memoirs* are of great historical value in the discussion of the struggle between Parliament and the Army. He was removed from his command as colonel by Parliament and was condemned to be "a mere spectator of public events," to witness with impotent indignation the readmission of the members he had helped to expel in 1648, and to see the final dissolution of the Long Parliament.<sup>29</sup> A staunch republican as always, he tried to rally the malcontents of the army for a last effort to prevent the restoration of the Stuarts, but was obliged to go into hiding to avoid arrest. In August 1660, he escaped to France just as the government published a proclamation offering three hundred pounds for his arrest. He was bitterly disappointed in the whole outcome of the war and he was particularly incensed against Cromwell, whom he considered, out of ambition, to have betrayed the trust put in him. With "the courage never to submit or yield"<sup>30</sup> he withdrew from the world and settled in Vevay, where he wrote a coherent story of his public life, strongly biassed, of course, and bitter in places, but nevertheless a history of his times which is of great value and interest.

While Ludlow was writing, he had very few documents of any sort to which to refer. He was obliged to rely almost entirely upon his memory. He says, "I shall not strictly confine myself to a relation of such things only in which I was personally concerned, but also give the best account I can of such other memorable occurrences of those times as I have learned from persons well informed, and of unsuspected fidelity."<sup>31</sup> To this lack of sources must be attributed many of the chronological errors and inaccuracies of the early section of the *Memoirs*. However, those portions of the *Memoirs* which deal with Ludlow's own activity, especially his years in Ireland, are surprisingly reliable.

When asked in 1655 why he would not own Cromwell's government as lawful Ludlow said, "because . . . it seems to me to be in substance a re-establishment of that which we all engaged against, and had with

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xxxvii.

<sup>28</sup> T. C. Pease, *The Leveller Movement, A Study in the History and Political Theory of the English Great Civil War* (Washington, D. C., 1916), 201 note.

<sup>29</sup> *Memoirs*, I, p. xli.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xlii.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 9.

great expense and blood and treasure abolished." <sup>32</sup> It is perfectly clear that "of everything that made for the superiority of the military over the civil power, and of the monarchical over the democratic principle, he was the consistent adversary." <sup>33</sup> His *Memoirs*, therefore, are among the important documents of English republicanism. <sup>34</sup>

The historical value of the *Memoirs* as a whole lies in their faithful presentation of the ideas of the republican party <sup>35</sup> and of the factions which caused the overthrow of the republic after its restoration in 1659. Guizot in the preface to his edition of the *Memoirs* described Ludlow's mind as "incapable of comprehending events and men." Carlyle styles Ludlow an honest, dull man, and habitually refers to him as a "wooden-head." Yet in interest the *Memoirs* surpass any of the other historical works of Puritans and find their place among the famous memoirs of all countries.

Substantial history of a less partisan and controversial nature was also written during this period of political turmoil. In 1655 one of the best historical works of the century appeared. This was *The Church History of Britain* by Thomas Fuller (1608-61), one of "the great cavalier parsons" of the age. He was a Cambridge man who attracted attention by his "quaint and humourous oratory," and through the influence of his uncle, who was bishop of Salisbury, was appointed rector of Broad Windson in Dorset in 1634. Fuller was a man of moderation and in 1640 was threatened with a fine by the parliamentary party. He removed to Oxford where he equally offended the royalist party because he was not royalist enough. His ready wit and congenial ways enabled him to weather the storm, though he admitted when it had passed, that he "feared to be made a history and shifted daily for my safety." During these tense years he "had little list or leisure to write"; nevertheless, his *Church History* was completed and published in 1655 with the aid of friends and benefactors. Peace of mind came with the Restoration in 1660 and Fuller was made chaplain to the king by Charles II. Two years afterwards appeared his *History of the Worthies of England*, the first attempt at a dictionary of national biography, and an immensely popular work.

A quite different biographical dictionary was Anthony Wood's (1632-95): *Athenae Oxonienses* (1691-92, 2 v.), a sort of *Who's Who* of distinguished graduates of Oxford. Wood was a man of means and an

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 435. Such remarks can hardly be taken literally. This was written ten years later and probably expresses Ludlow's feelings then.

<sup>33</sup> WARD, VII, 255.

<sup>34</sup> As early as 1648 he followed Marten in advocating a commonwealth founded on the consent of the people (*Memoirs*, I, p. xxiv).

<sup>35</sup> On negotiations between officers and their allies in Parliament he is almost the only source of information (*ibid.*, p. xxii).

antiquarian who had settled at Oxford in 1660 and spent the rest of his life there.

The Revolution of 1688 gave a great stimulus to the writing of history. Intimation of the change already had been manifested in 1679 with the appearance of Gilbert Burnet's *History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, which treated the subject from the divorce of Catharine of Aragon to 1567. Of this it has been said that it "forms an epoch in our historical literature."<sup>36</sup>

Burnet, when a young cleric, was chaplain to the master of the rolls, and in that capacity had access to the voluminous archives of that office. His liberal spirit and friendship with such men as Tillotson, Stillingfleet, and Tension cast suspicion on him, and when the *History of the Reformation* was published in the very year when the notorious "Popish Plot" befell, Burnet prudently fled to Holland. He accompanied William of Orange to England in 1688 and wrote for him the proclamations which were issued at that time. In reward he was made bishop of Salisbury. He died in 1715.

Burnet's chief claim to fame rests upon his *History of My Own Time* which was published by his son after his death.<sup>37</sup> It covers more than fifty years. The relation of events before the Restoration is a summary of information largely derived from family tradition or from the reminiscences of Lauderdale, Lord Hollis, and Colonel Titus, who is said to have quoted Charles II himself. From the Restoration in 1660 forward the narrative is full. The work was begun as a secret history in 1683, and in 1702 revised and continued. The revision differs from the original version, the first being more impartial and historical. Von Ranke has indicated the changes and omissions in the later edition.<sup>38</sup> As Burnet inclined more and more towards the Whigs in the reign of Queen Anne, he made changes, "possibly not because they were found to be incorrect, but because they no longer agreed with the views and objects of the later time."<sup>39</sup> The changes add little to Burnet's reputation for historicity; Marlborough, at first represented as traitorous, becomes the victim of unfounded accusations. Ranke is perhaps too harsh in his judgment, but it is always necessary to bear in mind that Burnet's work is that of a partisan.

Burnet portrayed vivid, picturesque, and amusing characters, de-

<sup>36</sup> T. E. S. Clarke and H. C. Foxcroft, *A Life of Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury* (Cambridge, 1907), 151.

<sup>37</sup> *Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time*, by G. Burnet (London, 1724-34, 2 v. folio); ed. by M. J. Routh (Oxford, 1853, 6 v. octavo); and again, but only to 1685, by O. Airy (Oxford, 1897, 2 v.).

<sup>38</sup> Leopold von Ranke, *A History of England Principally in the Seventeenth Century* (tr. from the German, Oxford, 1875, 6 v.), VI, 52-87.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 74.

scribing their tricks of speech and mannerisms; his gallery of contemporary portraits is perhaps more lifelike than the elaborate portraits of Clarendon. Lord Hailes said that Burnet was "a man of the most surprising imprudence that can be imagined."

The most valid appraisal of Burnet may be found in a thorough-going account of his career by T. E. S. Clarke and H. C. Foxcraft.<sup>40</sup> The affairs in which Burnet participated personally, such as the preparation for the descent on England in 1688, are most instructive and noteworthy. He was so well informed on the affairs of Scotland before the Restoration that Swift, when he sneered at the work, termed it a *History of (Scoil)land in His Own Times*.<sup>41</sup> In spite of the admitted weakness of Burnet's production, one must agree with Professor Firth, who says: "put the whole mass into the crucible, and eliminate the inferior elements: the amount of true and valuable information left represents a high percentage."<sup>42</sup>

John Strype (1642-1737), after receiving his M.A. at Oxford in 1669, took orders and became a priest and curate in London. He published nothing until after he was fifty, although he spent most of his life gathering materials concerning church affairs in the Tudor period. After Burnet in point of time, he also ranks lower than the Scotchman in native abilities. Of his works, the first published and the most important is the *Memorials of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury*, which appeared in 1694. By 1718 he had published a number of *Lives*, among them those of Archbishops Grindal, Parker, and Whitgift, the "Four First Holy (Protestant) Archbishops" of Canterbury. Meanwhile Strype labored on the *Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion* (1700-31), treating a period later in date than Burnet's *History of the Reformation*. The *Ecclesiastical Memorials* (1721)<sup>43</sup> deal with the history of the Church during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary. Strype's plodding industry in collecting charters, letters, state papers, and the like resulted in a valuable accumulation of facts on sixteenth-century ecclesiastical and political history. Although he shows a lack of literary skill and selective power, his compilations are excellent stores of information and exemplify the growth in historical research.

The seventeenth century was an age when statesmen wielded considerable influence as historians. Sir William Temple (1628-99) was

<sup>40</sup> See n. 36 above.

<sup>41</sup> WARD, IX, 227.

<sup>42</sup> An interesting *Supplement to Burnet's History of My Own Time*, ed. by H. C. Foxcraft (Oxford, 1902), has given us valuable additional materials on the character of the author.

<sup>43</sup> The complete *Works* of Strype were published again in 27 v. (Oxford 1820-40), of which vols. X-XI contain the *Memorials of Thomas Cranmer* mentioned in the text, vols. I-VII the *Annals of the Reformation*, and vols. XII-XVII the *Ecclesiastical Memorials* (vols. XXVI-XXVII general index).



not least among these. A native of Blackfriars, he was educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge. As ambassador to the Hague he performed many political services, negotiating the Triple Alliance, the peace between England and Holland, and the marriage between Lady Mary and the Prince of Orange. During an enforced retirement beginning in 1670 he devoted his time to literature and philosophy. In 1672 he published *Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands* (London, 1673), based upon his experiences while ambassador abroad, deservedly popular at home and abroad because of its penetrating insight. After refusing high places of state, Temple retired to Moor Park, Surrey, in 1681, where he was joined by Jonathan Swift as secretary in 1689, and lived there until his death.

In addition to essays on Ireland and England, a group of agreeable essays called *Miscellanea*, and a short, readable history entitled *An Introduction to the History of England* (1695), Temple wrote memoirs of his own time. Originally in three parts, the first of which Temple destroyed, the work covers the period from 1673, the outbreak of the Anglo-Dutch War, to the year of his retirement. Temple cannot be termed a first-rate historian, but he merits attention for his reasoned judgment of political and social conditions and his lucid account of events. Dr. Johnson declared that:

Sir William Temple was the first writer who gave cadence to English prose. Before his time they were careless of arrangement, and did not mind whether a sentence ended with an important word or an insignificant word, or with what part of speech it was concluded.

A modern critic, J. B. Mullinger, says that the interest of the *Memoirs* lies in "powers of subtle observation and felicitous style," rather than factual contribution.<sup>44</sup> He is at his best in narration and "light-handed" analysis of character.

The work of another diplomatist and soldier, Sir Richard Bulstrode (1610-1711), contains certain facts not mentioned by other writers of the time. He was educated at Cambridge and joined Charles II's army at the outbreak of the Civil War. Under him and James II he held a diplomatic post at the court of Brussels, and followed the king to St. Germain after the Revolution. His political leanings were opposite to those of his son, Whitelocke. All of his historical works were published posthumously; the most important are a *Life of James II* (Rome, 1715); and his *Memoirs and Reflections upon the Reign and Government of King Charles I and King Charles II* (London, 1721).<sup>45</sup>

<sup>44</sup> GARDINER AND MULLINGER, 360.

<sup>45</sup> In addition to the works mentioned we have from his pen *Original Letters to the Earl of Arlington*, in 1674, dealing largely with the Low Countries and France.

No account of the historians of the Restoration period is complete without mention of the *Diary* of Samuel Pepys (1633–1703), secretary to the navy in the reign of Charles II. Pepys was the son of a London tailor, received his B.A. from Cambridge, 1653, and his M.A. in 1660. His advancement he owed to his kinsman, Sir Edward Montague, who obtained a clerkship for him in 1658. With the Restoration Pepys' fortunes rose; in 1660 he was made clerk to the generals of the fleet, clerk of the privy seal and of the "acts of the navy," where he shared equal authority with the other members of the board. He began his diary in January of that year and continued it until failing eyesight forced him to abandon it on May 29, 1669, a step, as he said, "which is almost as much as to see myself go into my grave."<sup>46</sup>

Throughout the period covered by his diary Pepys worked hard to master his business and became "the right hand of the Navy," according to a contemporary. As surveyor-general of the victualling office he labored to supply the fleet during the Anglo-Dutch War (declared February 6, 1665), acted creditably when the Dutch fleet was in the Medway (1667), and assisted in checking the great fire in London. His greatest work was done after his last entry in the *Diary*. Although accusations at the time of the Popish Plot sent him to the Tower for a time and checked his career, in 1684 he was appointed secretary to the admiralty, where he carried out much-needed reforms in the administration. The Revolution brought him another short imprisonment (1689) and he retired to Clapham until his death in 1703.

The *Diary*<sup>47</sup> is the work which has made him famous, although he wrote two other works of considerable value: a journal of a trip to Tangier with Lord Dartmouth in 1683, and *Memoires of the Navy*.<sup>48</sup> The *Diary* is a "mixture of incidents and confessions" written originally in cipher. It is absolutely sincere, and the intimate confessions of a shrewd and curious observer of the pageant of the day are interesting as a picture of the life and manners of his time as well as a frank portrayal of Pepys himself. It is an excellent historical source for the first ten years of the Restoration, for Pepys had ample opportunity to know at first hand the affairs of state.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Quoted in WARD, VIII, 256.

<sup>47</sup> *The Diary of Samuel Pepys . . . Transcribed from the Shorthand MS. . . by Mynors Bright, with Lord Braybrooke's Notes*. Latest edition by Henry B. Wheatley (London, 1904–10, 9 v.).

<sup>48</sup> *Memoires Relating to the State of the Royal Navy of England, 1679–1688* (London, 1690); edited by J. R. Tanner (Oxford, 1906).

<sup>49</sup> A diary of less historical interest was written by Samuel Pepys' friend, John Evelyn (1620–1706). Evelyn played a larger part in public than political affairs, and his *Diary* is less a political history than a cross-section of the life of a public-spirited country gentleman. J. B. Mullinger considers it, however, a "storehouse of illustrations as regards the political, literary, and scientific movements of his age" (GARDINER AND MULLINGER, 361).

"A far more useful source of information for historical purposes" <sup>50</sup> than Pepys' *Diary*, although not so well known, is the work of Narcissus Luttrell. <sup>51</sup> It is a careful record of events from 1678 to 1714, largely compiled from news letters, the methodical work of a gentleman of antiquarian and literary tastes, and "An extremely Curious and Interesting Diary of a most extraordinary man."

The greatest historical writer of this century of stirring issues and great men in English history was Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon (1608-74). <sup>52</sup> A member of an old Cheshire family, he received his B.A. degree at Oxford. His father wished him to enter the Church, while his uncle wanted him to become a lawyer. The young Hyde preferred polite learning and history to law, and courtiers to lawyers. His chief delight was the society of wits and scholars; Jonson, Selden, Waller, Hales, and other eminent writers were among his early friends. He moved from circle to circle, cultivating those friendships which would further his career, and even after he was called to the bar in 1633 and began the practice of law he chose to advance through favors as much as by his own talents. From the time he gained the favor of Laud (1634) he grew to be an increasingly important figure in England, entering Parliament in 1640.

Although Hyde is remembered as a staunch Royalist, he began his political career on the popular side. While a member of the Short and Long Parliaments he opposed the personal rule of Charles I, but his attitude on ecclesiastical questions led eventually to his separation from the popular party. Once definitely on the side of Charles I, Hyde became his uncompromising supporter. Charles I acknowledged this devotion when, upon making Hyde chancellor of the Exchequer (1643) he declared, "I must make Ned Hyde Secretary of State, for the truth is, I can trust no one else." <sup>53</sup>

In a committee appointed to examine the enclosure of certain lands Hyde first met Cromwell, who interrupted debate with violence. "In

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 362.

<sup>51</sup> A. Brief *Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714* (Oxford, 1857, 6 v.).

<sup>52</sup> C. H. Firth, article on Hyde in *DNB*, XXVIII (1891), 370-89, with many references *passim*; the same, "Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*," *EHR*, XIX (1904), 26-54, 246-62, 464-83; Sir Henry Craik, *The Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon* (London and New York, 1911); Charles Whibley, *Political Portraits* (London, 1917), 47-66; Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, *Horae Sabbaticae: Reprint of Articles Contributed to 'The Saturday Review'* (London, 1892, 3 v.), I, 309-47; J. A. R. Marriott, *The Life and Times of Lucius Carey, Viscount Falkland* (New York, 1907), 100-02. The following articles may be used with profit: Peter Bayne, "Clarendon," *Contemporary Review*, XXVII (1875-76), 912-37 and XXVIII (1876), 421-43; "Clarendon's 'History of the Rebellion,'" *CQR*, XXIX (1890), 30-49; *QR*, LXII (1838), 505-66; *ER*, LXVIII (1838-39), 460-94 and LXIX (1839), 104-25; *North American Review*, LXV (1847), 186-92; "Clarendon and His Contemporaries," *Fraser's Magazine*, XLV (1852), 341-52.

<sup>53</sup> Whibley, *Political Portraits* (n. 51), 55.

the end," wrote Hyde in later years, "Cromwell's whole carriage was so tempestuous, and his behaviour so insolent, that the chairman felt himself obliged to reprehend him . . . which he never forgave; and took all occasions afterwards to pursue him, with the utmost malice and revenge, to his death." Although Hyde bore a large share of the royal burdens, he parted with Charles for the last time in 1645, to accompany the young prince, afterwards Charles II. So began his long exile; it started in the Scilly Isles in 1646, and lasted until the Restoration. Living in Jersey for two years, he headed an embassy to Spain (1649-51), and advised the young king at his court at the Hague or in Paris. Hyde returned to England in 1660 to become Earl of Clarendon, Lord Chancellor, and virtual head of the government, despite determined resistance. So unpopular had he become by 1667 that the king let him be impeached without protest. He fled to Calais and survived the Restoration for fourteen years, the last seven of which he spent in exile in France.

Clarendon is more remembered as an historian than as a statesman. Begun in 1646 and continued laboriously during his exile, his *History of the Rebellion*<sup>54</sup> was composed over a period of years. It covered the period from the reign of Charles I to his own exile. By 1648 he had written the first nine books, down to 1644 and the defeat of the episcopal-royal party. Recently come from the scene of events and hoping soon to return, he thought to write a history of "these evil times" so that he might "look over faults of the old" business to equip himself for the future business. This part has been called the most important because Clarendon was recording his judgment of the two parties just as the civil war was breaking out. His conclusion is manifest in the title he chose: "The Great Rebellion."

Clarendon felt confident that an intelligent posterity would appreciate his work, although he feared that contemporary feelings would be injured if he were to publish it then. In a letter to Sir John Berkeley, written from Jersey in 1647, he confessed this and his vow to record the truth:

As soon as I came to Silley, I began (as well as I could without any papers, upon the stock of my own memory) to set down a narrative of the prosperous Rebellion, and have since I came hither continued it, to the waste of very much paper, so that I am now come to the King's leaving London, in which, though for want of information and assistants I shall leave many truths unmentioned, upon my word there shall not be any untruth, nor partiality towards persons or sides, which, though it will make the work unfit in this age for communication, yet may be fit for the perusal and comfort of some

<sup>54</sup> *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England* (Oxford, 1702-04, 3 v. folio), modern ed. by W. C. Macray (Oxford, 1888, 6 v. octavo).

men; and being transmitted through good hands, may tell posterity that the whole nation was not so bad as it will then be thought to have been.<sup>55</sup>

Clarendon wrote an account of his life prior to the Restoration during the first few years of his second exile (1667–70). In 1671, when his son brought him the manuscript of the *History*, he returned to his original project, and wove the earlier *History* and the *Autobiography*<sup>56</sup> together, and added parts intended as a justification of his second administration. Hence parts have the qualities of reasoned history, parts those of memoirs; the sections originally from the *History* were more accurate in detail while those taken from the *Autobiography* confused and misrepresented events. In the latter the criticism is freer, however, and some of his best characterizations are found here. Lacking documentary material during his exile, he relied on his memory, but though he might forget details he recalled persons vividly.

Both criticism and praise have been showered upon the *History of the Rebellion*, and Whitelock's *Memorials* have been called more trustworthy. Clarendon's accuracy as a recorder of fact has been severely criticized, for example, his misrepresentation of the Short Parliament. Peter Bayne<sup>57</sup> states, however, that those who accept Clarendon's history reject his theories, but accept his details as authentic and important. Ranke,<sup>58</sup> on the other hand, claims that historians have never gone beyond his viewpoint despite factual error.

C. H. Firth, while recognizing the defects of the history, terms it the "most valuable of all the contemporary accounts of the civil wars."<sup>59</sup> Clarendon felt that the "genius and spirit and soul" of an historian came through intimate contact with state affairs, and he himself played no small part in the parliamentary struggle. He wrote a work which set forth his policy as well as related events, and he exemplified the ideas of a considerable group of the people. It has been said that the work is "the grand mistake of his life stated in language,"<sup>60</sup> or, as Ranke expresses it:

(The history) breathes the same spirit which inspired his administration, and won for it a continuous influence on English history. For the understanding of the latter, these works, in spite of their defects, are invaluable. They are the immediate product of the

<sup>55</sup> "If Clarendon was happy that his works fell into 'good hands,' the Oxford University press was not less fortunate in obtaining the profits from the publication." It was largely out of these profits that the old Clarendon building was erected in 1713 to house the University printers, and the name Clarendon Press was derived from this fact. *The Periodical*, February 1909, no. XLIX, pp. 291–92.

<sup>56</sup> *The Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon, Being a Continuation of the History of the Great Rebellion from the Restoration to His Banishment in 1667* (Oxford, 1759; later edition, Oxford, 1857, 2 v.).

<sup>57</sup> *Contemporary Review*, XXVIII (1876), 423.

<sup>58</sup> Leopold von Ranke, *A History of England* (n. 38), VI, 29.

<sup>59</sup> *DNB*, XXVIII (1891), 386.

<sup>60</sup> *Contemporary Review*, XXVIII, (1876), 422.

life of a great statesman, and everywhere bear traces of what he did or refrained from doing. It is perfectly true, as has been said, that it is difficult to tear oneself away from the book, when once one is deep in it, especially the earlier sections; one converses with a living, intelligent, and powerful spirit. . . . The narrative is pervaded by a tone of honest conviction, which communicates itself to the reader. It is as if one were listening to a venerable gentleman narrating the events of his life in a circle of friends.<sup>61</sup>

Just as Clarendon failed as a statesman to appreciate the principles of the independents and to understand the force of the religious grievances, so in his history he shows lack of judgment. According to Marriott the *History* fails "altogether to gauge the strength of the forces which produced the great upheaval of 1640, and it attributes too much importance to the play of personal idiosyncracies." <sup>62</sup> Sir James Stephen writes:

Any book with the faintest pretensions to rise above the rank of a collection of dates would contain some view as to the general causes of the civil wars—some account of the principles represented by the two contending parties, and of the degree in which those principles rose out of, or were suggested by, the ancient institutions of the country. . . . Their total absence . . . makes the story unintelligible.<sup>63</sup>

Clarendon shows a good deal of desultory reflection of a certain kind, but these reflections are isolated and supported by no sustained interpretation.

Despite criticism of its value the *History of the Rebellion* continues to be read. Part of its popularity lies in the subject matter, one of the best parts, according to Stephen, being that in which Clarendon describes from past experience and observation the nature of administrative councils, and makes the commonsense statement that practical politicians are far better than theorists in government. Part of its attraction can be ascribed to its style, which Hallam called "that eloquence of the heart and imagination." Most critics do not agree that Clarendon was "a great writer of English prose," <sup>64</sup> and find fault with his redundancy and prolixity. At the same time they enjoy the dignity and strength of the *History* as well as its anecdotal merits and grave irony. Clarendon's renown rests largely on his excellent portraits. Believing that history was "character in action" and that its purpose was to celebrate important persons, Clarendon filled his work with word portraits. His account of the death of Falkland in the battle of Newbury so moved Sir James Mackintosh, himself an historian, that he burst into tears on reading it. Clarendon's portrait of Hampden remains an "imperishable picture," even though modelled on Tacitus' description of Agricola. As Marriott says,

<sup>61</sup> *A History of England* (n. 38), VI, 28-29.

<sup>62</sup> *The Life and Times of Lucius Carey* (n. 51), 100-01.

<sup>63</sup> *Horae Sabbaticae* (n. 51), I, 311.

<sup>64</sup> WARD, VII, 221.

. . . as a gallery of contemporary portraits it [the history] is interesting and valuable beyond all verbal computation. By means of a few felicitous phrases, a deft touch here and a line there, Clarendon makes the men of the time live before our eyes.

It is the deft little touches, such as that of Noy's, that please: "The court made no impression upon his manners: upon his mind it did. . . ." <sup>65</sup> There is a trace of partisanship in his delineation of character and sometimes Clarendon's recollections disagree with other contemporary descriptions. It could scarcely be expected that he would appreciate Cromwell, whom he hated with all the rancor of a convinced Royalist, or judge fairly his royal master. Yet of Cromwell he says:

As he had all the wickednesses against which damnation is denounced, and for which hell-fire is prepared, so he had some virtues which have caused the memory of some men in all ages to be celebrated, and he will be looked upon by posterity as a brave bad man. <sup>66</sup>

If this may be called a mistaken historical estimate, in another place Clarendon comments more accurately:

He was one of those men whom his very enemies could not condemn without commending him at the same time; for he could never have done half so much mischief without great parts of courage, industry, and judgment. . . . He achieved those things, in which none but a valiant and great man could have succeeded. . . . He was not a man of blood, and totally declined Machiavel's method. <sup>67</sup>

Clarendon saw the weaknesses of Charles, who

. . . had an excellent understanding but was not confident enough of it; which made him oftentimes change his own opinion for a worse and follow the advice of a man that did not judge so well as himself. <sup>68</sup>

Whatever may be the final decision on Clarendon's worth as an historian, his contribution should continue to receive notice. For, in the words of J. A. R. Marriott, "Its merits and defects alike contribute to its perennial fascination."

No one who has read the history of the reign of Queen Anne can have failed to observe the immense effect of the publication of Clarendon's work. It strengthened the convictions of a powerful section of the English public in the midst of balanced political struggle. As Clarendon's influence had formerly been great in the Restoration Settlement, so his *History of the Rebellion*, after its publication in 1707, continued his influence, though he himself had died in 1674. The Anglican Church received an enormous impulse, and the noble language which described the perils through which Church and State had lately passed fortified the constitution and left its mark upon the legislation of Queen Anne's

<sup>65</sup> Quoted in *CQR*, XXIX (1890), 48.

<sup>66</sup> Sir James Stephen, *Horae Sabbaticae* (n. 51), I, 316.

<sup>67</sup> Whibley, *Political Portraits* (n. 51), 63-64.

<sup>68</sup> Quoted in *CQR*, XXIX (1890), 49.

reign. Stanhope traced the "second growth of Jacobitism" to Clarendon's "noble work," "the great character of the author," "his unconquerable spirit of loyalty, his firm attachment to the fallen, his enduring and well-founded trust in God when there seemed to be none left in man." <sup>69</sup>

Before closing an examination of the Stuart historians, it is worth while to notice certain minor works, quite apart from the general trend, especially in connection with Irish and Scotch affairs. A book of great historical interest for Irish affairs, the *Discoverie of the True Causes Why Ireland Was Not Entirely Subdued*,<sup>70</sup> was written by Sir John Davies (1569–1626), attorney-general for Ireland. His part in the plantation of Ulster, the organization of local government, and the reform of the parliamentary system was important and his description of the policy in Ireland in this early period is therefore valuable.

In 1633 was published the *Pacata Hibernia*, whose authorship still remains in doubt. Sir Thomas Stafford (fl. 1633) is the reputed composer. Nothing is known concerning his birth. He served under Sir George Carew in the Irish wars of Elizabeth's reign. In his will Carew bequeathed to Stafford a vast collection of manuscripts relating to Ireland. Among those papers may be found the finished work already mentioned, which Stafford intimates was actually written by his chief before his death. Whoever its author was, the work contains a narrative of the military events during Carew's campaigns, especially in Munster (1600–03). Stafford is certainly not typical of the argumentative, political writers of the period.

Irish hagiography received a great impetus from the work of John Colgan (d. 1657?). A native of Ulster, and later a member of the Irish Minorite convent of St. Anthony of Padua at Louvain, he planned a colossal work on the sacred antiquities of Ireland in six volumes. The projected initial volume, to consist of a general introduction to Irish history, was never published. The third volume of this Irish *Acta Sanctorum* <sup>71</sup> appeared in 1645, and was followed by another entitled *Triadis Thaumaturga*, in 1647. The latter work contained the lives of Patrick, Columba, and Bridget. Colgan was a good scholar; he wrote critically and with industry.

Another important work on Irish history is the *Cambrensis Eversus*,<sup>72</sup>

<sup>69</sup> P. H. S. Stanhope, *History of England, Comprising the Reign of Queen Anne until the Peace of Utrecht, 1701–1713* (5th ed., London, 1889, 2 v.), II, 33.

<sup>70</sup> *Historical Tracts, consisting of A Discovery of the True Causes Why Ireland Was Never Brought under Obedience to the Crown of England* (1612; reprinted in London, 1786, ed. by G. Chalmers; another ed. at Dublin, 1787); cp. READ, no. 3925.

<sup>71</sup> John Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum veteris et maioris Scotiae, seu Hiberniae Sanctorum insulae*, etc. (vol. I, Louvain, 1645; vol. II also known as: *Acta triadis thaumaturgae seu divorum Patricii, Columbae et Brigidae*, *ibid.*, 1647). This work is extremely rare.

<sup>72</sup> *Cambrensis eversus, seu potius historica fides in rebus Hibernicis Giraldo Cambrensi abrogata*, etc. (first ed., 1662; later ed. with an English translation and notes by M. Kelly, Dublin, 1848–52, 3 v.).



written by John Lynch (1599–1673?). Educated by the Jesuits, he became a priest in 1622 and celebrated mass “in secret places and private homes” before 1642. He kept a school and had a high reputation for classical learning. After Galway surrendered to the arms of Cromwell, Lynch fled to France and lived there until his death, probably at St. Malo. He wrote his book in France, finishing it in 1622. It was dedicated to Charles II and approved the policy of Ormonde and the relations of Charles with the Irish Catholics. Although designed as a controversial work, it is preponderately sound. It contains a variety of well-digested material and is generally esteemed an extremely valuable work.<sup>73</sup>

For Scottish church history we have the *History of the Kirk of Scotland, 1514–1625*, composed by David Calderwood (1575–1650),<sup>74</sup> a prominent Presbyterian minister. He was educated at Edinburgh, where he took the M.A. degree in 1593. Forced into exile from Scotland as an alternative to prison (because of a political offense), Calderwood sailed to Holland in 1619. There he published various works, among them his *Altare Damascenum*. He appears to have returned to Scotland in 1624 and was appointed a minister in Haddington county and in 1641 allowed to sit in the general assembly. During the remainder of his life he was active in church affairs, and in his last years he prepared the *History*, originally published 1642–78. It is a corrected revision of a larger work which he considered a compilation rather than a finished work; the larger work has the most value as original source-material, however. Calderwood “left behind him an historical work of great extent” and value, not “as a masterly composition, but as a storehouse of authentic materials for history.” He seems to have been a man of integrity, and independent opinions. He was strongly opposed to prelacy, and James and the English church party.

An ecclesiastical history of Scotland written from the viewpoint of an advocate of prelacy was composed by John Spottiswoode (1565–1637), archbishop of St. Andrews.<sup>75</sup> It was written at the suggestion of James I, and is very different in character from Calderwood’s history; and was the product of a calm and amiable spirit.

<sup>73</sup> Clarendon (“Short View” in vol. VII of his *History*) defends Ormonde and the Irish policy. A valuable contribution opposed to Clarendon’s viewpoint is the work of Richard Belling, secretary to the Irish Confederation. The *History of the Irish Confederation and the War in Ireland, 1641–43* (ed. by Sir J. T. Gilbert, Dublin, 1882–91, 7 v.).

<sup>74</sup> *The True History of the Church of Scotland, from the Beginning of the Reformation, unto the End of the Reign of King James VI* (Rotterdam, 1678). Best ed. by Thomas Thomson and David Laing (1842–49, 8 v.: Wodrow Society, no. 7).

<sup>75</sup> *The History of the Church of Scotland, Beginning the Year of Our Lord 203, and Continued to the End of the Reign of James VI* (London, 1655), modern edition by M. Russell and M. Napier (Edinburgh, 1847–51, 3 v.: Spottiswoode Society and Bannatyne Club).



## INDEX

### A

- Aagesson, see Svend Aagesson  
*Aali, History of*, 448  
*Aashik-Pashazade, History of*, 448  
 Abbo of Fleury, 163, 226  
 Abbo of St. Germain des Prés, 178  
 Abdallah, Persian noble, 338  
 Abelard, 192, 196, 197, 243, 244, 261  
*Abingdon, Chronicle of*, 260  
 Absalon, bishop of Lund, 464  
 Abu-l-Fida (Abul-Feda), 351, 354  
 Abu-Salith, 346  
 Abu-Tahir, Ahmad ben, 342  
 Abydenus, 13  
 Abyssinia, Muslim rulers of, 357  
 Accolti, Benedict, 481 n. 28  
 Acilius, C., 63  
 Acominatus, Michael, 309, 443  
 Acominatus, Nicetas, 309, 443  
*Acre, Siege of*, poetical account, 321  
*Acta sanctorum*, 152 n. 27, but see also volume II, 8-13  
*Acta sanctorum Syrorum*, edited by Bedjan, 327  
*Acts of the Apostles* (New Testament), 122  
 Acusilaos of Argos, 22  
 Adalbert, archbishop of Bremen, 201, 457  
 Adalhard of Corbie, 175, 176  
 Adam of Bremen, 201-02, 458 n. 15, 465, 532  
 Adam of Evesham, 261  
 Adam of Murimuth, 396, 397-98, 399  
 Adam of Usk, 409-10  
 Ademar of Chabannes, 229-30  
 Adhari, 346  
 Adriani, see Battista, Giovanni  
 Aelius Lampridius, 93  
 Aelius Maurus, 93  
 Aemilius, Paulus, see Emilio, Paolo  
 Aemilius Scaurus, 67  
 Aeneas, writer on tactics, 59  
 Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II), 485-87, 490, 507, 508, 531  
 Aeschines, 36  
 Africa, North, 17, 94, 100, 346, 348-50, 359, 360, 564  
 Agathangelos, 331  
 Agatharcus, 48  
 Agathias, 300  
*Agathocles, Life of*, 46  
*Agesilaus, Life of*, 35  
 Agnellus of Ravenna, 146, 174, 207, 215  
 Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, 175-76  
 Agricola (i.e., Landmann), Georg, 522-23  
 Agricola, Roman general, 67, 81, 85, 113  
 Agrippa, minister of Augustus, 117  
 Agrippina, memoirs of, 84  
 Ahasuerus (Xerxes I), Persian king, 18  
 Ailred, abbot of Rievaulx, 256  
 Aimé, monk of Monte Cassino, and historian of the Normans, 219-20  
 Aimoin of Fleury, 226  
 al-'Aini, Baer ad-Din Mahmud, 357-58  
 Aitzing, Michael von (Aitzinger), 572 and n. 2  
 Alaric, 75, 98, 130, 296  
 St. Albans, *Annals of*, 411  
 St. Albans, monastery of, 276  
 St. Albans school of historians, 250, 257, 276-79, 390, 393-95 *passim*, 397, 403, 407, 410-12, 591  
 Albergo, bishop of Trèves, 195  
 Albert I, Habsburg emperor, 421  
 Albert of Aix, 313  
 Albert, abbot of St. Mary of Stade, 199-200, 423  
 Albinus of Anjou, 254  
 Alciati, Terentio, 547  
 Alcuin, 160, 169, 173  
*Aleppo, History of*, 347  
 Alexander the Great, 3, 18, 19, 20, 39-40, 41-45, 46, 81, 103, 108, 111-12, 337, 444; historiography of his age, 41-45  
 Alexander III, pope, 137, 210, 222, 280  
 Alexander VI, pope, 487, 508, 597  
 Alexander VIII, pope, 547  
 Alexander Cornelius, 101  
 Alexander of Hales, 515  
 Alexander Polyhistor, 13, 47  
 Alexander, monk of San Salvatore near Telesse, 221, 222  
 Alexandrian age of erudition (i.e., post-Alexandrian), nature of, 45-46, 50  
 Alexius, Byzantine emperor, see Comnenus, Alexius  
 Alfonso I, the Magnanimous, king of Naples, 493, 505  
 Alfonso III, the Great, of Aragon, 429

- Alfonso X, the Learned (el Sabio), 430, 432, 433, 435  
 Alfonso XI, *Crónica de*, 431  
 Alfred the Great, 160, 161 n. 22, 162, 243, 626  
 Allami, Abul-Fazl i, 357  
 Alpert of Metz, 182  
 Alphanus, monk of Monte Cassino, then archbishop of Salerno, 211  
 Alsace, 421, 426  
*Altaich, Annals of*, 186  
*Altenheim, Annals of*, 194  
*Altino, Chronicle of*, 216  
*Amadis de Gaul*, 555, 556  
 Amalfi, *Chronicle of*, 221  
 St. Amand, *Annals of*, 165  
 Amatus, see Aimé  
 Amelgard, priest of Liège, 385  
 America, Norse discovery of, 457-58; early historians of Spanish America, 507, 586-88  
 Ammianus Marcellinus, 94, 95-97, 143, 146, 148, 296, 299, 465  
 Amos (Old Testament), 14, 15  
 Amr, Nestorian writer, 327  
 Amundesham, John, 411  
 Amyot, Jacques, bishop of Auxerre, 519, 569, 606  
 Anabaptists of Münster, the, 532  
 Anastasius I, Byzantine emperor, 297, 298, 325-26  
 Anastasius, surnamed Bibliothecarius, papal librarian, 174, 207, 208, 210, 304  
 André, Bernard, 596-97  
 Andrew of Hebenfeld, 550  
 Andronicus Palaeologus, Byzantine emperor, 440  
 Androtion of Megara, 47  
 Angevin England, historiography of, 247, 255-66  
 Angilbert, 166, 170, 204  
 Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle*, 160-62, 247, 248-49, 253, 446, 449  
 Anglo-Saxon historiography, 154-64  
 Anjou, historians of, 229  
 Annal, origin of the monastic, 158  
*Annales Alamannici*, 165  
*Annales Cambriae*, 266  
*Annales Einhardi*, 166  
*Annales Guelferbytani*, 165  
*Annales Laurissenses*, 166, 229  
*Annales Londonienses*, 397, 418  
*Annales Lubenses*, 423  
*Annales maximi*, 61 n. 2, 76  
*Annales Mediolanenses majores*, 213  
*Annales Mosellani*, 165  
*Annales Ottokariani*, 291  
*Annales Paulini*, 397  
*Annales Petaviani*, 165  
*Annales Pragenses*, 466  
*Annales Saxonici*, 290  
*Annales Toledanos Terceros*, 431-32  
 Annalista Saxo, 194  
 Anne, queen of England, 635, 643  
 Anno, archbishop of Cologne, 188  
 Anonymous, the, author of *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, 313, 315  
 Anonymous *Chronicle*, 403  
 Anonymous *Chronicle of 1234* (Syrian), 329  
 Anonymus Cuspiniani, 97  
 Anonymus Valesii, 146  
 Ansbert, Austrian priest, 320-21  
 Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, 247, 261, 262  
 Anselm, canon of Liège, 181-82  
 Anskar, St., 153, 173  
 Antiochus IV of Syria, 16  
 Antiochus of Syracuse, 49  
 Antiphon, 28-29  
*Antiqua*, earliest Visigothic code, 145  
 Antiquarian interest and study, 111, 174, 479-80, 491-92, 607  
 Antisthenes, 39  
 Antistius Vetus, L., 82  
*Antonine Itinerary*, 95  
 Apocrypha, the Jewish, 16  
 Apollodorus of Artemita, 45, 47  
*Apollonius of Tyana, Life of*, 131  
 Appian, 83, 109-10, 111, 114  
 Arab historiography, 218, 335-60 *passim*  
 Ibn 'Arabshah, 355  
 Aragon, historiography of, 427, 428-38 *passim*, 581-82  
 Aratus of Sicyon, 43, 52  
 Archaeology, Roman, in the Renaissance, 479-80, 491, 492  
 Archives, 4, 8, 17, 18, 77, 85, 107, 157, 174, 191, 201, 211, 225, 271, 421, 469, 475, 479, 482, 581, 591, 608  
 Ards of Ulster, the, 159  
 Ardzrouni, Thomas, 328, 333  
 Aretino, see Bruni, Lionardo  
 Ari Thorgilsson (Ari the Learned), 451, 456-57, 458-61 *passim*, 464  
 Ariosto, 578  
 Arisdages (Aristaces) of Lasdiverd, 333  
 Aristarchus, 45  
 Aristeeas, 104  
 Aristides, *Life of*, 108  
 Aristophanes, 39, 79

- Aristotle, 17, 37-39, 42, 45, 51, 55-56, 57,  
 59, 184, 196, 262, 330, 575  
*Armament of Igor, Tale of the*, 445-46  
 Armand of Cremona, 431  
 Armenian historiography, 324-25, 327,  
 329-34  
 Arnald Fitz-Thedmar, 279  
 Arnold, Richard, 594-95  
 Arnold of Brescia, 198, 262  
 Arnold of Lübeck, 201, 202-03, 320, 532  
 Arnulf, archbishop of Milan, 212  
 Arrian, 41, 44, 111-12  
 Arruntius, 79  
 Art, medieval, 167, 175, 185, 211, 228-29,  
 237; Renaissance, 489-90  
 Artapanus, 104  
*Artaxerxes, Life of*, 27  
 Arthur (King), cycle of legends and  
 romances, 155, 255-56, 263, 508  
 Arthur, Gotthard, 552  
 Ascham, Roger, 601  
 Ashurbanipal, Assyrian king, 11, 12  
 Asianism, destroys vitality of Greek writ-  
 ing, 114  
 Asser, bishop of Sherborne, 162-63, 249,  
 607  
 Assizes of Jerusalem, 441 n. 14  
 Assyrian historiography, 8-12, but see  
 also volume II, 474-82  
 Asti, see *Chronica Astensia*  
 "Astronomer," the, 169-70  
 'Ata Malik of Juwayn, 354  
 Athenaeus, 48  
 Athens, 38, 47, 300, 443  
 Ibn al-Athir, 218, 351  
 Atlantis (of Plato), 534  
 "Atthidographers," 47-48  
 Attica, history of Philochorus, 47  
 Atticism, 118  
 Attila the Hun, 98, 297  
 d'Aubigné, Theodore Agrippa, 553, 563-65  
 Aubri of Trois-Fontaines, 269  
 Aufidius Bassus, 82, 86  
 Augsburg, history of, 525  
 Augustine, St., bishop of Hippo Regius, 5,  
 16, 18, 97, 124, 136-38, 140, 189, 196  
 Augustine, St., of Canterbury, 155, 248  
 Augustus (Octavian), Roman emperor, 73,  
 74, 80, 83, 104, 117, 118  
 Aurelius Victor, 94, 110, 253  
 Ausonius, 97  
 Autobiographies, 82, 229, 422, 436, 440,  
 490, 627-28, 641, and see *Memoirs*  
 d'Auton, Jean, 517  
*Auxerre, Acts of the Bishops of*, 228  
 Avars, attack on Constantinople, 302  
 Avignonese papacy, 423  
 Avila y Zuniga, 581  
 Ayala, Lopez de, 435  
 Azan, king of the Bulgarians, 439
- B
- Babylon, ruins of, 9  
*Babyloniaca*, see *Chaldaica*  
 "Babylonian Captivity" of the Jews, 14  
*Babylonian Chronicle*, 12  
 Babylonian historiography, 8-13, 47, but  
 see also volume II, 474-82  
 Bacon, Sir Francis, 138, 598, 602, 609,  
 611-12, 627  
 Bactria, Greek influence in, 19-20, 44-45  
 Baghdad, histories of, 342, 347  
 Bahador Khan, Abul-Gazi, 355  
 Al-Baladhuri, 218, 339, 340  
 Balbillus, Titus Claudius, 82  
 Balderic, teacher in the cathedral school  
 of Trèves (Trier), 195  
 Baldric II, bishop of Liège, 182  
 Baldwin I, king of Jerusalem, 313  
 Baldwin of Avesnes, 273  
 Bang, 534  
 Bannatyne, Richard, 619  
 Bar Hebraeus (Barhebraeus), Gregorius,  
 see Djordjis, Abul-Faradji  
 Barbarian invasions, historiography of the,  
 143-53; the Visigoths, 144-45, the Van-  
 dals, 145, the Ostrogoths, 145-48, the  
 Franks, 148-52  
 Barbaro, Nicolo, 447  
 Barcelona, counts of, 432  
*Bari, Annals of*, 218; the Anonymous of  
 Bari, 218  
 Baronius, Caesar, cardinal, 299 n. 14, 531,  
 536-38, 540  
 Barons' War, in England, 274, 275, 391-  
 92, 394  
 Barros, João de, 586  
 Barthélemy, the abbé, 16  
 St. Bartholomew, massacre of, 561, 566,  
 567-68  
 Bartholomew Cotton (Bartholomaeus de  
 Cotton), 275, 393  
 Bartholomew of Genoa, 288-89  
 Bartoš (Bartoch), 533  
 Basil, St., church father, 140  
 Basil II, Byzantine emperor, 218  
 Basilis, 44  
 Basin, Thomas, bishop of Lisieux, 384-86  
 Bassompierre, François de, 566  
 Baton of Sinope, 46  
 Battista, Giovanni, 495 n. 65, 503  
 Ibn Battuta, 348, 349-50

- Baudri of Bourgueil, 312  
 Baye, Nicolas Crante de, 379-80, 383  
 Becket, Thomas, 261, 262  
 Bede the Venerable, 130, 148, 154, 156, 157-58, 163, 208, 249, 250, 252, 253, 265, 398, 401, 405, 419, 465  
 Bedjan, 327  
 Behistun Rock, inscriptions on, 10, and volume II, 475-76  
 Abu El-Bekri, 348, 349  
 Bela, king of the Hungarians, 194, 469; the *Anonymus Belae*, 469  
 Belgium, see Low Countries  
 Belisarius, general of Justinian, 299  
*Bella Antiochena*, 316  
*Bello Gallico*, De, of Caesar, 70-71, 110  
*Bello Hastingensi*, *Carmen de*, 220, 231  
*Bello Saxonico*, *Carmen de*, 188, 203  
*Bellum Waltherianum*, 421  
 Bembo, cardinal, 504, 585  
 Benedetti, Paolo de, 485  
 Benedict Biscop, 157  
 Benedict of Nursia, St., 157 n. 11, 226  
 Benedict of Mt. Soracte, 208  
 Benedict of Peterborough, 250, 257, 319  
 Benevento, *Annals of*, 218; *Chronicon ducum Beneventi*, 218-19  
 Benjamin of Tudela, rabbi, 9  
 Benno II, bishop of Osnabrück, 188, 194  
 Benoit de Sainte-More, 231, 245, 395  
 Bentivoglio, Giulio, 540 and n. 13  
*Beowulf*, 148, 161, 452  
 Berengar I of Italy, grandson of Louis the Pious, 207  
 Berlichingen, Götz von, 532  
*Bernardsey Annals*, 413-14  
 Bern, *Der Stadt Bern Alte Chronik*, 426  
 Bernaldez, Andres, 437  
 Bernard, St., abbot of Clairvaux, 192, 196, 197, 243, 244  
 Bernard Gui, 270-71  
 Bernard the Treasurer (of Corbie), 318  
 Bernegger, Matthias, 549  
 Bernold of St. Blasien, 186-87, 190  
 Bernward, bishop of Hildesheim, 185  
 Berossus, 12-13, 19, 27, 47  
 Berthold of Reichenau, 188, 191  
*St. Bertin, Annals of*, 171, 445  
 Bèze, Theodore de (Beza), 565  
 Biegewyrd, archdeacon of Llandaff, 266  
 Biography, 35, 41, 44, 45, 46, 49, 72, 85, 91, 92-94, 107-09, 131, 146, 150, 152-53, 156, 157, 163, 167, 169, 174, 181, 182, 184-85, 188, 191, 195, 201, 209-10, 248, 261, 296, 301, 304, 327, 336, 346, 347, 352, 372, 377, 388, 403, 408, 411-12, 432, 436, 446, 459, 481, 483, 485, 488-90, 496, 504, 515, 557, 588, 599, 600, 608, 627, 634, 636, 637  
 Biondo, Flavio (Blondus), 474, 491-92  
 Al-Biruni, 344-45  
*Bithynia, History of*, 112  
 Bisticci, Vespasiano da, 489  
 Bjarne Kilbeinsson, 459  
*Black Book of Carmarthen*, 266  
 Black Death, the, 358, 440, 477  
 Black Prince, the, 367, 368, 370, 435  
 Black Sea, see Euxine Sea  
 Blakeney, Robert, 412  
 St. Blasien, monastery in the Black Forest, 186  
 Blondel, Robert, 386-87  
 Blondus, Flavio, see Biondo, Flavio  
 Boccaccio, 443, 477, 490  
 Bodin, Jean, 561  
 Boece, Hector (also Boethius, Boyis, or Bois), 601, 604, 617-18, 619, 620  
 Boethius, 167  
 Bohemian historiography, 203, 291, 427, 466-67, 485, 531, 533, 549-50  
 Bohemund, Norman crusader, 308, 314, 325  
 Boleslav III, king of Poland, 468  
 Boleyn, Anne, 600, 616  
 Bologna, 488, 506, 517  
 Bonfini, Antonio, 509  
 Boniface, St., 153, 165, 169, 173, 188  
 Bonincontri, Lorenzo, 505  
*Book of Armagh*, 158-59  
*Book of Kings* (of Persia), see *Khudai-Namak*, 336-37, 340  
*Book of Roger, The*, 349  
*Book of the Customs of the Empire of Romania*, 441 n. 14  
*Book of the Deeds of James the Conqueror*, 433  
*Book of the Noble Henries*, 408  
*Book of the Prefect, The*, 305  
 Bor, Peter, 576, 577  
 Bordin, Jean, 412  
 Borgia, Caesar, 496, 505  
 Borromeo, cardinal, 542, 545  
 Botho, Conrad, 425-26  
 Botta, Carlo, 546  
 Botta, Paul, 9-10  
 Bouccicaut, marshal, see Jean le Meingre  
 Bouchart, 517  
 Bourdailles, Pierre de (Brantôme), 557-58  
 Bourdigné, 517  
 Bourquelot, Felix, 560  
 Bracciolini, Poggio (Giovanni Francesco), 478, 479-80

- Bracton, 280, and see volume II, 388, 390, 392-93
- Brantôme, see Bourdeilles, Pierre de
- Brescia, Annals of*, 214
- Breslau, Eschenlohr's history of, 426, 467
- Breviarium Alarici*, 145, 252
- Breviarium chronicorum de sex aetatibus mundi*, 173
- Brie, F. W. D., 415
- Brief Notes of Occurrences under Henry VI and Edward IV*, anonymous, 416
- Bristol, see *Mayor of Bristol's Kalendar*
- Britain, early, 113, 154-55; for historiography of, see under England, Scotland, and Ireland
- Britannicus, 84
- Brittany, 154, 178
- Bruce, David, king of Scotland, 366
- Bruce, Robert, king of Scotland, 369
- Brunanburh, Song of the Battle of*, 162, 253
- Bruni, Lionardo (Aretino), 478-79, 489
- Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, 184, 227
- Bruno, bishop of Toul, then pope Leo IX, 188
- Bruno, Saxon priest, 188
- Brut d'Angleterre*, the French, 415
- Brute, see *Chronicle of the Brute*
- Bruttedius Niger, 82, 86
- Buchanan, George, 617, 619-21
- Bulgarian history, 446-47
- Bulstrode, Richard, 637
- Buonaccorsi, Filippo, 509
- Burchard, provost of Ursperg, 198, 290
- Burchard of Worms, 182, 185
- Burckhard, Johannes, 487
- Burckhardt, Jacob, 490, 492, 502, 521
- Burgundian historiography, 144, 228, 372, 376, 380-89 *passim*
- Burleigh, Lord, 608
- Burnet, Gilbert, bishop of Salisbury, 635-36
- Burton, Annals of*, 274
- Burton, Thomas, 404
- Bury, John Bagnell, 441
- Busbecq, Ogier Ghiselin de, 572-73
- Busch, Wilhelm, 594, 601, 612
- Byzantium and its historians, 174, 209, 218, 295-309, 324-25, 327, 434, 439-45, 447, 525, and volume II, 512-31; Byzantine historiography superior to that of the West, 298, 306-07
- C
- Cabaret, see d'Orreville, Jehan
- Cadmus of Miletus, 22
- Caesar, Julius, 69, 70-71, 73, 74, 79, 80, 89, 104, 109, 110, 177, 194, 205, 253, 444, 476, 554
- Caf(f)aro de Caschifellone, 217, 288, 289
- Cairo, Makrizi's description of, 357
- Calais, Chronicle of*, 596
- Calchi, 482
- Calderwood, David, 645
- Calixtus II, pope, 210, 221
- Callimachus, 46
- Callisthenes, 39-40, 41, 42
- Calpurnius Piso Frugi, 65, 79
- Calvin, Life of John*, 565
- Cambrai, *Gesta of the bishops of*, 235
- Cambyzes, king of Persia, 25, 337
- Camden, William, 399, 607-09, 626
- Camillus, Life of, 108
- Campanella's *City of the Sun*, 138
- Campion, Edmund, 604 n. 47, 624
- Canale, Martino da, of Venice, 288, 289
- Candidus the Isaurian, 297
- Canon of Ptolemy*, 5
- Canossa episode, the, 187-88
- Canterbury, lives of the archbishops, 636
- cantilenae* or ballads, 184, 194
- Canute, king of Scandinavia and England, 201, 243
- Capet, Hugh, king of France, 225, 226, 230
- Capgrave, John, 408
- Capito the Lycian, 297
- Cappo Stefani, Marchione di, 477
- Capponi, Gino, 477-78
- Capponi, Neri, 478
- Capua, see *Chronicon ducum Beneventi, Salerni, Capuae et Neapolis*, 218-19
- Caracalla, Roman emperor, 114, 115
- Caraffa, 551
- Cardano, Girolamo, 490
- Cardena, Crónicas de*, 431
- Carew, Sir George, 625, 644
- Carion, John, 527, 566
- Carlyle, Thomas, 634
- Carneades the Academician, 63
- Carolingian annals, 165-66, 171-72, 177-78
- Carolingian capitularies, 164
- Carolingian historiography, 165-79
- Carolingian renaissance, 165, 167-68, 169, 176-77
- Carpenter, John, 593
- Carpineto, *Chronicon Sancti Bartholomei de Carpineto*, 221
- Carthage, 17-18, 52-54, 61-66, 82, 145; see also Punic Wars
- Carve (or Carew, the Irish call him O'Corrain), Thomas, 551
- Casaubon, Isaac, 538-40

- Casimir II (the Just), king of Poland, 468  
 Casimir IV, king of Poland, 509  
 Cassiodorus, 130, 133, 146-47, 167, 207  
 Cassius Hemina, 65  
 Castanheda, Fernão Lopes de, 585 n. 14  
 Castel, Jean, 515  
 Castelnau, Michel de, 556-57  
 Castile, historiography of, 428-32 *passim*, 580-84  
 Castillo, Diego Henriquez del, 436-37  
 Castracani, Castruccio, 496  
 Catalan Grand Company, the, 443, 584  
 Cataline, 70, 476  
 Catherine de Medici, 84, 554, 568, 622  
 Catherine of Aragon, 613, 635  
 Catholic League, 569  
 Cato, 33, 59, 63-65, 72, 75, 95, 108, 131  
 Cato the Younger, 205  
 Catullus, the poet, 71, 177  
 Cava, *Annals of*, 218  
 Cavalcanti, Giovanni, 480  
 Cavendish, George, 590, 599-600, 609  
 Caxton's *Chronicle*, see *Chronicle of the Brute*  
 Ceccano, *Annals of*, 218  
 Cedrenus, George, 218, 308  
 Cellini, Benvenuto, 490  
 Celtic or romantic school of Anglo-Norman historiography, 255-56  
 Celtis, Conrad, 525  
 Censorinus, 5  
 Censorship under the Roman Empire, 79-81, 82, 84  
 Ceolfrid, *Life of*, 157, n. 11  
 Chaereas, 52  
 Chain of Histories, *The*, 348  
 Chalcocondylas, Demetrius, 444 n. 23  
 Chalcocondylas, Laonicus, 444  
 Chaldaica of Berossus, 12-13, 47  
 Champollion, Jean François, 6, but see also volume II, 463-64  
 Chanakya, 44  
 Chanson d'Antioche, 316  
 Chanson de Roland, 167, 175, 194, 220, 232 and n. 19, 245, 446  
 chansons de geste, 227, 232, 316, 431  
 Chares of Mitylene, 42  
 Charlemagne, 137, 165, 166-67, 168, 169, 175, 176, 180, 192, 196, 201, 205, 208, 229, 340, 476; legends of, 175, 208  
 Charles I, king of England, 576, 600, 627, 628, 631, 637, 639, 640, 643  
 Charles II, king of England, 576, 635, 637, 640, 645  
 Charles V, king of France, 370-71, 372-73, 510  
 Charles VI, king of France, 372, 375, 376, 377, 510  
 Charles VII, king of France, 376, 377, 383, 384-85, 386, 388  
 Charles VIII, king of France, 481, 483, 507, 510-12 *passim*, 515  
 Charles IX, king of France, 562  
 Charles IV, Holy Roman emperor, 422, 423, 467  
 Charles V, Holy Roman emperor (Charles I of Spain), 507, 513, 522, 524, 528-29, 532, 580-81, 583, 586  
 Charles XII, king of Sweden, 355  
 Charles of Anjou, 281  
 Charles the Bald, 170, 171, 172, 311  
 Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, 385, 388, 389, 511  
 Charles the Fat, 175, 177, 178  
 Charles the Good, count of Flanders, 235  
 Charles the Great, see Charlemagne  
 Charles Martel, 169, 194  
 Charon of Lampsacus, 22, 23  
 Chartier, Jean, monk at St. Denis, 388  
 Chastellain, Georges, 384, 387-88  
 Châteaumorand, Jehan de, 378-79  
 Chaucer, 391, 405, 443  
 Chemnitz, Philip Bogislaus, 550, 551  
*Le Chevalier au Cygne et Godefroy de Boulton*, 316  
 Childebrand, 151 n. 24  
 Childeric III, last Merovingian king, 167  
 Chile, in the sixteenth century, 588  
 Chilperic, Merovingian king, 149, 150  
 China, medieval, 301, 354  
 Chosroes I, the Great, of Persia, 300, 301, 336, 338  
 Chrabr, Russian monk, 446  
 Chrétien of Troyes, 242  
 Christianity, early, 86 n. 1, 91; historical nature, 124-26; philosophy of history, 124-25, 136-39  
 Christina, queen of Sweden, 170, 550, 575  
 Chrodegang, bishop of Metz, 167  
*Chronica Astensia* (Asti), 285  
*Chronica de origine civitatis* (Florence), 475  
*Chronica Gallica*, 97, 156  
*Chronica Italica*, 98  
 Chronicle, nature of the medieval, 159-60  
*Chronicle of Constantinople*, 98  
*Chronicle of Queen Jane*, 602  
*Chronicle of San Juan de la Pena*, 432  
*Chronicle of the Brute* (also called *Caxton's Chronicle*), 408, 414-15, 417, 418  
 "Chronicle of the Chaplain," 412, 414



- Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire, 1470, 417*  
*Chronicles* (Old Testament), 11, 14  
*Chronicles of the First Four Valois*, 363, 368  
*Chronicon Anglo-Scoticum*, 265  
*Chronicon Casauriense*, 221  
*Chronicon de gestis principum*, by a monk of the abbey of Fürstenfeld, 421  
*Chronicon ducum Beneventi, Salerni, Capuae et Neapolis*, 218–19  
*Chronicon imperiale*, 97  
*Chronicon Lemovicense* (Limoges), 273  
*Chronicon Namnetense* (Nantes), 178  
*Chronicon Paschale*, 301, 302–03  
*Chronicon* of St. Pierre le Vif in Sens, 273  
*Chronicon Sancti Stefani*, 221  
*Chronicon Sclorum*, 266  
*Chronicon Vullturnense*, 221  
*Chroniken der deutschen Städte*, 424  
*La Chronique de bon duc Loys de Bourbon*, 378–79  
*Chronique normand du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 363  
*Chroniques de St. Denis*, see under St. Denis  
 Chronology, 5, 6, 51, 128–29, 157, 561, 577  
 Chrysoloras, Emanuel, 478, 505  
 Chrysostom, Dio, 114  
 Chrysostom, John, 140  
 Church history, 3, 4, 122–40, 147, 157–58, 299, 353, 506, 529–31, 534, 535–52, 565, 587, 613–16, 634, 636, 645  
 Chytraeus, David, 528  
 Cicero, 17, 40, 46, 51, 59, 61 n. 2, 66–72 *passim*, 77, 87, 107, 108, 118, 303  
*Cid*, The, 429  
 Cimon, 35  
 Cincius Alimentus, L., 63  
 Cinnamus, John, 309  
 Ciompi, the, rebellion in Florence, 477  
 Cistercian historiography, in thirteenth-century England, 275  
 Cistercian monastery, life in, 197  
 City chronicles, see Town chronicles  
 Civil Wars, of the Roman Republic, 71, 81, 82, 119; Civil War in Stuart England, 628–44  
 Clarendon, Edward Hyde, Earl of, 626, 636, 639–44  
 Classics, preserved to posterity by Carolingian scribes, 177  
 Claudian, 98  
 Claudius, Roman emperor, 81, 82, 83–84, 86, 87  
 Claudius Quadrigarius, 69  
 Clavijo, Ruy Gonzales de, 356  
 O'Clearys, the, 623  
 Cleitarchus, 41  
 Clement VII, pope, 497–99 *passim*, 504  
 Clement, Vincent, of Valencia, 413  
 Cleomenes, 41  
 Cleopatra, 6, 104  
 Clidemus, 47  
 Clitarchus, 46  
 Clodius Licinius, 79  
 Closener, Fritsche, of Strassburg, 425  
 Cluniac reform, 186, 188, 210, 211  
 Cluvius Rufus, 83, 85–86, 106–07  
*Cnutonis regis gesta*, see *Encomium Emmae*  
 Coccio, Marcantonio, surnamed Sabellicus, 482–83  
*Codex Carolinus*, 169  
 Coelius Antipater, 66  
 Coke, Sir Edward, 626  
 Colbert, 75  
 Coldingham, Galfrid de, 398  
 Coleman, monk of Worcester, 248, 252  
 Colet, John, 589  
 Colgan, John, 644  
 Coligny, Gaspard de, 554  
 Coliseum, prophecy regarding the, 174 n. 27, despoiled in Middle Ages, 491  
 Collennuccio, Pandolfo, 505, 506  
 Colmar, *Annals* of, 271  
 Cologne, *Annals* of, 181, 194, 199; *Annales Colonienses maximi*, 290  
 Columba, St., 153  
 Columbus, Christopher, 437, 488, 507–08, 587  
*Commentaries on the Gallic War*, Caesar's, 70–71, 110  
 Commynes, Philippe de, 373, 384, 473, 498, 510–14, 528, 601  
 Communes, in medieval France and Flanders, 234–35  
 Comnena, Anna, 308  
 Comneni, history of the, 307–09  
 Comnenus, Alexius, Byzantine emperor, 196, 307  
 Como, the Anonymous of, 213, 214  
 Compagni, Dino, 285, 475  
 Conrad II, German emperor, 185–86, 196  
 Conrad III, German emperor, 194, 198, 317  
 Constantine I, the Great, emperor, 127, 128, 130, 146, 196, 331  
 Constantine VII (Porphyrogenitus), 54, 305  
 Constantinople, sack in 1204, 36, 309, 321–23, 442; fall in 1453, 439, 444, 447, 488; *Chronicle of Constantinople*, 98  
 Constantius, 156  
 Constitutions, of the Greek states, 37–39; Polybius on the Roman state, 59

- Contarini, Gasparo, 504  
 Copernicus, 590  
 Cordoba, Doña Leonor López de, 436  
 Cordoba, Luis Cabrera de, 584  
 Cordus, Aelius Junius, 93  
 Corinth, its reduction in 146 B.C., 54  
 Corio, Bernardino, of Milan, 482, 490  
 Cornelius Celsus, 95  
 Cornelius Nepos, see Nepos, Cornelius  
 Cornelius Sisenna, 68-69  
*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, 17  
 Correa, Gaspar, 586  
 Cortez, Hernando, conqueror of Mexico, 586  
 Corvey, *Annals of*, 180  
 Corvey, monastery of, 182  
 Cosmas of Prague, 203, 291, 466  
 Costanzo, Angelo di, 505-06  
 Cotton, Sir Robert Bruce, antiquarian, 607  
 Council of Trent, 535, 542, 543-48  
 Counter-Reformation, historiography of, 535-52, 583; history of the term, 535 n. 1  
 Cranach, Lucas, 526  
 Cranmer, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, 600, 636; *Memorials of*, 636  
 Crateros, 46  
 Cratippus, 33  
 Creighton, Mandell, 125, 486  
*Cremona, Annals of*, 213  
 Cremutius Cordus, 79  
 Crespin, Jean, 614  
 Crispin, see Milo Crispin  
 Critolaos, the Peripatetic, 63  
 Croesus, 25, 26  
 Cromwell, Oliver, 590, 626 n. 1, 630, 631, 633, 639-40, 643  
*Crónica del rey Don Rodrigo*, 435  
 Croyland Continuator, 591-92  
 Crusades, the, Byzantine historians of, 307-09, Latin historians, 242, 310-23, 433-34, Muslim historians, 350-51; First Crusade, 196, 204, 217, 233, 311-17; Second Crusade, 236, 317-18; Third Crusade, 198, 260, 319-21; Fourth Crusade, 36, 309, 321-23, 442; Sixth and Seventh Crusades, 323, 357-58; economic effects, 315  
 Ctesias, 18, 27, 43-44  
 Cujacius, 569  
 Curius Dentatus, 64  
 Cuspinian, John, 526; *Chronicon Cuspiniani*, 146  
 Cuthbert, Life of, 157, 250  
 Cuvelier, 374-75  
 Cyaxares the Mede, 11  
 Cyclic poets, the Greek, 21  
 Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, 131, 140  
 Cyprus, histories of, 442, 505  
 Cyriac (Guiragos) of Gandzac, 333  
 Cyrus the Great, 12, 25, 337, 345  
 Cyrus the Younger, 34, 35  
 Czechs, see Bohemia
- D**
- Damasus I, pope, 129, 131  
 Damascus, histories of, 347, 350  
 Damiani, see Peter Damiani  
 Dandolo, Andreas, 216-17  
 Danes in England, the, 160, 162, 163-64  
*Daniel* (Old Testament), 14, 15-16, 78, 196  
 Daniel, Dimitrios, 443  
 Daniel of Kiev, 445  
 Danish historiography, see under Denmark  
 Danishwar, 337  
 Dante, 443, 484, 490-91, 578  
 Dardel, John, 334  
 Darius the Great, 4, 9, 12, 19, 23, 43, 337  
 Darnley, Lord, assassination of, 620  
 Dati, Leonardo, 481 n. 28  
 David, king of Israel, 13-14  
 David, Scotsman and author of a history of Emperor Henry V, 193 n. 27  
 Davies, John, 644  
 Davila, Henrico Caterino, 568  
 Davila y Padilla, 587  
 ad-Dawla, Mahmud Yamin, 344  
 Decembrio, Piero Candido (Petrus Candidus Decembrius), 481, 490  
 Decipherment, of Egyptian hieroglyphs, 6, of old Persian, 9, of cuneiform Assyrian, 10, of Phoenician inscriptions, 16  
 "Defenestration" of Prague, 549, 550  
 Deimachos, 44  
 "Deluge Tablet," 10  
 Demetrius, 104  
 Demosthenes, 28, 36, 57, 108  
 St. Denis, historiography of its monks, 236, 271-72, 363, 370-71, 374, 376, 388, 516  
 Denmark, 201, 463-65, 533  
*Dermot, Song of*, 266  
 Desclot, Bernard (Dezcoll, Bernardo), 433, 436  
 Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino, then pope Victor III, 211, 219  
 D'Ewes, Sir Simonds, 628-29  
 Dexippus, Publius Herennius, 121, 296, 443  
 Dezcoll, Bernardo, see Desclot

- Dialogus de scaccario*, 257  
 Diaries, 417, 480, 483-84, 484-85, 487, 490, 638, 639  
 Díaz del Castillo, Bernal, 586-87  
 Dicaearchus, 39  
 Baha ad-Din, 351  
 Imad ad-Din, 351  
 Kamal ad-Din, 347, 351  
 Al-Dinawari, 338, 339, 343  
 Dinon of Colophon, 46  
 Dio Cassius, 74, 83, 96, 114-20, 121, 308  
 Diocletian, Roman emperor, 127  
 Diodorus of Sicily (Diodorus Siculus), 5, 27, 36, 41, 43, 48, 49, 74, 103-04, 480, 525  
 Diogenes Laertes, 107  
 Diogenes the Stoic, 63  
 Dionysius, ambassador to India, 44  
 Dionysius, tyrant of Sicily, 49  
 Dionysius of Alexandria, 526  
 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 46-47, 52, 74, 101-02  
 Dionysius of Miletus, 22-23  
*Distichs* of Cato, 65  
*Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents*, 618  
 Dios, author of *Annals of Tyre*, 5  
 Djemali, *History of*, 448  
 Djordjis, Abul-Faradji (Bar Hebraeus, Gregorius), 329, 353  
 Dlugosz, John (Johannes Dlugossius), canon of Cracow, 469  
 Döring, Matthias, 426  
 Dolce, 581 n. 3  
 Dominic, prior of Evesham, 408  
 Dominican historiography, 269-71, 420, 421  
 Domitian, Roman emperor, 84, 85, 91  
 Domitius Corbulo, 82  
 Donation of Constantine, 196, 493, 521, 522, 529  
 Donatists, 18  
 Donizo, of Tuscany, 212-13  
 "dooms," Anglo-Saxon laws, 164  
 d'Oria, Jacopo (the family name became Doria later), 289  
 Doukas (Ducas), Byzantine historian, 444-45  
 Douris of Samos, 45  
 Dousa, Janus, see Van der Goes  
 Drake, Sir Francis, 588, 590  
 du Bellay, Guillaume, Sieur de Langey, 518  
 du Bellay, Jean, 518  
 du Bellay, Martin, 518  
 Ducas, see Doukas  
 Dudo, canon of St. Quentin in Normandy, 151, 230-31, 465  
 Dürer, Albrecht, 425, 525, 526  
 du Guesclin, Bertrand, 373-74, 377  
 Du Haillan, 564  
*Dunstable, Annals of* (or *Annals of Dunstable Priory*), 275, 392-93, 402, 403  
*Dunstan, Life of Saint*, 163  
 Du Perron, 9  
 Durham, historians of, 250, 398  
 Dutch historiography, see Low Countries  
 Dyllus, 45
- E**
- Eadmer, 247-48, 261  
 Eberhard, archdeacon of Regensburg, 421  
 Ebo, monk of Michelsberg in Bamberg, 195  
*Ecbasis captivi*, 184  
 Economics, interest in, 17-18, 34-35, 64, 284, 315, 358-59, 474, 476-77, 508, 560  
 Eddius (Aeddi) Stephanus, 156, 157 n. 11  
 Edmund, martyred king of East Anglia, 163  
*St. Edmunds, Annals of*, 260  
 Edrisi, 218, 352  
 Edward the Confessor, Life of, 164  
 Edward I, king of England, 275, 289, 391-94 *passim*, 398, 401, 593  
 Edward II, king of England, 365, 393, 396, 397, 401; *Gesta Edwardi de Carnarvan*, 396, 403  
 Edward III, king of England, 365-67 *passim*, 399-404 *passim*, 419; *Gesta Edwardi Tertii*, 403  
 Edward IV, king of England, 416, 417, 591, 593, 595  
 Edward VI, king of England, 589, 602, 610, 621, 636  
 Edwards, J. G., 320  
*Egmond, Chronicle of the Abbey of*, 200  
 Egypt and its historians, 3-8, 24, 25, 47, 301, 302, 323, 345-46, 347, 351, 353, 357-60; see also volume II, 463-74  
 Eigil, abbot of Fulda, 169  
 Einhard, 166-67, 169, 204, 208, 236, 531  
 Ekkehard of Aura (Urach-on-the-Saale), 191-92, 196, 198, 290, 314, 315  
 Ekkehard IV, monk of St. Gall, 181  
 Elias Bar Shinaya, 328  
 Elizabeth, queen of England, 556, 574, 593, 596, 602, 611  
 Elizabethan age, geography and travel in, 612-13; translations in, 605-06  
 Ellenhard of Strassburg, 421  
 Elphege, St., Life of, 163  
 Emilio, Paolo (Paulus Aemilius), 507

- Emmel, Adam, 424  
 Emmel, George, 424  
*St. Emmeram, Annals of*, 181  
 Emmius, Ubbo, 577  
 Emo, abbot of Wittewierum, 200  
 Empires, succession of, 78, 124, 527  
*Encomium Emmae* (also called *Cnutoni regis gesta*), 164  
 Engelbert, abbot of Admont, 423  
 England, historiography of, 154-64, 246-66, 273-81, 390-419, 508-09, 589-625, 626-45; *A Brief Latin Chronicle*, 417; *Chronicle of England*, 403-04; *An English Chronicle of the Reigns of Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VI*, 415  
 English law, 164, 280  
 English seadogs, 588, 590  
 Ennodius, 146  
 Epaminondas, 34  
 Epaphroditus, 106  
*Ephemerides* of Alexander and his successors, 19  
 Ephorus, 36, 37, 56, 74  
 Epic element, 226-27, 231-32, 238  
 Epictetus, 111  
*Epistolae obscurorum virorum*, 522  
 Erasmus, Desiderius, 465, 516, 521, 522, 585, 589, 598, 618  
 Eratosthenes, 4, 5, 35, 37 n. 20, 112  
 Erchempert, 173, 209  
 Erfurt, *Annals of*, 193, 199; *Annales S. Petri Erphesfurdenses*, 423  
 Ergotism, 172-73  
 Eric Oddson, 459  
 Eric the Red, 450, 458  
 Ermoldus Nigellus, 175  
 Ernoul, historian of the Crusades, 318  
 Erpenius, Thomas, 353 n. 55  
 Erythrean (Red) Sea, 48, 113  
 Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, 10, 11, 12  
 Eschenlohr, Peter, 426, 467  
*Esther* (Old Testament), 18  
 Estienne, Henri, 518-19, 538  
 l'Estoile, Pierre de, 559, 560  
*Estoire d'Eracles*, 318  
*L'Estoire de la guerre sainte*, 320, 321  
 Ethelbert, king of Kent, 164  
*St. Ethelreda, Life of*, 248  
 Ethelwerd, 163  
 Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, 163  
 Etruscans, the emperor Claudius' book on, 82  
 Etterlyn (Etterlin), Peterman, 426, 526  
 Eudemus, 17  
 Eudes (Odo), count of Paris, 178  
 Eudes (Odo) of St. Maur, 227  
 Eugene III, pope, 261-62  
 Eugippius, 153  
*Eulogium historiarum*, 401, 407, 409; continuation of, 407, 409  
 Eumenes of Cardia, 42  
 Eunapius, 121, 295-96  
 Eupolemus, 104  
 Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, 3, 5, 12-13, 47, 126, 127-29, 130, 132, 133, 147, 302, 325-28 *passim*, 330  
 Eustathius of Epiphania, 297  
 Eutropius, 94, 177, 253, 297  
 Eutychius (Said ben Batrik), patriarch of Alexandria, 338, 346  
 Euxine Sea, 111-12  
 Evagrius, 133, 299, 300, 301  
 Evesham, battle of, 391, 392  
*Evesham Chronicle*, 408  
 St. Evroul, *Annals of*, 239  
*Exodus* (Old Testament), 13  
*De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, 317  
*Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, 322  
*Ezekiel* (Old Testament), 15  
*Ezra* (Old Testament), 14, 18  
 Ezzelino, 282, 284, 474
- F
- Faber, Felix, 426  
 Fabii, heroic sacrifice of the, 62  
 Fabius Cunctator, 62, 64  
 Fabius Pictor, 58, 62-63, 73, 77  
 Fabius Rusticus, 83  
 Fabyan, Robert, 418, 419, 592, 593-94, 601  
 Fadlu'llah, 'Abdul'llah ben, of Shiraz, 354  
 Fadlu'llah, Rashidu'd-Din, 354  
 Fairfax, Sir Thomas, 629, 630-31  
 Al Fakhri, 341  
 Falcando, Ugo (Falcandus, Hugo), 221, 222-23  
 Falco of Beneventum, 221  
 Fallmerayer, Philip, 439 n. 3  
*Farfa, Chronicle of*, 210  
 Farnese, Alexander, duke of Parma, 573  
*Fasciculi zizaniorum*, 414  
 Fastolf, Sir John, 416  
 Faustus, of Armenia, 330-31  
 Fazellio, 506  
 Fazzio, Bartolomeo, 505  
 Federigo, duke of Urbino, 487  
 Felix V, pope, 485  
 Felix of Crowland (Croyland), 156  
 Fenestella, 79  
 Ferdinand II, German emperor, 549  
 Ferdinand I, king of Spain, 437, 582

- Ferdinand III, king of Castile and Leon, 430  
 Fernandez, Diego, 587  
 Ferrara, *Chronica Ferrariensis*, 221  
 Ferreto of Vicenza, 285  
 Ferrier, John, the Piedmontese, 604  
 Feuquières, Isaac Manasses de Pas, Marquis de, 551  
 Figueroa, Suarez de, 588  
 Firdawsi (Firdusi), 337, 338, 343-44  
 Firth, Sir Charles, 632, 636, 641  
 Fitz-Neal, Richard, 257  
 Flacius Matthias, 529-31, 615  
 Flanders, see Low Countries  
*Flatey Book*, 458, 463 and n. 25  
 Fleming, Abraham, 604  
 Flemish artists in Italy, 510  
 Fleuranges, Marshal, 517  
 Fleury, monastery of, 226  
 Flodoard, canon of Rheims, 225, 226  
 Flood, Babylonian account of the, 10  
 Florence, historiography of, 213, 285, 474-81, 489, 490, 495-503; *Annals of Florence*, 213  
 Florence of Worcester, 163, 249, 250, 253, 275  
*Flores historiarum*, 396-97, 413, 419  
 Florus, 92, 526  
*Flos mundi* (Flower of the World), 433  
 Folcard, abbot of Thorney, 248  
 Folcuin, abbot of Lobbes, 181  
 Foliot, Gilbert, 261  
*Fontanelle, Chronicle of*, 177, 178; *Gesta abbatum Fontanellensium*, 178  
 Foresti, Giacomo Filippo, 488  
 Forgeries, Florentine, 475  
 Fortunatus, archdeacon of Grado, 216  
*Four Masters, Annals of the*, 623  
 Foxe, John, 614-16, 622  
 France, historiography of, 148-52, 165-79 *passim*, 224-45, 269-73, 363-89, 507, 510-19, 553-70, 606  
 Francis I, king of France, 75, 484, 518  
 Francis II, king of France, 561  
 Franciscans, in England, 279  
 Franck, Sebastian, 524  
 Frankish (i.e., French) principalities in medieval Greece, 441-43  
 Franks, history of the, 144, 148-52  
 Freculf, bishop of Lisieux, 173  
 Fredegarius (Fredegar), 151, 165  
 Frederick I (Barbarossa), German emperor, 195, 197-98, 199, 204, 213-15 *passim*, 217, 222, 280, 317, 320  
 Frederick II, German emperor, 199, 200, 281-82, 283, 289, 422, 524  
 Frederick III, German emperor, 507  
 Frederick V, "winter king" of Bohemia, 550  
 Freeman, E. A., 164, 231, 254  
*French Chronicle of London*, 398  
 French language, rise as a literary medium, 518-19  
 Frisia, 165, 173, 577  
*Friuli, History of*, 483  
 Froissart, Jean, 364, 366-70, 379, 382, 387, 389, 395, 435, 473, 528, 598  
 Frontinus, Sextus Junius, 94, 95, 480  
 Fronto, 92  
 Froucester, Walter, 407  
 Frutolf, prior of Michelsberg, 191  
 Fürstenfeld, abbey of, 421  
 Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, 243  
 Fulcher of Chartres, 312-13  
 Fulco, author of poem on the Crusades, 316  
 Fulda, *Annals of*, 165, 171-72  
 Fulgentius, 145  
 Fulk, archbishop of Rheims, 243  
 Fulk Rechin, count of Anjou, 229  
 Fuller, Thomas, 634
- G
- Gaguin, Robert, 514-17, 601  
 Gaimar, Geoffrey, 245, 255, 256 n. 31  
 Gairdner, James, 400, 416, 417, 596  
 Gaiseric, Vandal chieftain, 145  
 Galbert of Bruges, 235  
 Galbraith, V. H., 410  
 Galileo, 590  
 St. Gall, monastery, 165, 175, 181, 227  
 Gallars, Nicolas des, 565  
 Gallic Wars, Appian only check on Caesar, 110  
 Garibay y Zamalloa, Estevan de, 582  
*Garin de Lorrain*, epic poem, 243  
 Gascoigne, 405-06  
 Gasquet, cardinal, 508  
 Gaufrédus Malaterra, 219, 220  
 Gaul, 70-71, 149-50, 150-52; *Chronica Gallica*, 97, 156  
 Gebhard, bishop of Salzburg, 190  
*Genesis* (Old Testament), 13  
 Genesius, Josephus, 305  
 Genghis Khan (Jinghiz), 354, 355  
 Genoa, historiography of, 184, 213, 217, 287-89, 484; *Annals of*, 213, 288  
 Gentien, Benoit, 375  
 Geoffrey, prior of Vigéois, 241-42  
 Geoffrey de Breteuil, 244  
 Geoffrey le Baker, 396, 400-01  
 Geoffrey of Monmouth, 255, 256 n. 31, 266, 393, 394, 405, 508, 598

- Geoffrey of Vendôme, 243  
 Geography, see under Travel  
 George the Monk, see Georgius Pisides  
 Georgius Acropolita, 439-40  
 Georgius Pachymeres, 440  
 Georgius Pisides (George the Monk), 218, 302, 304  
 Gerald of Barri, Gerald of Wales, see Giraldus Cambrensis  
*Gerard de Roussillon*, 227  
 Gerbert of Aurillac (Pope Sylvester II), 225, 226, 243  
 Gerhard, bishop of Toul, 188  
 Gerhard of Stederburg, 199  
 Gerhoh, provost of Reichersberg, 200  
 Gerlach, abbot of Mühlhausen, 203  
 St. Germain des Prés, 178; *Annales*, 165  
 German barbarians, the, 35, 83, 87, 88-90; and the Roman Empire, 82, 83, 99-100, 143-52  
 German eastward expansion, in the Middle Ages, 200-03  
*Germania* of Tacitus, 83, 87, 88-90  
*St. Germanus of Auxerre, Life of*, 156  
 Germany, historiography of, 165-79, 180-205, 289-92, 420-27, 520-34, 535-36, 548-52, 581  
 Gervase of Canterbury, 250, 258  
 Gervase of Tilbury, 280-81  
 Gesenius, Wilhelm, 16  
*Gesta Berengarii*, 207  
*Gesta Caroli (Karoli)*, by a monk of St. Gall, 175, 208  
*Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, 235  
*Gesta Francorum* (or *Liber historiae*), anonymous, 151-52, 175  
*Gesta veterum Northanhymbrorum*, 249  
 "Geste Francor," 227, 232  
*Gestes de Chiprois*, 442  
 Giannotti, Donato, 495 n. 65, 502  
 Gibbon, Edward, 75, 87, 93, 347, 440, 492, 540, 546  
 Gilbert Foliot, 261  
 Gilbert de la Porrée, 196, 198  
 Gilbert (Gislebert) of Mons, 200, 242-43  
 Gildas, 154, 155, 265, 508, 598, 599  
 Gilla Coemgin, 155  
 Gilles le Bouvier, 388  
 Gilo, Cluniac monk, later cardinal-bishop of Tusculum, 316  
 Giovenazzo, Matteo Spinelli da, 475  
 Giovio, Paolo (Paulus Jovius), 75, 478, 503-04, 545, 580  
 Giraldus Cambrensis, 261, 263-64, 604, 607, 624  
 Giselbert, see Gilbert of Mons  
 Giustiniani, Agostino, 484  
 Giustiniani, Bernardo, 482  
 Gloucester, *History of the monastery of St. Peter at*, 407  
 Glycas, Michael, 308  
 Godehard, bishop of Hildesheim, 188  
 Godfrey de Bouillon, 308, 313, 316, 435  
 Godfrey of Viterbo, 204, 215  
 Godric, St., *Life of*, 248, 261  
 Goes, Damião de, 585  
 Goes, see Van der Goes  
 Godoy, 581 n. 3  
 Goethe, 125, 532  
 Goldast, 544  
 Golden Bull of Charles IV (1356), 420  
 Golding, Arthur, 607  
 Gomara, Francesco Lopez de, 586  
 Gomez, Gutierreo Diaz de, 435  
*Gormont et Isembart*, 227  
 Goscelin, Norman monk at Ely, 248  
 Gospels, the, 122-23  
 Goths, the, 121, 139, 143-48, 168, 429, 430, 434-35, 443; see also Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Procopius  
 Gottfried von Ensmingen, 421  
 Gottschalk, 171  
 Goulart, Simon, 565-66  
 Gower, John, 391, 405  
*Gradicenses*, the *Annales*, of Hradisch near Prague, 466  
*Grado, Chronicle of*, 216  
 Grafton, Richard, 601, 602-03  
*Grandes Chroniques de St. Denis*, see under St. Denis  
*Grant conquista de Ultramar*, 433, 435  
 Grassis, Paris de, 487  
 Gray (of Heton), Sir Thomas, 401  
 Graystones, Robert de, 398  
*Great Chronicle* (of London), *The*, 418, 419  
 Greece, historiography of, 21-40, 41-60, 78, 101-21, 577; and see volume II, 488-511  
 Greek city constitutions, 37-39  
 Greek language, knowledge of in Middle Ages, 174, 178-79, 184, 208  
 Greek oratory, influence on history, 28  
 Greek scholars, flight to Italy, 444  
 Greenland, Norse discovery of, 450, 457-58  
 Gregoras, see Nicephorus Gregoras  
 Gregory I, the Great, pope, 149, 151, 152, 156, 167, 174  
 Gregory VII (Hildebrand), pope, 137, 185, 187, 189, 190, 191, 196, 210, 211, 468; his *Registrum*, 212

- Gregory, bishop of Tours, 148–51, 157–58, 162, 168, 236, 454  
 Gregory, abbot of St. Martin's at Utrecht, 173  
 Gregory, continuator of Matthew of Edessa, 332  
 Gregory Lousavoritch (Gregory the Illuminator), 330, 331, 333  
 Gregory Magistros, 333  
 Gregory of Nazianzen, 140, 526  
 Gregory, William, 418–19, 593  
 Gresbeck, Heinrich, 532  
 Grey, Lady Jane, *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, 602  
*Grey Friars Chronicle* (London), 595, 602  
 Grimestone, Edward, 606  
 Gross, Charles, 246  
 Grosseteste, see Robert Grosseteste  
 Grotefend, G. F., 9  
 Grotius, Hugo, 574, 578  
 Group mind in the eleventh century, 228–29  
 Grynius, Simon, 75  
 Guesclin, Bertrand du, 373–74, 377  
 Guevara, Antonio de, 581 n. 3  
 Gui (Guido) de Bazoches, 319  
 Guibert of Nogent, 204, 232–35, 314–16  
 Guicciardini, Francesco, 437, 490, 497–502, 545, 568  
 Guildhall records (London), 391  
 Guillaume de Nangis, 271, 363  
 Guillebert de Metz, 364  
 Guizot, 630, 634  
 Gunnlang, 460  
 Gunther, monk of Pairis in Alsace, author of the poem *Ligurinus*, 204, 525  
 Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, 534, 550  
 Gutenberg, John, 515  
*Guthlac, Life of St.*, 156, 163  
 Guy of Amiens, 231  
 Guzman, Fernan Perez de, 436
- H**
- Haden, Gottfried, 424  
 Hadrian, Roman emperor, 91, 92, 93, 111  
 Hadrian II, pope, 207  
 Hadrian IV, pope, 210, 217, 261  
 Haer, see Van der Haer  
 Hagen, Gottfried, 291  
 Haillan, du, 564  
 Haitum, Armenian prince, 333  
 Hajek of Liboczane, 533  
 Hakluyt, Richard, 613  
*Halberstadt, Annals of*, 181  
 Hall, Edward, 597, 598, 600–01, 603  
 Hallam, 546  
 al-Hamawi, Yaquṭ, the geographer, 351  
*Hamburg, Annals of*, 290  
 Hamilcar, 18  
 Hammer-Purgstall, Joseph von, 447–48  
 Hannibal, 16, 52, 58, 62–64 *passim*, 80  
 Hanno, voyage of, 16, 17  
 Haraeus, Franciscus, 572 and n. 2  
 Harald Fairhair, 450–51, 452, 462  
 Haran al-Rashid, 341  
 Hardyng, John, 415, 601, 602  
 Harrison, William, 604, 605  
 al-Hasan, Ibn ben, 347  
 Hastings, *Carmen de bello Hastingsensi*, 220, 231  
 Haton, Claude, 560  
*Hauk's Book*, 458  
 Ibn Hawqal (Hau-qal), 348, 349  
 Hayward, Sir John, 610–11  
 Hazael of Damascus, 12  
 Hearne, Thomas, 409, 412  
 Hebrews, see Jews  
 Hecataeus of Miletus, 22, 24, 43, 47  
 Hegel, Karl von, 424–25  
 Hegesippus, 126  
*Heimskringla*, 461  
 Helgaud, chaplain of Robert the Pious, 227, 236  
 Helgeson, Paul, 533  
 Helinand, monk of Froidmont near Beauvais, 269  
 Heliopolis, archives of, 4  
 Hellanicus of Mitylene, 27–28  
 Hellanicus of Lesbos, 22  
 Helmold, priest of Bosau in Holstein, 201, 202, 531, 532  
 Heloise, 243–44  
 Heltae, Kasper, 533  
 Hemricourt, Jacques de, 365  
 Henri, count of Champagne, 242  
*Henries, Book of the Noble*, 408  
 Henry I, king of England, 236  
 Henry II, king of England, 210, 257, 258, 261, 264  
 Henry III, king of England, 279, 391, 394, 593  
 Henry IV, king of England, 405, 407, 409, 410, 413, 414, 610; *Annals of Richard II and Henry IV*, 406–07  
 Henry V, king of England, 386, 406, 407, 409, 410–15 *passim*  
 Henry VI, king of England, 408, 412, 414–17 *passim*, 593  
 Henry VII, king of England, 515, 589–94 *passim*, 596, 597, 598, 609, 611–12, 627

- Henry VIII, king of England, 508, 589, 591, 592, 593, 596, 599, 600-01, 616, 627, 636
- Henry II, king of France, 553, 561, 568
- Henry III, king of France, 562
- Henry IV, king of France, 513, 538, 553, 555, 556, 558, 562, 564, 567, 569, 570, 578; historiography of his reign, 553-70 *passim*
- Henry I (the Fowler), king of Germany, 180, 183, 185
- Henry II, German emperor, 183, 185
- Henry IV, German emperor, 186-87, 188-91 *passim*, 195, 201, 313, 468, 531
- Henry V, German emperor, 193
- Henry VI, German emperor, 198, 215, 218
- Henry VII, German emperor, 421, 427, 474
- Henry IV, king of Castile, 436-37
- Henry Trastamara, 435
- Henry of Blanford, 395
- Henry (Heinrich) of Diessenhofen, 422-23
- Henry of Huntingdon, 249, 250, 252-54, 259, 265, 393, 394, 399, 408, 413, 419
- Henry of Lamspringe, 424
- Henry of Rebdorf, 423
- Henry the Lion, 199, 202, 205
- Henry the Navigator, prince, 584, 585
- Henry the Proud, 193
- Heraclius, Byzantine emperor, 301-02, 434
- Herbert of Bosham, 261
- Herbert of Cherbury, Lord, 627-28
- Herbert of Losinga, 261
- Herbord, monk of Michelsberg in Bamberg, 195
- Heredia, Juan Fernandez de, 434
- Heresies, in the Limousin, 241-42
- Heriger of Lobbes, 181
- Hermann, bishop of Metz, 190
- Hermann, abbot of Niederaltaich, 291, 420-21
- Hermann the Lame (Hermann Contractus), of Reichenau, 186, 188, 191
- Herd the Great, 104
- Herodian, 94, 114, 121
- Herodotus, 3, 4, 8, 13, 18, 19, 22, 23, 24-27, 31, 38, 43, 44, 47, 50, 111, 298, 300, 303
- Herrera y Tordesillas, 587
- Hersfeld, *Annals of*, 186, 187
- Hesychius of Miletus, 133 n. 29, 297
- Heuterus, Pontus, see Huyter
- Hiempsal, 17
- Higden, see Ralph Higden
- Hilal ben Muhassin ben Sinan, see al-Sabi
- Hildebert of Lavardin, 243
- Hildebrandslied*, 452
- Hildesheim, Annals of*, 181, 193
- Hillel, 105
- Himilco, 17
- Hincks, Edward, 10, and see volume II, 477 n. 38
- Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, 171, 176
- Hinojosa, Gonzalo de, 435
- Hippocrates' *Aphorisms*, 226
- Hippolytus, 127
- Hiram, king of Tyre, 15, 17
- Hirsau, Chronicle of, 426, 523
- Hirtius, Aulus, 71
- Ibn Hisham, 336
- Historia Augusta*, 92, 93-94, 143
- Historia de Rasal*, 432
- Historia Francorum Senonensis*, 226, 227
- Historia Roderici*, 429
- Historical criticism, 49-51, 493-94, 561, 563, 599
- Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV*, 417
- Historiographers-royal, in thirteenth century, 271; Italians abroad, 507-09
- History, distinction between sacred and profane, 125, 129
- History by Djemali*, 448
- History of Aali*, 448
- History of Aashik-Pashazade*, 448
- History of Lutfi-Pasha*, 448
- Hobbes, Thomas, 504
- Hohenstaufen dynasty, 193-205
- Hoinion, P., 75
- Holinshed, Raphael, 254, 256 n. 31, 601, 602, 603-04, 605, 618, 624
- Holland, see Low Countries
- Holstein, Chronicle of*, 291
- Holstein, Lucas, 539
- Holy Lance, discovery of the, 314
- Holy Land, see Jews, and Crusades
- Homer, 21, 31, 32, 42
- Honorius III, pope, 441
- Hooft, Peter Cornelius, 577-79
- Hooker, John, 604
- Hoover, Herbert, 523
- Hopperus, Joachim, 572
- Horace, 73, 77, 88, 90
- Horn, Andrew, 397, 418
- Hosea* (Old Testament), 14, 15
- Hotman, 562, 569
- Howel the Good, Ancient Laws and Institutions of*, 265
- Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, 261
- Hugh Metel (Hugo Metellus), 243
- Hugh of Amiens, 243
- Hugh of Flavigny, 191



Hugh of Fleury, 174, 207  
 Hugo (Hugh) of St. Victor, 192, 196, 269  
 Hugo, Heinrich, 532  
 Huguenots, see Wars of Religion  
 Humboldt, 102  
 Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, 406, 412, 413  
 Hundred Years War, 363-89, 390-419 *passim*, 585  
 Huneric, 145  
 Hungary, history of, 183, 185, 194, 196, 203, 214, 291, 427, 466, 469, 509  
 Hunibald, 523  
 Huns, the, 96, 98, 136, 297  
 Huss, John, 427, 614  
 Hussites, 467, 507  
 Hutchinson, Mrs., 630  
 Hutten, Ulrich von, 494, 522  
 Huyter (Heuterus), Pontus, 572  
 Hyde, Edward, see Clarendon, Earl of  
 Hyginus, 79  
 Hyksos, or shepherd kings of Egypt, 4  
 Hypsicrates, Phoenician writer, 17

## I

Ibn Adhari, 346  
 Ibn-Zulak, 345  
 Iceland, 201, 449-63  
 Iconoclastic controversy, 303-04  
 Idatius, 130, 144  
 Idris of Bitlis, 448  
 El Idrisi, 348, 349  
 Ildefonso of Toledo, 430  
 Inca historian, 588  
 Index of prohibited books, Catholic, 540  
 India, writings on, 23, 27, 43-45, 113, 344, 348, 357, 585, 586  
 Infessura, Stefano, 485  
*Inisfallen*, *Annals of*, 159, 266  
 Innocent II, pope, 212  
 Innocent III, pope, 137, 198, 264, 286  
 Innocent VIII, pope, 487  
 Inquisition, the, 438  
 Interregnum, effect on German historiography, 420  
 Investiture, War of, 189, 193, 196  
 Iocles, 52, 61  
 Ion of Chios, 35  
 Ionia, birth of Greek history in, 21-24  
*Iraq*, *History of the Conquest of*, 340  
 Ireland, 153, 158-59, 264, 266, 449-50, 452, 604, 623-25, 633, 644-45  
 Irene, Byzantine empress, 304  
 Ireton, 631  
 Irish saints, love for animals, 153  
 Isabella, queen of Castile, 437

*Isaiah* (Old Testament), 15  
 Ishaq, Muhammed ben, 335  
 Isidore of Seville, 124, 130, 144, 157, 429, 430  
 Isleif, first bishop of Iceland, 457  
*Islendingabók*, 458  
 Isocrates, 35-36  
 Israel, see Jews  
 Isselt, Michael ab, 572  
 Italy, historiography of, 49, 65, 167-69, 172, 173-74, 184, 185-86, 204, 206-23, 281-89, 473-509, 540  
 Ivan III, czar of Muscovy, 446  
 Ivo, see Yves of Chartres  
*Ivo*, *Life of Saint*, 248

## J

Jacme lo Conqueridor, see James the Conqueror  
 Jacob of Volterra, 490  
*St. Jacob's*, *Annals of*, in the diocese of Liège, 200  
 Jacobus, see James  
 Jacques de Vitry, 323  
 James I, king of England, 538, 611, 620, 627  
 James II, king of England, 637  
 James I (the Conqueror), king of Aragon, 432-33, 434, 436  
 James II, king of Aragon, 436  
 James (Jacobus), bishop of Edessa, 326, 328  
 Jean de Venette, 363  
 Jean le Meingre (Boucicaut), 377-78, 379  
 Jean of Jandun, 364  
 Jeanne d'Arc, 377, 381, 382, 383, 386, 486  
 Jehan le Bel, 364-66, 369, 370  
*Jeremiah* (Old Testament), 15  
 Jerome, St., 5, 97, 124, 128, 129, 130, 135, 140, 191, 312, 325  
 Jerome de Bursellis, 488  
 Jessopp, Augustus, 279  
 Jesuits, the, 540, 541, 545, 547 n. 30  
 Jews, historiography of the, 13-16, 18, 101, 104-07, 125, 126, 128, 129, 134, 135, 176, 182, 184, 196  
 Jinghiz Khan, see Genghis Khan  
 Joachim of Flora, 283  
 Jocelin of Brakelond, 275  
 John, king of Bohemia, 365  
 John, king of England, 278  
 John II, king of France, 365, 510  
 John VIII, pope, 174, 207, 210  
 John XXII, pope, 422-23  
 John, bishop of Ephesus, 301, 326  
 John, abbot of Biclaro, 140, 144

- John, abbot of Gorze, 184–85  
 John, abbot of Viktring, 422  
 John, prior of Hexham, 250  
 John, monk of St. Bénigne, 228  
 John of Antioch, 298  
 John of Asia, 326, 327  
 John of Epiphania, 301  
 John of Gaunt, 404  
 John of Nikiou, 302  
 John of Oxnead, 392  
 John of Reading, 402  
 John of Salisbury, 261–62  
 John of Trevisa, 400, 402  
 John of Trokelowe, 395, 396, 410  
 John of Wallingford, 393  
 John of Wethamstede, 412  
 John the Almoner, 301  
 John the Catholic, 328, 332  
 John the Deacon, see John Sagorninus  
 John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy, 378, 382  
 John the Lydian, 300  
 John the Monk, of St. Vincent in Volturmo, 221  
 John the Reader, see John Anagnostes  
 John the Rhetor (Johannes Malalas), 303, 446  
 John Anagnostes (John the Reader), 441  
 John Cantacuzenus, 440, 441  
 John Ducas Vataces, emperor at Nicaea, 439  
 John Kameniates, 441  
 John Sagorninus (John the Deacon), 174, 207, 216  
 John Scotus, 171  
 Johnson, Samuel, 486, 546, 637  
 Joinville, 268, 272–73  
 Jonas, bishop of Orleans, 176  
 Jordanes, 147–48, 150, 168, 454, 526  
 Josephus, 4, 5, 13, 17, 47, 74, 105–07, 134, 205  
 Joshua (Old Testament), 13  
 Joshua the Stylite (Joshua Stylites), 325, 326, 327  
*Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, 383–84, 517  
 Jouvenal (Juvénal) des Ursins, Jean, 373, 376–77  
 Jovius, Paulus, see Giovio, Paolo  
 Juba, 13  
 Ibn Jubayr, 349  
*Judges* (Old Testament), 13  
 Judith, empress of Louis the Pious, 173  
*Jugurthine War* of Sallust, 70  
 Julian, Roman emperor, 95, 96, 97, 296  
 Julian, bishop of Toledo, 145, 429  
 Julius II, pope, 487, 496, 517  
 Julius Capitolinus, 93, 94  
*Jumièges, Chronicle of*, 177  
 Justin I, Byzantine emperor, 297  
 Justin(us), 77, 78  
 Justinian, Byzantine emperor, 133, 144, 145, 207, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 336  
 Justinian Code, 190  
 Justinger, Conrad, 426  
 Jutes, the, 144, 154, 155  
*Juvavenses, the Annales*, 165  
 Juvenal, 90
- K**
- Kadlubek, see Vincent Kadlubek  
*Kaiserchronik*, 194, 290–91  
 Karl Jonsson, abbot of Thingeyri, 459  
 Kempis, Thomas à, 521  
 Kenelm, St., 153  
 Ibn Khaldun, 218, 337, 347, 348, 359–60  
 Khalid, Anushirwan ben, 350  
 Ibn Khallikan, 352  
 Al-Khatib, 347  
 Khazraji, 347  
 Khevenhüller, Francis Christoph, 551  
*Khudai-Namak* (Book of Kings), 336–37, 340  
 Ibn Khurdadhbih, 348  
 El-Kindi, 345  
*Kings* (Old Testament), 11, 14  
 Kingsford, Charles, 405, 412, 413, 415, 418, 594  
 Kirchmeier, Georg, 532  
 Knighton, Henry, 401–02  
 Knolles, Richard, 606  
 Knox, John, 614, 617, 619, 621–23  
*Königssaal, Chronicle of*, 427  
 Ibn Kotaiba, 338  
 Kranz, Albert, 524  
 Kremer, Gerhard, known as Mercator, 522  
 Kritoboulos the Islander, 447  
 Kromer, Martin, 532  
 El-Kudai'i, 345
- L**
- La Baume, 42  
 Labienus, 79  
 Lactantius, 79, 127  
 La Force, Jacques de, 566  
 La Marche, Olivier de, 388–89  
 Lambert of Ardres, 242  
 Lambert of Hersfeld, 187–88, 204, 531  
 Landnamabók, 458  
 Landucci, Luca, 480  
 Landulphus Senior, of Milan, 212  
 Landulphus de S. Paulo, 212

- Lanercost, Chronicle of*, 398, 403  
 Lanfranc, 239, 247, 254, 261, 276  
 Langtoft, Peter (Pierre de), 394-95  
 Langton, Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, 259, 264  
*Laon, Chronicle of*, 241  
 Laon, commune of, 234, 235  
 La Place, Pierre de, 561  
 La Planche, Regnier de, 561  
 La Popelinière, Lancelot Voisin de, 554, 560, 561, 563, 564  
 Las Casas, Bartholomew de, 202, 586, 587  
*Laterculus, or Canon of the Kings of Thebes*, 4  
 Latimer, Hugh, 598  
 Laud, archbishop, 639  
 Lay historians in the Middle Ages, 163, 170, 214, 268, 390-91  
 Layard, 10  
 Le Clerc, Jean, 537  
 Legends, 30, 147-48, 150-51, 152, 153, 162, 168, 175, 182, 194, 240, 453, 577  
 Leibniz, 552  
 Leif Ericson, 458  
 Le Jeune, 42  
 Leland, 582, 603 n. 44, 604, 605, 607  
 Leo V (the Armenian), Byzantine emperor, 304  
 Leo VI (the Wise), Byzantine emperor, 218, 305, 306  
 Leo VI, last ruler of Armenia, 333-34  
 Leo IX, pope, formerly Bruno, bishop of Toul, 188, 210  
 Leo X, pope, 478, 487, 496, 502, 503, 504, 598  
 Leo of Ostia, see Leo Marsicanus  
 Leo the Deacon, 218, 305-06  
 Leo Grammaticus, 218, 306  
 Leo Marsicanus, monk of Monte Cassino, then cardinal-bishop of Ostia, 191, 211, 219, 220  
 Leonard of Chios, 447  
 Leontius of Neapolis in Cyprus, 301  
 Le Petit, 566  
 Lescot, Richard, 363  
 Leslie, John, Catholic bishop of Ross, 619  
 L'Estoile, Pierre de, 559, 560  
 Letters (as historical sources), 99-100, 140, 144, 169, 177, 195, 213, 226, 243-44, 261-62, 279, 316-17, 320, 322, 323, 437, 440, 443, 501, 507, 551, 573, 575, 609  
 Leubus, see *Annales Lubenses*  
 Lewes, battle of, 392  
 Leyden, 574, 575  
 Libanius, 140  
*Libelli de lite*, 189  
*Liber de antiquis legibus*, 593  
*Liber Francorum*, see *Gesta Francorum* (also called *Liber historiae*)  
*Liber Pontificalis* (Lives of the Popes), 174, 208, 209-10, 286  
 Libraries, 4, 10, 45, 46, 79, 97, 107, 112, 127, 130, 136, 146, 157, 211, 230, 244, 251, 337, 480, 487, 509, 569  
*Libre dels feyts . . . del mot all senyor rey en Jacme lo Conqueridor*, 433  
 Licinius Macer, 68, 69  
 Liebermann, Felix, 253  
*Liefländer Kronik*, 291  
*Liège, Annals of*, 187; *History of the Bishops of Liège*, 181  
 Limburg, Chronicle of, 424  
 Limoges, 229-30, sack by the Black Prince, 395  
 Linacre, Thomas, 589, 597  
 Lindisfarne, Annals of, 158, 165  
 Lindsay, Robert, of Pittscoatie, 618  
 Lipsius, Justus, 574, 575  
 Lisbon, *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi*, 317  
 Little, A. G., 409  
 Liudger, 173  
 Liutprand, king of the Lombards, 168  
 Liutprand, bishop of Cremona, 208-09, 531  
*Lives of Illustrious Ladies*, 557  
*Les Livres Eracles*, see *Estoire d'Eracles*  
 Livy, Roman historian, 33, 53, 62-63, 65, 69, 73-77, 78, 80, 90, 91, 92, 99, 102, 110, 115, 177, 478, 479, 480, 491, 496, 503, 507, 509  
 Livy, Titus, Italian writer in England, 412, 413  
 Loaisa, Jofré de, 431, 435  
*Lobbes, Annals of*, 165, 181  
*Loch Cé, Annals of*, 266, 624  
 Logographers, the Greek, 22-23  
 Lohengrin legend, 316  
 Lollardism, 404, 414  
 Lombards, history of the, 81, 144, 168, 173, 186, 301  
 Lombardy, cities of, 198  
 London, historiography of, 391, 397, 398, 416, 418-19, 592-95, 601, 602, 609  
 Longinus, 40  
 Lopes, Fernão, 585  
*Lorsch, Annals of*, 166, 171, 172, 229  
 Lothar of Saxony, German emperor, 193, 194, 212  
 Lotich, John Peter, 552  
 Louis the Pious, emperor, 169-70, 171, 175  
 Louis the Stammerer, 176

- Louis IV, king of France, 226  
 Louis VI, king of France, 236  
 Louis VII, king of France, 236, 237, 244, 317; *Gesta Ludovici VII*, 317  
 Louis IX (Saint Louis), king of France, 283, 323, 357, 562  
 Louis XI, king of France, 376, 377, 384–85, 389, 511, 512, 513, 515, 562  
 Louis XII, king of France, 507, 512, 517  
 Louis XIII, king of France, 562, 579  
 Louis XIV, king of France, 86  
 Louis II, uncle of king Charles VI of France, 378 (Loys de Bourbon)  
 Low Countries, historiography of the, 182, 200, 242, 364, 498, 562, 566, 571–79, 606  
 Luard, Henry, 393, 397  
 Lucan's *Pharsalia*, 314  
 Lucas, bishop of Tuy, 430, 435  
 Lucian of Samosata, 27, 42, 48, 120  
 Lucullus, Life of, 68  
 Ludlow, Edmund, 630, 632–34  
 Ludwig the Child, 177  
 Ludwig IV of Bavaria, German emperor, 421, 422, 423  
*Lübeck, Annals of*, 423  
 Luke, St., 122–23  
 Lull, archbishop of Mainz, 188  
 Lundorp, Michael Caspar, 552  
 Lupus, abbot of Ferrières, 177  
 Lupus Protospatarius, 218  
 Lutatius Catulus, 67–68  
*Lutfi-Pasha, History of*, 448  
 Luther, Martin, 521, 525, 527–30 *passim*  
 Luttrell, Narcissus, 639  
 Lycortas, 53, 55  
 Lycurgus, 35, 108  
 Lynch, John, 645
- M**
- Macaulay, 87, 546  
*Macbeth*, 152, 254  
*Maccabees*, 16  
 Macedon, history of, 27, 36–37, 40, 78  
 Machiavelli, 285, 478–81 *passim*, 490, 491, 495–97, 513, 540, 555  
 Mackintosh, Sir James, 642  
 Al-Mada'ini, 340  
 Maecenas, 117  
*Magdeburg, Annals of*, 193, 199  
*Magdeburg Centuries*, and their compilers (Centuriators), 494, 529–31, 535–37, 547, 614, 615, 622  
 Magnus, Olaus, bishop of Upsala, 533–34  
 Magnus of Carrahae, 296  
 Mago, 17–18  
 Magyar historiography, see Hungary
- Mai, Angelo, cardinal, 55, 92  
 Mainardinus, bishop of Imola, 282  
*Mainz, Chronicle of*, 531  
 Major (or Mair), John, 604, 617, 618, 619  
 Makhairas, Leontios, 442–43  
 Al-Makin, 353  
 Makkari, Ahmed-ibn-Mohammed al, 347  
 Al-Makrizi (Maqrizi), 347, 357–58  
 Malalas, see John the Rhetor  
 Malapiero, Domenico, 483  
 Malaspina, Saba, 282, 286–87  
 Malaterra, Gaufredus (Geoffroy), 219, 220  
 Malchus of Philadelphia, 104, 297  
*Maldon, Battle of*, 162  
 Malespini, Ricordano, 475  
 Malvern, John, 402  
 Al Ma'mun, 341  
 Manchon, Guillaume, scribe at the trial of Jeanne d'Arc, 383  
 Manegold of Lautenbach, 189–90, 193  
 Manetho, priest of Heliopolis, 4–5, 6, 8, 47  
 Manning, Cardinal, 125  
 Abul Mansur of Tus, 338  
 Mantua, *Cronaca di Mantova*, 488  
 Manuel, Don Juan, 430, 435  
*Manuel d'histoire*, written for Philip VI of France, 364  
 Al Maqdisi, 348  
 Marago, Bernardus (also Marango), 213, 217  
 Marathon, battle of, 26  
 Marathus, 79  
*Marbach, Annals of*, 198, 290  
 Marbod of Angers, bishop of Rennes, 243  
 Marbot, 41, 42  
 Marcellinus, chancellor of Justinian, 93, 130, 297  
 March, Adam, 279  
 Marche, Olivier de la, 388–89  
 Marcus Aurelius, Roman emperor, 92, 93, 110, 117, 118  
 Mari, 327  
 Mariana, Juan de, 583  
 Marianus Scotus, 253  
 Marineo, Lucio (Lucas di Marinis), 507–08  
 Marius, 67–68, 108, 110  
 Marius Maximus, 92, 93, 94  
 Marius of Avenches, 130  
 Marjoreybanks, George, 618  
 Mark, St., 123  
 Marlborough, Duke of, 635  
 Marmolejo, Gongora, 588  
 Marriott, J. A. R., 642, 643  
 Marsiglio of Padua, 364, 423  
 Martial, 75, 90

- Martin, St., of Tours, 134, 135, 150  
 Martin Gallus, 468  
 Martin of Troppau, see Martin the Pole  
 Martin the Pole (Martinus Polonus), 271, 404, 420, 468-69  
 Martyrs, persecutions of the, 127-31 *passim*  
 Mary, queen of Scotland, 619, 620-21  
 Mary of Guise, regent of Scotland, 622  
 Mary Tudor, queen of England, 589, 602, 616, 622, 636  
 Masudi, 336, 338, 348-49  
 Matarazzo (of Perugia), 481  
 Mathilda, queen of Germany, wife of Henry the Fowler, 180, 185, 204  
 Matilda, countess of Tuscany, 212  
 Matthew, St., 123  
 Matthew Paris, 250, 259, 271, 274, 277-79, 390-93 *passim*, 397, 598, 603, 608  
 Matthew of Edessa, 332  
 "Matthew of Westminster," 397, 603  
 Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, 509  
 Matthias of Neuburg, 422  
 Matthieu, Pierre, 562-63  
*Mauretania*, *Annals of*, 360  
 Maurice, Byzantine emperor, 301, 304  
 Maurisio, Gerardo (Gerardus Maurisius), of Vicenza, 285  
 Maximilian I, German emperor, 515, 523-26 *passim*  
*St. Maximin*, *Annals of* (Trèves), 166, 181  
 Maximus, bishop of Saragossa, 145  
 Mayer, John, 426  
*Mayor of Bristol's Kalendar*, 595  
 Medici, the, 498, 499, 502  
 Megasthenes, 44  
 Megenfrid, monk of Fulda, 523  
 Meinwerk, bishop of Paderborn, 185  
 Mekhitar of Airivank, 333  
 Melanchthon, Philip, 426, 513, 526, 527-28, 530  
*Melrose Abbey, Chronicle of*, 274, 398  
*Melsa, Chronicle of*, 404  
 Melville, Sir James, 618  
 Melville, James, pastor of Kilrenny, 619  
 Memoirs, 41-44, 55-59, 66-68, 79, 83-84, 86, 375, 377-79, 434, 518, 532, 551, 554-58, 559-61 *passim*, 565, 566, 567, 630, 631, 632-33  
 Menander, author of the *Annals of Tyre*, 5  
 Menander, continuator of Agathias, 300  
 Mendoza, Diego Hurtado de, 582-83  
 Mendoza, Don Garcia Hurtado de, viceroy of Chile, 588  
 Menko, abbot of Wittewierum, 200  
 Mercator, see Kremer, Gerhard  
 Merovingian kings, 149, 150, 167, 168, 229  
 Merula, 482  
 Mesopotamia, travellers visit ruins of, 8-9  
 Mesrob, Armenian patriarch, 330  
 Meteren, Emmanuel van, 576, 577  
*Metz, History of the Bishops of*, 169, 182  
 Mexia, Pedro, 583  
 Mexico, history of the Spanish conquest, 586-87  
 Meyer, Paul, 364  
 Michael Attaleiates, 307  
 Michael Palaeologus, Byzantine emperor, 440  
 Michael Panaretos, 439 n. 3, 445  
 Michael the Syrian, 328  
 Michelangelo, destruction of his statue of Julius II, 517  
 Middle Ages, first use of the term, 504  
 Milan, historiography of, 212, 213, 284, 481-82; *Annales Mediolanenses majores*, 213  
 Milo Crispin, 248, 261  
 Milton, John, 492, 546, 576, 626  
 Minháj-i-Siráj of Juzjan, 353  
*Miracles of St. Benedict*, 226  
 Mirandola, Pico della, 522  
 Mirkhondi, 357  
 Miskawaihi, 343, 347  
 Mithridates, 78-79, 102  
 Mochus, Phoenician writer, 17  
 Modena, 214  
*Modus tenendi parlamentum*, 279-80  
 Mohammed, 335, 336, 447  
 Mohammed II (the Conqueror), Turkish sultan, 444-45  
 Moissac, Chronicle of, 273  
 Ibn El-Mokaffa, 336  
 Molinier, Auguste, 310-11  
 Mommsen, Theodor, 71, 87, 98, 106, 155 n. 4  
 Moncada, Francisco, 584  
 Monceaux, Paul, 94  
 Mongols, history of the, 351-57, 444  
 Monk of St. Gall, 175, 227  
 Monluc, Blaise de, 554, 555-56, 558, 569  
 Monstrelet, Enguerrand de, 318-83, 387, 388, 598, 601  
 Montaigne, 501, 554, 569  
 Monte Cassino, historiography of, 167-68, 173, 191, 209, 210-12, 219  
 Montecuccoli, Raimondo, 551  
 Montesquieu, 504, 506, 513  
 Montfort, Simon de, 279, 392  
*Monumenta Phoeniciania*, 16  
 Morales, Ambrosio de, 582  
 More, Thomas de la, 396, 400

- More, Sir Thomas, 508, 589, 590, 596, 597, 598, 600, 601, 602, 610  
 Morea (the Peloponnesus), 434; *Chronicle of Morea*, 441-42  
 Morena, Acerbus, 214-15, 284  
 Morena, Otto, 214-15, 284  
 Mornay, Philippe de, 561  
 Moryson, Fynes, 624  
 Moses of Bergamo, 213  
 Moses of Chorene (Khoren), 331 n. 25, 332  
 Mouske, Philippe, 269  
*Mshikha-Zca, History of*, 327  
 Müller, Karl Otfried, 55  
 Mullinger, J. B., 396, 399, 401, 591, 628, 637  
*Munimenta Academica*, 279  
 Ousama ibn-Munkidhi, 350  
 Munro, Robert, 551  
 Muntaner, Ramón, 434, 436, 584  
 El-Musebbihi, 345  
 Muslim conquests, 173, 218, 230, 340; historiography, 218, 335-60, 447-48; literature, ignores Alexander and Seleucids, 20  
 Mussatus, Albertinus (Mussato), of Padua, 285, 421, 474
- N
- Nabonassar, Chaldaean era of, 5  
 Nabopolassar, 11  
*Nahum* (Old Testament), 12  
*Nama-é-Bästän*, 337  
*Nama-é-Khusraven*, 337  
*Nantes, Chronicle of*, 178, 227, 232  
 Naples, 218-19, 505-06  
 Napoleon I, French emperor, 6, 41-43 *passim*, 68, 170, 483  
 Nardi, Jacopo, 495 n. 65, 502  
*Narratio de electione Lotharii*, 193  
*Narratives of the Days of the Reformation*, 600  
 Naclerus, John, 426  
 Nearchus, 44  
*Nehemiah* (Old Testament), 14, 18  
 Nennius, 154-55, 253, 265  
 Neplack of Opatowitz, 467  
 Nepos, Cornelius, 64, 71-72, 79, 107, 488  
 Neri, Philip, St., founder of the Oratory, 536  
 Nerli, Filippo, 495 n. 65, 502  
 Nero, Roman emperor, 81-86 *passim*, 106, 110  
 Nerses, Armenian patriarch, 333  
 Neschri, 448  
*Nestor, Chronicle of*, 445  
 Nestorians, 133, 325-28 *passim*  
 Netherlands, see Low Countries  
 Netter, Thomas, 414  
 Nibelung, 151 n. 24; *Annals of*, 165  
 Nicephorus Blemmydes, 440  
 Nicephorus Bryennius, 307, 308  
 Nicephorus Gregoras, 440, 441  
 Nicephorus Phocas, Byzantine emperor, 305, 306, 343  
 Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople, 174, 207, 303-04  
 St. Nicholas mystery play, 188  
 Nicholas I, pope, 304  
 Nicholas III, pope, 468  
 Nicholas V, pope, 480, 481  
 Nicholas, bishop of Butrinto, 421  
 Nicholas of Cusa, 504  
 Nicholas of Damascus, 74, 104, 107  
 Nicholas of Jamsilla, 282  
 Nicias, 29  
 Nicolaus von Siegen, 426  
 Nicolson, William, 410  
 Nicot, French ambassador, 585  
 Niebuhr, Karsten, 9  
*Niederallaich, Annals of*, 420-21  
 Nile, cause of inundation, 25 n. 8, 48  
 Nineveh, excavation of, 9-10  
 Nithard, 170-71  
 Norbert of Xanten, 195  
 Norgate, Kate, 320  
 Norman historiography, 164, 211, 219-23, 230-32, 238-41, 245-66, 310, 386-87  
 Norse peoples, history of the, 169, 171, 177, 178, 201, 449-65  
 Norse sagas, 453-63 *passim*; classified, 454 n. 9  
 North, Sir Thomas, 605-06  
*Northern Chronicle*, 413  
 Northumbria, 156-58, 160; *Northumbrian Annals*, 249; *Gesta veterum Northanhymbrorum*, 249  
 Norway, see Norse peoples  
*Norwich, Annals of*, 393  
 Notger, bishop of Liège, 181  
 Notker Balbulus, 175  
 Noue, François de la, 554-55  
*Novgorod, Chronicle of*, 445-46  
 Numa Pompilius, 108  
 Numantian War, history of, 67  
*Numbers* (Old Testament), 13  
*Numidia, History of*, 17  
*Nuremberg Chronicle* of Hartmann Schedel, 425  
*Nulbrow Maid, The*, ballad, 594  
 Nuwayri, 218

## O

- Oaths of Strassburg, in Nithard, 170  
 d'Ocampo, Florian, 431, 437, 492, 580  
 O'Clearys, the, 623  
 Odd Snorrason, 460  
 Oderisius, abbot of Monte Cassino, 211  
 Odo, count of Paris, see Eudes  
 Odo of Deuil, 317  
 Odolric, Minorite friar, 8  
 Olaf Haraldsson (Olaf II, the Saint), king of Norway, 456, 459, 460  
 Olaf Tryggvason (Olaf I), king of Norway, 453, 460, 464  
 Olaus Petri, 533  
*Old Egyptian Chronicle*, 4  
 Old Testament, 3, 9, 11, 13-16, 18, 328  
 Oldcastle, Sir John, 408  
 Olympiads, reckoning by, 5, 51  
 Olympiodorus, 296-97  
 Omar, Mohammedan conqueror, 337  
 El Omari, 348  
 Onesicritus, 42-43  
 Oppert, Jules, 10  
 Ordericus Vitalis, 238-41  
 d'Orgement, Pierre, 371  
 Orient, the ancient, 3-20; meager knowledge of before the nineteenth century, 3-6  
 Orkneys, literature of the, 449-51, 459-60  
*Orkney Saga*, 459  
 Orlandinus, Nicolas, 541  
 Orosius, 136, 138, 139, 144  
 Orpelian, 333  
 d'Orreville, Jehan, 378-79  
 Osbern, precentor of Canterbury, 248  
*Oseney, Annals of*, 275, 391  
 Ostrogoths, the, 144, 145-48  
 Oswald, archbishop of York, 163  
 Ott, Christopher, 552  
*Ottenbeuern, Annals of*, 187  
 Otterbourne, Thomas, 409  
 Otto I, the Great, German emperor, 182-84 *passim*, 192, 207, 208, 209, 216, 348  
 Otto II, German emperor, 184, 227  
 Otto IV, of Brunswick, 198, 280  
 Otto, bishop of Bamberg, 195  
 Otto, bishop of Freising, 195-98, 203-05 *passim*, 214, 261, 262, 271, 317, 526  
 Otto, monk of St. Blasien, 198  
 Otto of Nordheim, 188, 193  
 Otto of Thuringia, 427  
 Otto of Wittelsbach, count palatine, 198  
 Ottobono, city clerk of Genoa, 288  
 Ottokar of Styria, 291  
*Annales Ottokariani* (i.e., about Ottokar II, the Great, king of Bohemia), 291

- Oursel of Bailleul, 219  
 Ovid, 177  
 Oviedo y Valdes, Hernandez de, 587  
 Oxenstierna, Axel, chancellor of Sweden, 550  
 Oxford, 279, 634

## P

- Paderborn, Annals of*, 187, 193  
*Painters, Lives of*, by Vasari, 489  
 Palencia, Alonzo de, 436-37  
 Palermo, Normal culture in, 222-23  
 Palestine, see Jews, and Crusades  
 Pallavicino, Sforza, 547-48  
 Palma-Cayet = Pierre Victor La Palma, 558-59  
 Pamphila, 27  
 Pamprepius, 297  
 Pandulf of Pisa, 210  
 Papal registers, 212, 286  
 Paris, historiography of, 177-78, 225, 226, 363-64, 383, 517, 557  
 Paris, Gaston, 320  
 Parhenianus, 93  
 Parker, Matthew, archbishop of Canterbury, 262, 603  
 Parthia, 19-20, 121; Roman wars with Parthia, 92, 112  
 Paruta, 504-05  
 Paschasius Radbertus, 175  
 Pasquier, 556, 560, 561  
 Pastoreaux, the, 283  
 Pataria, the, 212  
 Paternus, 95  
 Patrick, St., 153, 158, 159  
 Patrocles, 44  
 Patryngton, Stephen, 414  
 Paul, St., the apostle, 105; his philosophy of history, 124  
 St. Paul's of London, *Annales Paulini*, 397  
 Paul of Bernried, 191  
 Paul the Deacon (Paulus Diaconus, also called Paul the Lombard), 151, 167-69, 173, 177, 208, 209, 454  
 Paul III, pope, 499  
 Pauli, Reinhold, 162  
 Pausanias, 52, 110-11  
 Pavia, 186  
 Payen, Pontus, 572 and n. 2  
 Peasant revolts, in medieval France, 242, 283, in England, 403, 410, in Germany, 527, 532  
 Pedersen, Christian, 465, 533  
 Pedro the Cruel, king of Castile, 435, 436  
 Pedro III, king of Aragon, 436, *Chronicle of*, 433

- Pedro IV (el Ceremonioso), king of Aragon, 436
- Pedro Nino, count of Buelna, *Chronicle of*, 435
- Pegasus and Hercules, Histories of*, 234
- Pegau, Annals of*, 187, 193, 199
- Pelayo (Latin: Pelagius), bishop of Oviedo, 429
- Pelopidas, 34
- Pencriche, Richard, 400
- Pepin the Short, 169
- Pepys, Samuel, 638
- Percy, Thomas, bishop of Dromore, 463
- Perez, Gil, Spanish priest, 431
- Pericles, 31-33, 35
- Periphus of the Erythraean Sea*, 113
- Persecutions, history of the Christian, 128, 135
- Persepolis, ruins and inscriptions of, 8-9, destroyed by Alexander, 19
- Persia and its historians, 8-9, 18-20, 22-27, 40, 42, 43, 46, 48, 95, 104, 121, 300-02 *passim*, 331, 335-39, 341-44, 354, 355, 357, 564
- Pertz, G. H., 225
- Peru, history of, 587-88
- Perugia, Chronicle of*, 481
- Peshdayan*, anonymous work on earliest Persian dynasty, 337
- Peter I, the Great, czar of Russia, 355
- Peter of Blois, 222, 261
- Peter of Pisa, 210
- Peter of Zittau, abbot of Königsaal, 427, 467
- Peter the Deacon (Petrus Diaconus), of Monte Cassino, 212, 219, 220
- Peter the Patrician, 301
- Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, 243, 244
- Peter Comestor, 277
- Peter Damian, 213
- Peter Martyr of Anghera, 507
- Peterborough Chronicle*, 392
- Petrarch, 432, 488, 492, 510
- Petri, Antonio, 484
- Petrus Crassus, jurist of Ravenna, 190
- Petrus of Duisburg, 203
- Peutinger, Conrad, 525
- Phaeas, 39
- Pharaohs, theft of their predecessors' inscriptions, 6
- Pherecydes of Leros, 22
- Philibert, St., Life of, 153
- Philinus of Agrigentum, 52, 61
- Philip II (Augustus), king of France, 237-38, 269, 319
- Philip IV, king of France, 271
- Philip V, king of France, 364
- Philip VI, king of France, 365, 369
- Philip II, king of Spain, 438, 506, 574, 580-84 *passim*, 586, 587
- Philip III, king of Spain, 583, 584
- Philip IV, king of Spain, 584
- Philip, count of Flanders, 242
- Philip of Macedon, king, 16, 36-37, 78
- Philip of Side, 133 n. 29
- Philip of Swabia, 198, 204
- Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, 372, 381, 387, 388
- Philip von Heinsberg, archbishop of Cologne, 199
- Philippa, of Hainault, queen of Edward III of England, 363, 366, 367
- Philippe de Navarre, 442
- Philippson, Martin, 567
- Philistus, 49, 51
- Philo, 105
- Philo Byblius, 3
- Philochorus, 47
- Philopoemen, 53, 54, 55
- Philosophy, Greek, small effect on Greek history, 37
- Philostorgus, 133 n. 29
- Philostratus, 131
- Phlegon, 48, 112
- Phocas, Byzantine emperor, 301
- Phoenicia, 3, 16-18; see also Carthage, and Punic Wars
- Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, 27, 36, 48, 112, 296, 297, 304
- Phrantzes, Georgius, 444-45
- Phylarchus, 46
- Piacenza, Annals of*, 213, 285, 488
- Pierre de la Châtre, archbishop of Bourges, 244
- Pietro Orseolo II, doge of Venice, 216
- Pigna, Giambattista, 540 and n. 13
- Pilius, L. Otacilius, 79 n. 9
- Pirkheimer, Willibald, 526
- Pisa, historiography of, 213, 217, 285, 289; *Gesta triumphalis per Pisanos facta* (in First Crusade), 217
- Pisan, Christine de, 371-73, 510
- Pitti, Jacopo, 495 n. 65, 503
- Pius II, pope, see Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini
- Pius III, pope, 487
- La Place, 562
- Placentinus' *Summa institutionum*, 214
- Planche, Regnier de la, 561
- Plano Carpini, John of, 283
- Plataea, monument for the battle of, 26



- Platina, 489  
 Plato, 20, 24, 37, 39, 51; his *Republic*, 138  
 Plettenberg-Truchsess, 425  
 Pliny the Elder, 35, 44, 47, 64, 67, 74, 82, 83–86 *passim*, 89, 99, 487  
 Pliny Minor, 91, 99  
 Plotinus, *Life of*, 131  
 Plummer, Charles, 161 n. 22, 162 n. 27, 163  
 Plutarch, 27, 36, 41, 45, 46, 49, 51, 52, 61, 68, 77, 83, 85, 102, 107–09, 111, 436, 488, 554, 605–06  
 Pöhlde, *Annals of*, 193, 199  
 Poeta Saxo, 203  
 Point, Sydnam, 551  
 Poland, history of, 183, 203, 466, 468–69, 509, 532–33  
 Political theory and statecraft, writers on, 38–39, 59, 117, 175–76, 189–91, 200, 262, 423, 494–97, 504, 513, 544, 583, 606, 629  
 Pollio, 48  
 Polo, Marco, 44, 301, 349, 356  
 Polybius, 16, 35–37 *passim*, 39, 40 n. 23, 43, 46, 49–51, 52–60, 61, 66, 74, 77, 78, 101, 102, 104, 116, 296, 298, 478, 491  
 Polychronicon, see Ralph Higden  
 Polydore Vergil, see Vergil, Polydore  
 Pompey, Roman general and statesman, 64, 68, 70, 74, 80  
 Pomponius Laetus, 492  
 Pontanus, 533  
 Popelinière, Lancelot Voisin de la, 554, 560, 561, 563, 564  
 Popes, history of, 286, 426, 489–90, and see *Liber pontificalis*; Ranke's *History of the Popes*, 521  
 Poros, Indian general, 42  
 Porphyry, 184  
 Portugal, 317, 584–86  
 Porzio, Camillo, 540 and n. 13  
 Posidonius, 46–47  
 Possidius, 145  
 Postumius Albinus, A., 63  
 Poto, Bavarian count-palatine, 194  
 Power, Eileen, 390  
 Prague, 533; *Annales Pragenses*, 466  
 Pribico (Prjebik) of Pulkawa, 427, 467  
 Priefling, monk of, 195  
 Printing, introduction of, 514–15, 519; into Italy, 483  
 Priorato, Geleazzo, 551  
 Priscus of Panium, 297  
 Proclius, 39  
 Procopius, 145, 299–300, 479, 525  
 Prosper of Aquitaine, 97, 98, 130, 132–34, 144, 147  
 Protadius, 98  
 Proxenos, 52  
 Prudentius, bishop of Troyes, 171  
 Prüm, *Annals of*, 166, 172, 179  
 Psellos, Constantine (often called by his monastic name Michael), 218, 307  
 Pseudo-Dionysius of Tellmahre, 326–27  
 Ptolemy I (Soter), 41–42  
 Ptolemy II (Philadelphus), 4  
 Ptolemy V (Epiphanes), 6  
 Ptolemy Lagos, 41  
 Ptolemy of Lucca, 422  
 Ptolemy the geographer, 43, 112–13, 487, 522, 526  
 Pucci, Antonio, 481 n. 28  
 Pufendorf, Samuel, 551 n. 39  
 Pulgar, Hernando da, 437  
 Punic language, spread and persistence, 17–18  
 Punic Wars, 52–53, 58, 61–66, 76, 79, 80, 83, 110, 115  
 Purchas, Samuel, 353 n. 55  
 Puritans, the term, 628  
 Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, 46, 49, 52, 64, 108  
 Pytheas of Massilia (Marseilles), 35, 58
- Q
- al-Qalanisi, Hamza ibn, 350  
 Al-Qazwini, 352  
 Quedlinburg, nunnery, 185; *Annals of*, 180  
 Quicherat, Jules, 383  
 Quintus Curtius Rufus, 40, 41, 81  
 Al-Qurashi, 345  
 Ibn Qutaibah (Qutayba), 339, 343
- R
- Rabbini, Ibn 'Abd, of Cordova, 346  
 Rabelais, 382  
 Radagaisus, 98  
 Radulphus Glaber (Ralph Glaber, Ralph the Bald), 226, 228–29  
 Rafn of Limerick, 457–58  
 Rahatu-Sudir, 350  
 Rahewin, continuator of Otto of Freising, 198, 205  
 Raimond d'Aguilers, 314  
 Reinold of Dassel, archbishop of Cologne, 198, 199  
 Rait, R. S., 623  
 Raleigh, Sir Walter, 607, 611  
 Ralph of Caen, 204, 314  
 Ralph of Diceto, 258–59, 319, 394, 414  
 Ralph, abbot of Coggeshall, 260, 275, 319

- Ralph the Bald, see Radulphus Glaber  
 Ralph (or Ranulf) Higden, 259, 396, 399–400, 401, 402, 404, 405, 408, 410, 413, 601  
 Ramhurmuz, 348  
*Ramsey Abbey, History of*, 260  
 Ranke, Leopold von, 499, 500, 520, 537, 546, 635, 641  
 Ranulf de Glanvil, 280  
 Ranulf Higden, see Ralph Higden  
*Raoul de Cambrai*, 227  
 Raoul (Raul) of Milan, Sire, 284, 286  
*Rasal, Historia de*, 432  
 Rassam, Hormuzd, 10  
 Ratpert, monk of St. Gall, 181  
 Ravenna, *Annals of*, 146; *Lives of the Bishops*, see Agnellus  
 Rawlinson, Sir Henry Creswicke, 10, but see also volume II, 475–77  
 Raymond of St. Gilles, 313  
 Raymond of Toulouse, 314  
 al-Razi (Rasis), Ahmad ibn Muhammed, 346, 431, 434  
 Red Sea, 48, 113, 304  
 Reformation, Protestant, in Germany, 520–32; in other lands, 532–34; in France, 553  
 Regan, Morice, 266  
 Reginald of Durham, 248  
 Regino of Prüm, 172, 177, 181, 531  
*Reichenau, Annals of*, 181, 186  
 Reineccius, Reiner, 532  
 Reiner, monk of St. Jacob's in the diocese of Liège, 200  
 Reinhardbrunn, monastery in Thuringia, 423  
 Religieux of St. Denis, the, 375–76, 377, 388  
 Remigius, bishop of Lincoln, 261  
 Renaissance, the, in Italy, 192, 473–509, 520–21; in France, 371, 510–19; in Germany, 520–25; in England, 589, 597; in the Low Countries, 574–79; in Poland, 469  
 Renaissance, Twelfth Century, 192, 195, 232  
 Renan, Ernest, 16  
 Reuchlin, 521, 522  
 Reyds, Everhard van, 577  
*Rheims, History of the Church of*, 225  
 Rhenanus, Beatus, 525  
 Riant, Count, 319  
 Ricart, Robert, 595  
 Richard I (Coeur de Lion), king of England, 319–21; *Roman de Richard Coeur de Lion*, 321  
 Richard II, king of England, 401, 403, 406, 407, 409, 410  
 Richard III, king of England, 397, 591, 596–98 *passim*, 602  
 Richard, canon of the Church of the Holy Trinity (London), 320  
 Richard de Devizes, 259–60, 319, 391  
 Richard de Morins, 392–93  
 Richard of Cirencester, 404–05  
 Richard of San Germano, 282  
 Richelieu, cardinal, 84, 551  
 Richer, canon of Rheims, 225–26, 227  
 Ricimer, 146  
 Ricobaldo of Ferrara, 474  
 Rienzo, Cola di, 484  
 Rigord, monk of St. Denis, 237, 238, 319, 363  
 Riley, H. T., 407, 411  
 Rimbart, 173  
 Ripalta, Antonio da, 488  
 Ripoll monastery, *Chronicle of*, 432  
 Rishanger, William, monk of St. Albans, 279, 393–94, 410  
 Roadbooks and itineraries, 95, 112, 113, 525  
 Robert, abbot of Westminster, 261  
 Robert Bloet, bishop of Lincoln, 252, 254  
 Robert Crispin, 219  
 Robert de Clari, 321, 322  
 Robert Grosseteste, 279  
 Robert Guiscard, 219, 220  
 Robert of Auxerre, 241, 269  
 Robert of Avesbury, 401  
 Robert of Melun, 261  
 Robert of Reading, 397, 402  
 Robert of Torigny (Robert de Monte), abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel, 231, 259, 394  
 Robert the Monk, 311, 312  
 Robert the Pious, king of France, 227  
 Rodrigo Jimenez, archbishop of Toledo, 430, 431, 435  
 Roger II, of Sicily, 217, 221, 222, 349  
 Roger de Flor, adventurer, 434  
 Roger de Toeny, 219  
 Roger of Hoveden, 250, 258, 259, 319, 390, 398, 401, 405  
 Roger of Wendover, 277, 392  
 Roland, see *Chanson de Roland*  
 Rolandin (Rolandinus) of Padua, 282, 285, 286, 474  
 Rollo (Rolf Wend-afoot), Norman leader, subject of the *Roman de Rou*, 245, 451  
 Roman aqueducts, Procopius on, 299  
 Roman interest in Greek antiquities, 110–11

- Romanus I (Lecapenus), Byzantine emperor, 305, 306  
 Romanus II, Byzantine emperor, 305, 306  
 Romanus Diogenes, Byzantine emperor, 219  
 Rome, ancient, its history and historians, 46, 50, 52-55, 59-60, 61-72, 73-91, 92-100, 102, 109-10, 114, 129, 138-39, 145-47, 503, 575; and see volume II, 488-511  
 Rome, great wealth of some families, 296  
 Rome, medieval, 174, 198, 207, 209-10, 280-81, 286, 410; Renaissance, 484-87  
 Romuald, bishop of Salerno, 221, 222  
 Roper, William, 600  
 Roscellinus, 192, 198  
*Rosenveldenses*, the *Annales* (written at Harsefeld near Stade), 187  
 Rosetta Stone, 6, 10  
 Roswitha, of Gandersheim, 525  
 Rothe, John, 426  
*Rouen, Chronicle of*, 273  
 Rozier, 517  
 Rubeanus, Crotus (Johann Jäger), 522  
 Rudbeck, Olaf, 492, 534  
 Rudhrawari, Zahir-al-sin Mohammed ben Husain, vizier of Muqtadi, 343  
 Rudolf of Fulda, 90, 172, 177  
 Rudolph I, of Habsburg, German emperor, 291-92, 420, 421, 426  
 Rudolph II, German emperor, 573  
 Rufinus, 129  
 Ruotger, 184  
 Rushworth, 628  
 Russ, Melchior, 426  
 Russia, 300, 445-46  
 Rutilius Namatianus, 98  
 Rutilius Rufus, 67, 110
- S
- Sabellicus, see Coccio, Marcantonio  
 al-Sabi, Hilal ben Muhassin, 343, 350  
 Sacchinus, Franciscus, 541  
*Sachsenrecht*, 190  
 Arib ben Sa'd, 346  
 Sad ad-Din (Seaddedin), 448  
 Saemund Sigfusson, 455-56, 459, 460  
 Sahag, Armenian patriarch, 330  
 Said ben Batrik, see Eutychius  
 Saint Simon's memoirs of Louis XIV, 84  
 Saints, 131, 152-53, 178, 446, 644  
 Saladin, 318, 351  
 Salazar, 581 n. 3  
 Salerno, *Anonymous of*, 209; *Chronicle of*, 211, 218-19, 222  
 Salic law, 151  
 Salian annals, 186-88  
 Salimbene of Parma, 282-84, 286  
 Abu-Salith, 346  
 Sallust, 17, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69-70, 73, 79, 177, 582  
 Salmasius, see Saumaise, Claude de  
 Salmon, Pierre, 375, 378  
 Salutati, Coluccio, 478-79  
 Salvian, 138-39  
 Salzburg, *Annals of*, 181; *Chronicle*, 291  
*Samos, Chronicle of*, 46  
 Sampirus, bishop of Astorga, 429  
*Samuel* (Old Testament), 13, 14  
 Samuel of Ani, 332-33  
 Sanang Setsen, 354  
 Sancho IV, king of Castile, 431  
 Sanchoniatho, 3, 16  
 Sande, Johan van den, 577  
 Sander, Nicholas, 616  
 Sanderus, Antonius, 572  
 Sandoval, Prudencio de, 583  
 Santi, Giovanni, 481 n. 28  
 Sanudo, Marino, 442, 483-84, 503  
 Sanzanome, 475  
 Sargon II, king of Assyria, 10, 11, 12  
 Sarpi, Paolo, 539, 549, 541-46, 547, 548  
 Sastrow, Bartholomew, 532  
 De Saulcy, 10  
 Saumaise, Claude de (Salmasius), 575-76  
 Savonarola, 488  
 Saxo Grammaticus, 464, 533  
 Saxon dynasty, 180-85  
 Saxons, *Cronecken der Sassen of Conrad Botho*, 425  
*Scalacronica* of Sir Thomas Gray, 401  
 Scaliger, J. J., 561, 574, 575  
 Scandinavia, 168, 173, 524; see Norse peoples  
 Schärtlein, Sebastian, 532  
 Schardius, Simon, 531  
 Schedel, Hartmann, 425  
 Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell*, 427  
 Schivenoglia, Andrea, 488  
 Schmalkaldic War, 581  
 Schöffler, Peter, 425  
 Schweinichen, Hans von, 532  
 Scipio Africanus, 54, 63  
 Scioppius (Schoppe), Caspar, 549  
 Scotland, historiography of, 264-66, 274, 275, 398, 404, 486, 604, 616-23, 636, 645; *Chronicon Scotorum*, 266  
 Scott, Sir Walter, 618  
*Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* (1532), 531  
 Scriptorium, the monastic, 146  
 Scylax, 23, 43  
 Scylitzes, John, 307

- Seaddedin, see Sad ad-Din  
 Sebastian, bishop of Salamanca, 429  
 Seckendorf, 552  
 Seeck, Otto, 130  
 Segni, Bernardo, 495, n. 65, 503  
 Sejanus, 80, 82  
 Sembat (Sempad), 333  
 Sempronius Asellio, 66  
 Seneca, 47, 82, 83, 86, 575  
 Sennacherib, king of Assyria, 10, 11, 12  
 Sens, historiography at, 226, 227, 273  
 Sepulveda, Juan Gines de, 581  
 Serbia, 447, 448  
 Serres, Jean de, 561-62  
 Servilius Nonianus, 82, 86  
 Servius, 17  
 Severinus, St., 153  
 Sextus Julius Africanus, 5, 126, 128  
 Seyssel, Claude de, 517  
 Sforza, Francesco, 481, 482, 490  
 Shakespeare, 152, 256 n. 31, 443, 597, 600, 601, 603, 605, 606, 610, 618  
 Shalmaneser II, 12  
 Shammai, 105  
 Shirley, Walter, 414  
*Short English Chronicle*, 416  
 Sicard, bishop of Cremona, 285  
 Sicily, 32, 45, 48-52, 61, 63, 64, 81, 219-23, 282, 286-87, 305, 433, 436, 506; school of Greek writers, 48-52; Sicilian Vespers, 433, 436; *Sicilian Chronicle*, 305  
 Sidney, Sir Philip, Life of, 608  
 Sidonius Apollinaris, 98-100, 144  
 Sigebert of Gembloux, 190-91, 262, 531  
 Sigismund, German emperor, 505  
 Sigonio, Carlo (Sigonius), 506  
 Silius Italicus, 83  
 Simancas, founding of archives, 581  
 Simeon of Durham, 160, 249, 250, 398  
 Simler, 566  
 Simon of Keza, 291  
 Simonetta, Giovanni, 482, 490  
 Siri, Vittorio, 551  
 Sisenna, 110  
 Sixtus IV, pope, 485, 489, 490  
 Skala, John, known as Dubrasky (Dubravius), bishop of Olmütz, 533  
 Skala ze Zhore, Paul, 549, 550  
*Skibby Chronicle*, 533  
 Slavata, William, count, 549  
 Slavs, in Middle Ages, 183, 184, 195, 200-03, 466-69, 532  
 Sleidan, John (Sleidanus), 518, 528-29, 544, 545, 558, 580-81  
 Smaragdus, abbot of St. Mihiel, 176  
 Smith, George, 10  
 Smith, Sir Thomas, 606-07  
 Snorri Sturlason, 451, 456, 459, 460-62  
 Socrates, church historian, of Constantinople, 132, 144, 147, 207, 298, 327  
 Socrates, the philosopher, 34, 37, 47  
 Soiter, Melchior, 532  
 Solinus, 487  
 Solomon, king of Israel, 14, 15, 17  
 Solon, 24  
 "Song of the Poor," crusaders' verse current in Antioch, 316  
 Sosylus, 52, 61  
 South America, first historians, 587-88  
 Southey, Robert, 585  
 Sozomen, church historian, 132-33, 144, 147, 207, 298  
 Spain, historiography of, 22, 64, 144-45, 167, 346-47, 349, 428-38, 507-08, 540, 580-84  
 Spalatin, George, 528  
 Sparta, 34, 35, 52, 57  
 Spartianus, 93  
 Speed, John, 607, 609-10  
 Spelman, 626  
 Spencer, Herbert, 21  
 Spenser, Edmund, 624  
 Speyer, *Annals of*, 290  
 Sponheim, *Chronicle of*, 523  
 Spottiswoode, John, 645  
 Sprigge, Joshua, 629-30  
 Sprott, 404  
*Stablo, Annals of*, 166  
 Stafford, Sir Thomas, 644  
 Stanhope, 644  
 Stanyhurst, Richard, 604, 624  
*St. Stephen of Mount Auxentius, Life of*, 304  
 Stephen, king of England, 247, 250; *Gesta Stephani*, 250  
 Stephen, king of Hungary, 469  
 Stephen, deacon of St. Sophia, 304  
 Stephen of Byzantium, 300  
 Stephen Asoghig of Daron (Stephan of Taron), 333  
 Stesimbrotus, 35  
 Stevenson, Joseph, 398  
 Stevenson, W. H., 163  
 Stilicho, 98  
 Stoic doctrine of universal humanity, influence on history, 78  
 Stow, John, 593, 598, 601, 602, 603, 607, 609  
 Strabo, 16, 27, 35, 36, 43, 44, 45, 47, 54, 102-03, 111, 112, 487  
 Strada, Famianus, 572, 573-74

Stransky, Paul, 550  
 Strongbow (Richard de Clare), invasion of Ireland, 266  
 Strype, John, 636  
 Stubbs, William, 159-60, 163, 252, 257, 396  
 Sturla, 451, 462  
 Sturmi, abbot of Fulda, 169  
 Suetonius (C. Suetonius Tranquillus), biographer, 82, 83, 84, 90-91, 93, 94, 107, 167, 177, 481, 488  
 C. Suetonius Paulinus, 82  
 Suger, abbot of St. Denis, 236-37, 244, 272, 317, 363  
 Sulla, 66, 67, 68-69, 110  
 Sully, Maximilien de Bethune, duc de, 566-68  
 Sulpicius Severus, 133, 134-35, 139, 152, 188  
 Sumeria, early king-lists, 7 n. 11  
 Surlius, L., 572 and n. 2  
 Sven Estridsson, king of Denmark, 201  
 Svend Aageson, 464  
 Sverri, king of Norway, 459  
 Sweden, 173, 533-34, 550  
 Swift, Jonathan, 636, 637  
 Switzerland, 426-27, 526, 566; and see St. Gall  
 Sybel, Heinrich von, 318  
 Sylvester I, pope, 209  
 Sylvester II, see Gerbert of Aurillac  
 Symeon of Durham, see Simeon  
 Symeon Metaphrastes, 305  
 Symmachus, Quintus Aurelius, 99  
 Symonds, J. A., 206  
 Syncellus, George, 5, 174, 207  
 Synesius of Cyrene, 99, 100, 132  
*Synodicon orientale*, 327  
 Syracuse, Roman spoliation of, 54  
 Syrian historiography, 107, 324-29; and see also under Crusades

## T

Tabari, 338, 342, 343  
*Tabula Peutingeriana*, 525  
 Tacitus, 33, 59, 67, 79, 81, 82, 83, 84-90, 91, 96, 107, 116-17, 134, 172, 177, 525, 575, 610, 611, 642  
 Tageno of Passau, 320  
 Ibn Taghri Birdi, 358-59  
 Abu-Tahir, Ahmad ben, 342  
 Taillefer, minstrel, 232  
 Tait, James, 401  
 Talbot, Fox, 10  
*Tale of the Armament of Igor*, 446  
*Tallagio non concedendo*, De, 399  
 Tamerlane, see Timurlane  
 Tancred, Norman crusader, 314  
 Tancred of Hauteville, 219  
 Tancred of Sicily, 204  
 Tartars, the, 333, 355  
 Tassilo, duke of Bavaria, 166  
 Tasso, Torquato, 578  
 Tatian, 124  
 Tavannes, Gaspard de, 556  
 Tavannes, Jean de, 556  
 Taylor, excavator of Ur, 10  
 Tell, William, legend of, 426-27  
 Temple, Sir William, 636-37  
 Ten Thousand, march of the, 34  
 Terence, 177  
 Teuffel, W. S., 90  
 Teutonic Knights, 203  
*Tewkesbury, Annals of*, 274  
 Thabit ben Sinan, 343  
 Thallus, 104  
*Theatrum Europaeum*, 552  
 Thebes, archives of, 4, 8; *Canon of the Kings of Thebes*, 4  
*Theft of Abbot Martin*, 322  
 Thegan, 169-70  
 Themistocles, 35, 108  
 Theodore Daphnopolates, 306  
 Theodoretus, bishop of Cyrus, 133, 147, 207, 298  
 Theodoric the Great, 146, 205  
 Theodoros Anagnostes (Lector), 298  
*Theodosian Code*, 92, 100  
 Theodosius I, Roman emperor, 331  
 Theodosius II, emperor of the East, 296  
 Theodotus, Phoenician historian, 17  
 Theodulph, bishop of Orleans, 174-75  
 Theonas, of Trebizond, 445  
 Theophanes of Byzantium, 174, 207, 300, 303-04, 306, 307  
 Theophrastus, 45, 52  
 Theophylactus Simocatta, 301  
 Theopompus, 36-37, 52  
 Thessalonica, capture by the Turks, 441 and n. 13  
 Thietmar, bishop of Merseburg, 182, 183-84, 531  
 Thirty Years War, 467, 548-52, 577  
 Thomas, bishop of Marga, 327  
 Thomas Ardzrouni, see Ardzrouni, Thomas  
 Thomas of Eccleston, 279  
 Thomas of Elmham, 412-13  
 Thomas of Malmesbury, 401  
 Thomas of Marlborough, abbot of Evesham, 408-09  
 Thorne, William, 404

- Thou, Jacques August de (Thuanus), 544, 545, 554, 556, 564, 565, 568-70, 609
- Thucydides, 19, 24, 28, 29-33, 34, 38, 49, 51, 52, 55-57, 60, 65, 85, 86, 88, 108, 118, 298, 299, 300, 477, 486, 611
- Thuringia, landgraves of, 423, 426
- Thurmayer, John, surnamed Aventinus, 426
- Thutmose III, king of Egypt, 7
- Thynne, Francis, 604
- Tiberius, Roman emperor, 80-81, 84, 87 and n. 2, 118
- Tigernach O'Braein, abbot of Clonmacnoise, 159, 266
- Tiglath-Pileser IV, 10, 12
- Timaeus, of Tauromenium, 35, 49-52
- Timagenes, 78
- Timurlane, Mongol conqueror, 329, 355, 356, 358
- Tiridates, king of Armenia, 331
- Toledo, *Annales Toledanos Terceros*, 431-32
- Touraine, Chroniques de*, 273
- Tout, T. F., 392, 396
- Tovar, Fernan Sanchez de, 431
- Town chronicles, in Italy, 206, 212-13, 281-82, 284-89, 474-87, 488; in England, 418-19, 592-96; in Germany, 424-25; in Muslim lands, 347; see also under London, Paris, Florence, Venice, etc.
- Travel and geography, 22, 43-44, 58, 82, 96, 102-03, 110-11, 112-13, 114, 120, 135, 201, 219, 239, 300, 311-12, 347-50, 352, 354, 357, 378, 457-58, 612-13, 624
- Trebellius Pollio, 93
- Trebizond, empire of, 309, 439, 445
- Trent, see Council of Trent
- Trevet (Trivet), Nicholas, 394
- Trithemius, John, abbot of Sponheim, 225, 523, 531
- Trogus Pompeius, 36, 76, 77-79, 126
- Trojan origins, in the Middle Ages, 151, 214, 231, 237, 389, 492, 516
- Trojan War, 24, 31
- Tschudi, Aegidius, 427
- Tughril Beg, Turkish ruler, 333, 350
- Tupac Yupanqui, last Inca ruler, 588
- Turkestan, 344-45
- Turks, historiography of the, 325, 332, 333, 335 n. 1, 341, 344, 350-51, 447-48, 532, 564, 573, 606
- Turoczi, 427
- Turpyn, Richard, 596
- Twinger, Jacob, of Königshofen, 422, 426
- Two Cities, of St. Augustine, 137, of Otto of Freising, 196-97
- Tychsen, 9
- Tyre, 5, 17, 42
- U
- Uchtanes (Oukhtanes), 332
- Udalric, bishop of Augsburg, 185
- Ulm, city of, 426
- Ulster, Annals of*, 159, 624
- Umayyad dynasty, 335
- Unstrut, battle on the, 183
- Universal chronicle, the, characteristic in the eleventh century, 192; new type in thirteenth century, 268-69; rise of universal history due to conquests of Alexander and Rome, 103
- Universities, Dutch, 574; German, 535
- Urban II, pope, 210, 220, 243, 312, 315
- V
- St. Vaast, Annals of*, 171
- Vahram, of Armenia, 333
- Valerius Antias, 69
- Valerius Maximus, 81, 82, 465, 488
- Valla, Lorenzo, 493-94, 505, 521, 522, 528, 529
- Valois, Henri de Valois, 146; *Chronique de quatre premiers Valois*, 363, 368
- van Aitzema, Leon, 577
- van den Sande, Johan, 577
- van der Goes, John (Janus Dousa), 574-75
- van der Haer, Florentius, 572
- van Leiden, Jan, 572
- van Meteren, Emmanuel, 576, 577
- van Reynd, Everhard, 577
- Vandals, the, 130, 134, 136, 144, 145, 149, 429
- Varchi, Benedetto, 490, 495 n. 65, 502
- Variae* of Cassiodorus, 147
- Varro, 5, 18
- Varasi, 489, 490
- Vega, Garcilasso de la, 587-88
- Vegetius, Flavius, 59, 95
- Velleius Paterculus, 76, 80-81, 82, 110, 177
- Venice, historiography of, 184, 215-17, 287-88, 482-84, 504-05, 541-43; *Venetici breves*, 216; *Chronicon Venetum*, 216
- Ventura, of Asti, 285
- Vergil, Polydore, 508-09, 590, 596, 597-99, 601, 610
- Vergil, Roman poet, 18, 73, 77, 177, 204, 214
- Verdun, treaty of 843 A.D., 170, 172; *History of the Bishops of Verdun*, 182
- Versoris, Nicolas, 517
- Vespasian, Roman emperor, 83-86 *passim*
- Vespasiano da Bisticci, 489

- Victor of Tunnuna (Victor Tunnunensis), 130, 145  
 Victor of Vita (Victor Vitensis), 145  
 Vigilius, pope, 147  
 Viking expansion, 449 ff.  
 Villani, Filippo, 477, 478, 490  
 Villani, Giovanni, 285, 475, 476-77, 482, 485  
 Villani, Matteo, 285, 477  
 Villari, 499, 501  
 Villazan, Nuñez de, 431  
 Villehardouin, Geoffrey de, 268, 273, 289, 321-22, 473, 514  
 Vincent Kadlubek, bishop of Cracow, 468  
 Vincent of Beauvais, 270, 273  
 Vincent, prebendary of Prague, 203, 467  
 Vinci, Leonardo da, 489, 542  
 Vinland, discovery of, 201, 458  
 Visconti, Giangaleazzo, 510  
 Visconti, Filippo Maria, 481, 490  
 Visconti, Valentine, 510  
 Visigoths, 143-45, 429, 430, 434-35, 443  
 Vitruvius, 166, 480  
 Vivarium, monastery, 146  
 Vladislav IV, king of Poland, 509  
 Voltaire's *History of Charles XII*, 584  
 Volumnius, 79  
 Vopiscus, Flavius, 93  
 Voss, Gerard Jan, 575  
 Voss, Isaac, 575  
 Vulcacius Gallicanus, 93  
 Vulgate, the, helped create a new language, 98
- W**
- Wace, canon of Bayeux, author of the *Roman de Rou*, 231, 242, 245, 255, 256 n. 31, 395  
 Waddington, Luke, 17  
 Wala, *Life of*, 175  
 Waldseemüller, Martin (Hylacomylus), geographer, 522  
 Wales, historiography of, 155, 159, 163, 263-66; *Annales Cambriae*, 159, 266  
 Walraum of Naumberg, 190  
 Walsingham, Thomas (of), 395, 404-09 *passim*, 410-11, 591, 603, 607  
 Walter Map, 261, 263  
 Walter, monk of St. Albans, 277  
 Walter of Coventry, 274  
 Walter, abbot of Derby, 243  
 Walter of Hemingburgh, 398-99, 402  
 Al-Waqidi, 339 n. 10, 340  
 Warkworth, John, 417-18  
 War of the Roses, in England, 405, 412, 416-17, 508, 589, 590  
 Wars of Religion, in France, 553-70 *passim*  
 Wassenburg, Eberhard, 552  
*Waverly, Annals of*, 275, 392, 402  
 Wazo, bishop of Liège, 182  
 Weingarten, *Annals of*, 166, 181; *Historia Welforum Weingartensis*, 199  
*Weissemburg, Annals of*, 166  
 Weitmühl, Benessius Krabice von, 422  
 Welf IV, duke of Bavaria, 205  
 H. G. Wells' *Outline of History*, 271, 399  
 Wenricus of Trier (Trèves), 190  
 Wenzel II (Wenceslas), king of Bohemia, 427  
 West Goths, see Visigoths  
 West Indies, 586  
 Westminster, 397  
 Whitelock, Bulstrode, 630, 631-32, 641  
 Wibald, abbot of Corvey and Stablo (Stavelot), 195, 317  
 Widerich, abbot of St. Evre, 188  
 Widukind of Corvey, in Saxony, 182-83, 204, 454, 531  
 Wilfrid, bishop of York, 156  
 St. *Willehad, Life of*, 173  
 William I, the Conqueror, king of England, 164, 231, 238, 239, 610  
 William III, king of England, 635, 637  
 William II, duke of Aquitaine, 230  
 William, margrave of Meissen, 194  
 William, abbot of St. Bénigne, at Dijon, 228  
 William of Apulia, 220-21  
 William of Conches, 261  
 William (Calculus), monk of Jumièges, 231, 607  
 William of Malmesbury, 232 n. 19, 246, 248, 250, 251-52, 253, 255, 391, 392, 394, 405, 413, 419, 598  
 William of Newburgh, 250, 255, 319, 390, 394, 399, 598  
 William of Poitiers, archdeacon of Lisieux, 231, 256  
 William of Tyre, 312, 318, 433  
 William the Breton, 237-38, 319  
 Williams, Benjamin, 412  
 Willibald, St., 153, 165  
 Willibrord, 165  
 Wimpfeling, Jacob, 515, 524, 531  
*Winchester, Annals of*, 391, 392, 402  
*Winton, Annals of*, 275  
 Wipo, imperial chaplain, 185-86  
 Wittewierum, monastery history, 200  
 Wolfe, Reginald, 504  
 Wolfenbüttel, *Annales Guelpherbytani*, 165

- Wolsey, cardinal, 508, 598, 599-600, 609, 617  
 Wood, Anthony, 634-35  
 Worcester, William (known as William Botoner), 415-16  
 Worcester, *Annals of Worcester Priory*, 275, 402-03  
 Wright, Thomas, 163  
 Wriothsley, Charles, 595, 602  
 Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester, 248, 252  
*Würzburg, Annals of*, 187  
 Wyclif, John, 402, 404, 405, 408, 614, 615  
 Wykes, Thomas, 391-92  
 Wylie, J. H., 412  
 Wyntershille, William, 407
- X
- Xanten, Annals of*, 165, 173  
 Xenophon, 27, 34-35, 51, 57, 59, 298, 480, 526  
 Xerxes I (Ahasuerus), king of Persia, 18, 25, 27, 337  
 Xiphilinus, 115
- Y
- Yahia, Abu Mikhnaf Lut ibn, 340, 346  
 al-Ya'qubi, Ibn Wadih, 338, 339, 341, 348  
 Yaqut al-Hamawi, 348, 352  
 Yazdi, Sharaf ud-Din, 355  
 Young, Thomas, 6  
*Ypodigma Neustriæ*, of Thomas Walsingham, 411  
 Ibn Yusuf, 347  
 Yves (Ivo), bishop of Chartres, 243
- Z
- Zachariah of Mitylene, 326  
 Zamora, Gil de, 432  
*Zend-Avesta*, 9, 337  
 Zeno, abbot of St. Nicholas (Venice), 216, 217  
 Zeno, Byzantine emperor, 297, 336  
 Zeno of Rhodes, 39  
 Zenodotus, 46  
 Ibn-abi-Zera, 360  
 Zimiscus, John, Byzantine emperor, 305  
 Zimmer, 155  
 Zoilus, 46  
 Zonaras, John, 115, 308, 525  
 Zoroastrianism, 337  
 Zosimus, 144, 296, 299  
 Ibn Zulak, 345  
 Zurara, Gomes Eannes de, 585  
 Zurita, Jeronimo de, 432, 437-38, 581-82







